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P R E F A C E

THE Roman lyric poet, when addressing his friend who was engaged in a work on the Civil War of Rome, says to him,

Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
•Suppositos cineri doloso.

The same may be said to him who undertakes to relate the Civil War of England; for though two centuries have elapsed, the passions and parties to which it gave birth still exist. There are those, of whose political creed it is an article that Charles I. was without blemish; there are others, in whose eyes Pym and Hampden are political saints. To neither of these parties do I belong: my experience has taught me that it is not in history that we are to look for faultless characters; that uncontrolled power is sure to be abused; that a nation must have real grievances to complain of when it opposes its government; and that popular assemblies are as tyrannic, and can as little brook opposition, as any single despot. In that memorable contest, I have therefore found much to blame on both sides, and I have never hesitated to condemn what I did not approve. The same is the case in the subsequent part; and if my language should at any time appear too strong, I

trust it will be ascribed solely to my hatred of injustice and oppression. In all parts of my history I claim not to be judged of by isolated passages.

I commit my brief history of the house of Stuart to the world, with little fears as to the result. To satisfy the zealots on either side, I know to be impossible without an abandonment of truth; but there are those who view the British constitution as progressive, and as brought to its present state through much suffering and arduous struggles, who regret neither the despotism of the crown nor that of the Long Parliament, and who are content calmly to trace the virtues, the faults, the errors, the passions, even the vices, of our ancestors, and to mark how, under Providence, they have co-operated for final good. It is of such that I seek the approbation; and, sanctioned by it, I trust that my work will prove efficacious in preserving an important portion of the British youth from political error, and inspiring them with a love for the only well-poised constitution that the world has ever seen.

My history of the house of Brunswick, it will be seen, is little more than a sketch. I always intended it should be such; but I had reckoned on more space for it. As it chiefly consists of foreign wars and parliamentary debates which to interest should be given in long detail, I do not regret having sacrificed it in some measure to the more absorbing theme of the much-perverted annals of the house of Stuart.

April 21, 1839.

PREFACE.

In his preface to the German translation of this work, Dr. Lappenberg, the author of the History of the Anglo-Saxons, thus expresses himself: "The German reader will perhaps wish for more information on the times before the Norman conquest, but in return, the period of the Stuarts is treated at greater length, and in accordance with its importance in the history of the world—that period which was the youth of that constitutional feeling which is now become almost European, the time of its acts, its errors, its passions, and its trials. The narrative is well arranged throughout, the utmost attention is paid to chronology, the interesting parts are skilfully expanded, nothing essential is omitted, and involved relations are as fully and clearly displayed as was consistent with the limits and the object of the work." The translator adds, that it is "as free as possible from party-views and prejudices, and keeps equally clear of excess or defect."

In order to render a work, which has received so much approbation at home and abroad, as perfect as possible, I have now carefully revised it and made several additions to it from the octavo edition, which perhaps it was not wise in the public to receive with so much indifference, as it might have been gradually enlarged and have thus been made more generally useful than the present can ever be, owing to its limited compass.

As since the first publication of this History of England I have written the History of India at some length, I have

leemed it advisable to omit the very imperfect sketch of Indian affairs which had been given in the present volume. In place of the chapter which contained it I have given a concluding one, in which I have endeavoured to present a view of our domestic affairs since the end of the French war, which, though brief, might be clear and intelligible. I trust that credit will be given to my assertion of the greatest anxiety to be impartial, but it is not to be expected that all should agree with my opinions. All I will say is, that even if they are erroneous they are honest; I belong to no party, and if I seem to be retrograde and aristocratic in my sentiments, it is not from any partiality toward the members of our aristocracy as individuals (for I have hardly any knowledge of them); but because I believe that, in the moral as in the physical world, harmony and perfection can only arise from the opposition of forces.

Want of space has prevented me from giving here, as in the first volume, a list of authorities. But I can assure the reader that every part has been written direct from the original authorities, most of which I have read through, and all of which I have constantly consulted.

T. K.

November 21, 1853.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF STUART.—PART I.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES I.

1603-1613.

ON the death of queen Elizabeth, the right to the crown of England lay between the descendants of Margaret and Mary, daughters of Henry VII., married to the king of Scotland, and to Brandon duke of Suffolk. By the last will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by an act of the legislature, the crown was settled on the latter in case of the failure of his own issue. The legal right, therefore, of the house of Suffolk was beyond dispute. But, on the other hand, the general feeling in favour of primogeniture and hereditary right was too strong to be thus overcome; and the advantages to be derived from the accession of the king of Scotland were so great, that the nation readily acquiesced in the last disposition of the late queen, and James was proclaimed with as little opposition as if he had been an heir-apparent.

During the latter years of queen Elizabeth, the jesuited portion of the catholics* had been in secret correspondence with

* The English catholics were divided into two parties; the *jesuited*, as they were named, that is, the adherents of the jesuits, and the followers of the secular clergy.

the king of Spain about asserting the claim of his daughter, the Infanta; while others, with the sanction of the pope, who did not wish to aggrandize too much the house of Austria, looked to Arabella Stuart, daughter of the younger brother of James' father, alleging that her birth within the realm obviated, in law, her defect of primogeniture; for though Arabella was a protestant, they had some hopes of her conversion. They did not, however, feel themselves strong enough to make any efforts in her favour; and James, who had long been in secret communication with the court of Rome and the English catholics, had given them reason to expect that they might expect freedom from molestation, at the least, under his dominion.

After the death of Essex, sir Robert Cecil had entered into close and secret relations with the king of Scotland, engaging to remove all difficulties in the way of his peaceful succession. His efforts had been completely successful; and James, on receiving due notification of his having been proclaimed, prepared to set forth for the Land of Promise, as he termed it to his hungry and longing favourites. The change was to him great indeed; he was about to pass from a throne of most scanty revenues, and a realm where the royal authority was continually thwarted by a turbulent, ferocious nobility, and a morose, domineering clergy, to a kingdom where the regal power had long been nearly uncontrolled, and where the revenues of the crown were splendid and ample.

On the 5th of April James departed from Edinburgh. When he entered England, the people everywhere poured forth in joyous crowds to greet him; and the nobles, as he proceeded, entertained him sumptuously at their houses. But the contrast was striking between him and their late glorious sovereign. When Elizabeth was on a progress, she was splendidly habited; her people had free access to her, and their professions of affection were received with smiles and with courteous expressions, blended with the majesty and dignity inseparable from her air and mien. They beheld their new monarch meanly attired, (for he cared not for dress; his clothes being always of one fashion, quilted so as to be stiletto-proof, and worn till they were in rags); his person ungraceful, his limbs feeble, his gait what, in the dialect of his country, is termed '*todlin*.' His tongue was too large for his mouth, and thus augmented the uncouthness of his broad northern accent. Under pretext of its enhancing the price of provisions, he forbade the resort of people to him on his way; he allowed ladies, it is said, to kneel

to him, and spoke in language derogatory of the fair sex in general. At Newark he ordered a pick-pocket, taken in the fact within the range of the court, to be executed without trial*. In short, by the time he reached London his popularity was well nigh gone.

On his approach to the capital, James took up his abode for some days at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, the residence of sir Robert Cecil; during which time he formed his council, by adding to that of the late queen's the following Scots: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, lord Hume, lord Kinloss, sir George Hume, and sir James Elphinstone. A proclamation was issued, holding forth hopes of a mitigation of the evils of monopolies, purveyance, and protections in law-suits. The king then began to shower his honours with a lavish hand on his subjects of both nations. Knighthood, for example, was bestowed with such profusion, that in the course of three months he had conferred that honour on not less than seven hundred persons. A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, entitled *A Help for weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility*.

The principal titles conferred were as follows: Cecil was created successively baron Essington, viscount Cranburne, and earl of Salisbury; lord Buckhurst was made earl of Dorset; and lord Pembroke's brother Philip earl of Montgomery; the chancellor Egerton became baron of Ellesmere. James also, to evince his gratitude to the friends of himself and his mother, released the earl of Southampton from the Tower, and restored him and the son of the earl of Essex to their estates and honours. He admitted into the council Thomas Howard, the son, and Henry, the brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and some time after, he created the former earl of Suffolk, and the latter earl of Northampton. He also restored the title of Arundel and Surrey to Thomas son of Philip, the eldest son of that unhappy duke.

Ambassadors from foreign powers now arrived to congratulate James on his accession. Henry IV. of France sent his friend and minister, the marquess Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully), to study the character of the new monarch, and try to induce him to join in an extensive league against the house of Austria. Sully, on his arrival, prepared to put himself and suite in deep mourning, out of respect to the memory of the

* "I hear our new king," writes sir J. Harrington, "has hanged one man before he was tried; it is strangely done: now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he has offended?"

late queen; but he gave up the design, on being assured by the resident ambassador that he should thereby give mortal offence at court*. He found James so bent on peace with Spain, that he would only engage to aid the Dutch underhand. Sully's opinion of the British monarch is briefly and truly given in his expression, that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Here it may be useful to give some further account of king James. He was now thirty-six years of age; his education had been confided to the celebrated George Buchanan; but though the tutor had been one of the ablest assertors of the doctrine that all power proceeds from the people, to whom the holder is answerable for the exercise of it, the pupil had adopted the most extravagant ideas of the extent of the royal prerogative. Flattered by courtiers, and regarding himself as the representative of the endless line of Scottish monarchs, and of the Saxon and Norman lines in England, he considered the people as made for kings, who are to them as the shepherds to their flocks, and are accountable to God alone for their trust. As he was learned, and wrote with facility, he had embodied his notions in a work for the use of his son, which he named the *Basilikon Doron*, or *Royal Gift*. He had also published works on demonology and other subjects but little suited to the pen of a monarch. He was in effect a royal pedant (a very rare character), with large stores of acquired knowledge, with shrewdness and sagacity, but wanting wisdom. By himself and his flatterers he was styled the British Solomon†.

By his union with Anne, sister of the king of Denmark, James had now two surviving sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. The queen was a woman of a cheerful, lively disposition, fond of amusement and gaiety. Prince Henry, as he grew up, developed a character every way the opposite to that of his father.

James was hardly well-seated on his throne, when a double conspiracy, it was said, was formed against him. The one was named the Bye, the Surprise, or the Surprising Plot, for reasons which will presently appear. The chief actors in it were two secular popish priests, named Watson and Clarke;

* James affected to speak slightly of Elizabeth; but as he offered to appear as chief mourner at her funeral, his forbidding mourning at court may have had its source in his aversion from gloom; he did the same on the death of his own son.

† Henry IV., on hearing this, said he hoped he was not the son of David the Addler.

sir Griffin Markham, a catholic gentleman; George Brooke, brother of lord Cobham (who himself had knowledge of it), and lord Grey of Wilton, the head of the puritans. Common discontent was the only principle of union among these discordant elements. Their plan was to *surprise* and seize the king, then convey him to the Tower or to Dover Castle, and oblige him when there to grant a full pardon to all concerned, secure toleration to the catholic religion, and dismiss his privy council. Watson, it was said, was then to be chancellor, Brooke treasurer, Markham principal secretary, and Grey marshal and master of the horse. This last however, finding the catholics to predominate in their councils, made a pretext to withdraw himself from them; and one thing or another causing the execution to be deferred, Cecil came to the knowledge of it*, and the principal conspirators were arrested.

The other plot was named the Main, or the Spanish Treason. The chief parties in this were said to be sir Walter Raleigh, lord Cobham, and George Brooke. Its object, as was asserted, was to place Arabella Stuart on the throne by the aid of a Spanish army and Spanish money. Brooke formed the link between the Main and the Bye. When the latter plot was discovered, Raleigh was arrested as a suspicious person; but as he was really ignorant of it, nothing could be brought against him, and he was dismissed. A letter, however, which he wrote to Cobham, to put him on his guard, having been intercepted, they were both committed to the Tower.

The court being at Winchester on account of the plague, the two priests, Brooke and Markham, with sir Edward Parham, and two other gentlemen, were arraigned there on the 15th of November. Parham was acquitted, all the rest were found guilty. On the 17th Raleigh was brought to trial. The only evidence against him was the declaration of Cobham; for when he was on his examination (July 20), he was shown a note from Raleigh to Cecil, hinting that he had intelligence with Aremberg, the Spanish minister, and he then declared that he would tell all the truth; and he revealed what he said was Raleigh's project. Against this Raleigh produced a letter, written subsequently by Cobham, fully acquitting him; in reply to which, the counsel for the crown gave in a letter written by Cobham only the night before, repeating his charge. The prosecution was conducted in the most virulent manner by sir Edward

* He is said to have had his information from the jesuit party.

Coke, then attorney-general. Raleigh defended himself with great skill, temper, and dignity; but the jury (which was a packed one), insufficient as the evidence was, found him guilty, and he was sentenced to die. To use Raleigh's own words, "it was as unjust a condemnation, without proof and testimony, as ever man had." The king himself, as Raleigh afterwards asserted, prayed that *he* might never be tried by a Middlesex jury. It is also said, that when Coke heard, as he was walking in the castle garden, that the jury had found Raleigh guilty of high treason, he said, "Surely thou art mistaken: I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." Osborne says that "some of the jury were afterwards so touched in conscience as to demand of Raleigh pardon on their knees."

On the following Friday Cobham was tried by his peers. He behaved in the most abject manner possible, throwing the whole blame on his brother and Raleigh. He was found guilty without hesitation. Next day Grey was arraigned: he defended himself with great spirit and ability; but the evidence was too strong against him, and he also was condemned.

The two priests were hung, and emboweled in the usual barbarous manner, before they were dead. Brooke was beheaded. Markham was led to the scaffold. Just then a messenger came from court, and whispered to the sheriff, who gave the prisoner two hours' respite, and took him away. Grey was next brought out, but the sheriff withdrew him also, saying that Cobham was to precede him. Cobham, when he came on the scaffold, "did much cosen the world," for he showed the greatest firmness and resolution. He expressed his sorrow for his offence to the king, and "took it upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of Raleigh was true." The sheriff then told him that he must be confronted with some other persons. Grey and Markham were immediately led forth; and while they gazed on each other with amazement, the sheriff announced to them that the king granted them their lives. Markham was banished the kingdom; Cobham was deprived of his offices and estates, and he died some years after in the utmost misery. Grey remained a prisoner in the Tower till his death, in 1614. Raleigh's life also was spared for the present.

The preceding drama was a device of the king's, who was certainly not a man of blood. It is quite evident that one object in view was, to obtain what might be regarded as Cobham's dying assertion of the guilt of Raleigh; for (though cowards sometimes die with courage) there seems reason to think that

Cobham's magnanimity was the result of his knowledge of his life not being in danger. The king was inimical to Raleigh as the enemy of Essex, and as one of those who had proposed that he should be permitted to mount the throne only on conditions. Cecil was now the enemy of Raleigh, whose talents he feared; and on the whole, we think there is some probability in the hypothesis of Cobham's being merely the tool of him and lord Henry Howard in fixing the charge of treason on Raleigh, who might thus be immured for the rest of his days. It is probable that there was no intention of touching his life. The intrigue with Spain, with which Raleigh was charged, seems contrary to the tenor of his whole life and actions*.

The next affair which occupied the attention of king James was one more congenial to his disposition. When he was on his way to London from Scotland, the puritan clergy presented their Millenary petition†, praying for reformation in the church. They desired that the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism, or that rite be administered by women; the ring to be disused in marriage; confirmation to be abolished; the clergy not to wear the cap and surplice, or teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus; the service to be curtailed, and the Apocrypha not to be read as part of it; church music to be reformed; the Lord's day not to be profaned, or the observation of other holidays enjoined. They also prayed that none but able men should be ordained, and that they should be obliged to reside on their cures; that bishops should not hold livings *in commendam*; that men should not be excommunicated for small matters, etc. The two universities forthwith set forth violent declarations against the petitioners, and in favour of the present state of the church. The king, being brought up in the kirk of Scotland, which rejected all that was complained of, could not with decency slight the petition. He therefore issued (Oct. 24) a proclamation for a conference between the two parties to be held in his own presence at Hampton Court.

The conference commenced on the 14th of January, 1604. On the side of the church appeared the primate Whitgift, Bancroft bishop of London, seven other prelates, and eight dignitaries: the puritans were represented by Dr. Reynolds and three others, who had been selected by the king himself. The first day the puritans were not admitted, and the king made a

* See Jardine's Criminal Trials, vol. i., and Cayley's and Tytler's Lives of sir Walter Raleigh.

† So called, as it was to have been signed by one thousand (*mille*) clergymen.

speech, in which he expressed his joy that "he was now come into the promised land ; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face*." He assured them that he did not propose any innovation, but that he only desired to remove such disorders as might appear. He then suggested some slight alterations in the liturgy with respect to absolution and confirmation ; he also objected to baptism by women and lay persons. The amendments which he proposed were adopted without hesitation ; and next day (16th) the puritans were admitted, and the king required them to state their objections. To each of their arguments James himself replied. At length, when Reynolds made proposals for holding assemblies of the clergy, and referring cases thence to the diocesan synod, the king lost his temper. He told them, as was the truth, that they were aiming at a Scots presbytery, "which," said he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me ; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you ; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath." Then turning to the bishops, and putting his hand to his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy ; for, if once you are out, and they in place, I know what will become of my supremacy ; for, No bishop, no king." He then asked Reynolds if he had anything more to say ; but that divine, finding the cause prejudged, declined to proceed. "If this be all your party have to say," said the king, rising, "I will make them conform themselves, or else hurry them out of this land, or do worse." The prelates were overjoyed at the behaviour of the king. Whitgift protested that he had spoken from the spirit of God. Bancroft exclaimed, "I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us a king as, since Christ's time, hath not been." The chancellor said "he had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person†."

* Alluding to the rudeness which he had experienced from some hot-headed young ministers in Scotland, of which various instances are on record.

† In *our* ears this sounds as monstrous and almost impious flattery. Such it would be at the present day, no doubt ; but was not so then.

Next day the puritans were called in to hear the alterations made in the prayer-book. Their entreaties for indulgence to some men of tender consciences only excited anger; the conference thus terminated, and on the 5th of March a proclamation was issued, enjoining strict conformity. A persecution of the nonconformists speedily commenced, and three hundred ministers were punished by suspension, deprivation, and other modes.

On the 19th of March the king met his first parliament. In the commons, the redress of grievances, chiefly those of purveyance and the feudal incidents, was anxiously sought, and an equivalent in revenue was proposed to be given to the crown. Attempts were also made to have the laws mitigated in favour of the puritans, while those against the catholics were increased in severity. The king, finding he had little chance of obtaining a subsidy, sent to signify that he would not require it, and parliament then separated.

In the summer a peace was concluded with the court of Spain on sufficiently honourable terms; and James, having no foreign affairs to disturb him, devoted himself to his studies, his hunting, and his other amusements. Meantime a few fanatic catholics were busily engaged in a horrible project for destroying himself, his family, and both houses of parliament. We speak of the Gunpowder Plot, of which we will now narrate the details*.

When James was looking to the succession to the crown of England, he naturally sought to engage all parties in his interest. The catholics were still numerous and wealthy, and it is not to be doubted that he held out to them hopes of a toleration. They were therefore zealous in his favour, and on his part he ceased for two years to levy the fines for recusancy. He, however, had little real liking for their religion, and he more than once publicly declared his intention of treading in the footprints of Elizabeth; moreover his Scottish favourites having in many cases expended their small patrimonies were craving for supplies; he therefore put the law against recusancy again in force, and assigned these persons pensions off the lands and properties of the catholics, which of course were levied with insolence and severity. This, and the enactment of new severities against their religion in the late parliament,

* See the excellent account of it which forms the second volume of Jardine's Criminal Trials.

convinced the catholics that they had little favour to expect. They were irritated, no doubt, but they had no thoughts of seeking redress by force, being averse from civil conflicts or aware of their inferiority in strength.

There were, however, some spirits of a different kind among them. Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good property in Northampton and Warwickshire, descended from the minister of Richard III. had been brought up a catholic; but he deserted that religion, plunged into all sorts of excesses, and ran through his patrimony. He then (1598) returned to his old religion, and making up for his apostasy by zeal became a fanatic, and engaged in all the treasons and conspiracies which agitated the latter years of Elizabeth. He now conceived the diabolical project of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder. This design he communicated in Lent 1604 to John Wright and Thomas Winter, two catholic gentlemen of good character, family, and fortune. The latter hesitated at first, but his scruples soon gave way, and he went over to the Netherlands on a double mission; the one was to try to induce the Constable of Castile, who was coming over to conclude the peace, to make some stipulations in favour of the catholics; the other to engage in the plot some gentlemen of courage and of military knowledge and experience. Finding that the court of Spain would not hazard the peace which was so necessary to it, on their account, he proceeded to execute the other part of his commission; and the person on whom he fixed was one Guy Fawkes, a man of good family in Yorkshire, who having spent his little property, had entered the Spanish service. If we may credit Father Greenway, the associate and panegyrist of the conspirators, Fawkes was "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances,"—in a word, a fanatic in whose eyes religion justified every deed. Though this high-wrought character is doubtless beyond the truth, there seems on the other hand to be no ground for regarding Fawkes as a mere vulgar ruffian.

Winter and Fawkes came to London in the month of April. Catesby then communicated the project to Thomas Percy, a kinsman of the earl of Northumberland, whose steward he was, and who had been sent by him to Scotland, before the queen's death, to ascertain James' sentiments toward the catholics. He had reported most favourably, and he was now mortified at

having been so completely deceived in his expectations. Like Catesby, he had been a debauchee, and was now a fanatic.

Catesby, Wright, Winter, Percy, and Fawkes, having met by appointment in a house behind Clement's Inn, took an oath on the Holy Trinity and the sacrament never to disclose what was then to be proposed. Percy and Fawkes were then informed of the plan, of which they both approved, and then in an upper room of the same house they heard mass and received the sacrament from the hands of Father Gerard, a jesuit, who, whatever may be our suspicions, as far as we have evidence, was not acquainted with their vow and its object.

A house adjoining the parliament-house was now taken in Percy's name; and Fawkes, under the assumed name of Johnson, and as Percy's servant, was put in charge of it. Another house was hired at Lambeth, where the powder and the timber for the construction of the mine which they proposed to run might be collected, and the care of it was committed to one Robert Keyes, who was likewise sworn to secrecy. Parliament being adjourned till the 7th of February following, the conspirators went down to the country, agreeing to meet again in November. During the summer and autumn the proceedings of the government against the catholics were extremely rigorous, and several jesuits and seminary-priests were tried and executed. The conspirators were therefore the more confirmed in their resolution.

On the night of the 11th of December Catesby and his associates entered the house in Westminster, well-supplied with mining tools, and with hard eggs and baked meats for their support. They began to mine the wall of three yards in thickness between theirs and the parliament-house. Fawkes stood sentinel while the others wrought. Finding the work more severe than they had expected, they summoned Keyes from Lambeth, and they admitted Wright's brother Christopher into their association. They spread the matter which they extracted in the day over the garden at night, and not one of them ever went out of the house or even into the upper part of it, lest they might be seen. They wrought without ceasing till Christmas-eve, when Fawkes brought them intelligence that parliament was further prorogued till October. They then agreed to separate till after the holidays, when they would resume their labours.

During the month of January (1605) Catesby admitted into the conspiracy Robert the elder brother of Thomas Winter,

and John Grant of Norbrook, near Warwick, and an old servant of his own named Thomas Bates. In February they renewed their labours in the mine, and they had pierced halfway through the wall, when they suddenly, as we are assured, heard the tolling of a bell within the wall under the parliament-house; they stopped and listened; Fawkes was called down, and he also heard it. On sprinkling the place however with holy water, the mysterious sound ceased; it was frequently renewed, but the same remedy always proved efficacious, and it at length ceased altogether. One day they heard a rushing noise over their heads; they thought they were discovered, but Fawkes on inquiry found that it was made by a man of the name of Bright, who was selling off his coals from a cellar under the house of lords in order to remove. They resolved at once to take the cellar, for exclusive of the labour they found the water now coming in on them. The cellar was taken in Percy's name also; twenty barrels of powder were conveyed to it from the house in Lambeth, their iron tools and large stones were put into the barrels with it, in order to give more efficacy to the explosion, and the whole was covered with billets and faggots; and lumber and empty bottles were scattered through the cellar. They then closed it up, placing marks within side of the door, that they might be able to ascertain if any one should enter it during their absence. Having sent Fawkes to Flanders to inform sir William Stanley and other English officers of the project, and to try to obtain foreign aid, they separated for the summer. In the autumn sir Edmund Baynham was sent to Rome as the agent of the conspirators, with whose designs it is likely he was acquainted. As it was necessary to have horses and arms ready, Catesby pretended that he was commissioned to raise a troop of horse for the Spanish service, and he had thus a pretext for collecting arms, etc. at his own house, and at that of Grant; and several catholic gentlemen undertaking to join him as volunteers, he directed them to prepare their arms and to be ready when called on. He and Percy now thought it necessary to associate some gentlemen of wealth in order to obtain the requisite funds, and they fixed on sir Everard Digby of Rutlandshire, Ambrose Rookwood of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham of Northamptonshire; the two first, who were weak bigots but virtuous men, hesitated at first, but finally joined cordially in the project; the last, a man of indifferent character, was only admitted on account of his wealth, and Catesby, it is said, had always a mistrust of him.

Parliament being ultimately appointed to meet on the 5th of November, the conspirators made their final arrangements. Fawkes was to fire the mine by means of a slow match, which would take a quarter of an hour to reach the powder; and as soon as he had lighted it, he was to hasten and get aboard a small vessel which was ready in the river, and carry the news over to Flanders. Digby was on that day to assemble a number of the catholic gentry under pretext of a hunting party at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire; and as soon as they heard of the blow being struck, they were to send a party to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was at lord Harrington's, in that neighbourhood, and she was to be proclaimed in case Winter should fail in the part assigned him of securing one of her brothers.

There was one point which had been disputed from the beginning, namely, how to act with respect to the catholic nobles. Catesby, it would seem, had little scruple about destroying them with the rest, but the majority were for saving their friends and relations. Tresham, in particular, was most earnest to save his brothers-in-law, the lords Stourton and Mounteagle. It was finally agreed that no express notice should be given, but that various pretexts should be employed to induce their friends to stay away. This however did not content Tresham, and some days after he urged on Catesby and Percy that notice should be given to lord Mounteagle; and on their hesitating he hinted that he should not be ready with the money he had promised, and proposed that the catastrophe should be put off till the closing of the parliament. His arguments however proved ineffectual.

On the 26th of October lord Mounteagle went and supped at his house at Hoxton, where he had not been for a month before. At supper a letter was handed him by a page, who said he had received it from a strange man in the street. It was anonymous. By his lordship's direction a gentleman named Ward read it aloud. It desired him to make some excuse for not attending parliament, "for God and man," it said, "hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time," with sundry other mysterious hints. Lord Mounteagle took it that very evening to lord Salisbury at Whitehall, who showed it to some other lords of the council; and it was decided that nothing should be done till the king's return from Royston, where he was hunting.

It has been a matter of much dispute by whom this letter was written. The most likely person by far was Tresham, and

it is not improbable that he had already given full information to lord Mounteagle, and through him to the government, and that the letter was only a device to conceal the real mode of discovery. Tresham too was anxious to save his friends, and but for their own infatuation this might have been effected, for Winter was informed next morning of this letter, and they could have escaped in the vessel prepared for Fawkes. On the 30th Tresham came from the country to London; Catesby and Winter charged him with having written the letter, intending to poniard him if he confessed or hesitated; but he denied with such firmness, that they were, or affected to be, satisfied, and they resolved to go on with their design.

Next day (31st) the king returned to London; a council was held the following day on the subject of the letter: James himself is said to have divined its secret meaning*, and it was determined to search the cellar, but not till Monday the 4th. On that day the lord chamberlain, lord Mounteagle, and others, went to the parliament-house. They found Fawkes in the cellar, but they made no remark, and that night sir Thomas Knevet, a magistrate, was sent to the place with his assistants; he met Fawkes as he was stepping out of the door, and arrested him, and on searching the cellar thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes was brought before the council, where he avowed and gloried in his design, but refused to name his accomplices; he was then committed to the Tower.

Some of the conspirators had already left London, others fled when they heard of the seizure of Fawkes; they went with all speed to Ashby St. Leger's, where they found several of their friends; they then all rode to Dunchurch to meet Digby and his party. Their dejected looks told their story; all those who were not too deeply implicated departed forthwith to provide for their safety. Catesby and the others then, in the vain hope of raising the catholics of Wales and the adjoining counties, went to Norbrook, and thence to Huddington and Holbeach, a house of Stephen Littleton's. Their number was now reduced by desertion to about sixty men; the catholic gentry drove them from their doors with reproaches; the common people merely gazed on them as they passed. At Holbeach Digby and Stephen Littleton privately left them, but the former was seized at Dudley. As they were drying some of their powder which had been wetted, a burning coal

* He might have done this, and yet Cecil have known the real fact already.

fell into it, and Gatesby and some others were much injured by the explosion. In the night Robert Winter slunk away. Next day (8th), about noon, the sheriff arrived with the *posse comitatus*, and surrounding the house summoned them to surrender; on their refusal he ordered an assault. Thomas Winter and the two Wrights were wounded; Catesby and Percy, who had placed themselves back to back, were shot through the bodies by two balls from one musket; the former died instantly, the latter next day; Rookwood was also severely wounded, and the whole party were made prisoners. Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, after concealing themselves for about two months, were betrayed by the cook at Hagley House, the abode of Mrs. Littleton, a widow-lady.

The apprehension of Fawkes did not affect Tresham like the others. He appeared openly in the streets, and even went to the council and offered his services against the rebels. On the 12th, however, he was arrested and committed to the Tower. It is probable that the object of the council was to extract evidence from him against the jesuits, and in this they partially succeeded; but soon after his committal he was attacked by a fatal disease, and he died on the 27th of December. The catholic writers of course ascribe his death to poison, but the fact of his wife and his servant being with him during the whole of his illness suffices to confute them.

Fawkes was at first sullen, but on the 8th of November he made a full confession, concealing however the names of his associates, whom however next day he named to lord Salisbury. It is highly probable that, according to custom, the rack had been applied to him. On the 15th those taken at Holbeach reached London. They were all examined frequently, and from what was elicited from them, especially Bates, a proclamation was issued (Jan. 16, 1606) against the jesuits Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard.

On the 27th, sir Everard Digby, the two Winters, Fawkes, Grant, Rookwood, Keyes, and Bates, were brought to trial before a special commission, composed of privy councillors and judges. The principal evidence against them were their own confessions, but there could not be a shadow of doubt respecting their guilt. Sentence of death was passed, and on the 30th Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates were hanged and quartered at the west end of St. Paul's churchyard. The next day Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Fawkes, and Keyes were executed opposite the parliament-house.

The jesuit Gerard escaped from Harwich to the continent. Greenway disguised himself and came to London, where, as he was standing one day in a crowd, reading the proclamation, he was recognised by a man who followed and arrested him. He affected to go with him cheerfully, but in a private street he flung him off, and made his escape to Essex, and at last got over to Flanders. Henry Garnet, the superior of the jesuits in England, had concealed himself at Hendlip Hall, the seat of Mr. Abington, near Worcester. A hint however having been given that some jesuits were concealed there, the house was surrounded on the 20th of January by sir Henry Bromley ; but so well contrived were the places of concealment, that it was not till the eighth day that Garnet and another jesuit, named Hall or Oldcorne, were discovered. They were brought up to London and committed to the Tower, where Garnet was treated with extraordinary mildness : their examinations before the council were frequent, but he would confess nothing. A practice by no means uncommon (one which indeed yet continues) was then resorted to ; Garnet and Oldcorne were told by their keeper that there was a concealed door between their cells, through which they might converse. Two persons were meantime so placed as to be able to hear what they said, and this led to important discoveries. It was Garnet's principle to deny, and that even with oaths and solemn asseverations, everything with which he was charged, until he found it useless to do so any longer. For this he has been justly but perhaps too severely blamed. It is a maxim of the law of England that no man is bound to accuse himself* ; at the present day a prisoner is cautioned against replying to questions tending to implicate him ; and on his trial, by the general plea of 'Not guilty,' he in effect denies the whole charge against him. Garnet, in reality, did no more than this ; fear of the torture (to which however he was never subjected) prevented his being silent, and his denials of the charges against him were the natural result of the desire not to be accessory to his own death.

From Garnet's own confessions, and the evidence of others, it was proved that, in June 1604, he learned from Catesby or Winter that there was a plot in hand ; and in the June of the following year Catesby inquired of him respecting the lawfulness of destroying some innocent catholics in a plan designed for the promotion of the catholic religion, to which he gave an affirmative reply. Shortly after the whole plot was revealed

* "Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum."—*Magna Charta*.

to him by Greenway (not in confession, as he said at first), with whom he continued to converse from time to time respecting the progress of it. So many other convincing facts appeared, or were proved, as can leave no reasonable doubt of Garnet's participation in the treason. He was tried on the 28th of March by a jury of citizens of London, in presence of the earl of Salisbury and other commissioners, and was found guilty; and on the 3rd of May he was hung on a gallows in St. Paul's churchyard. By the express order of the king he was not cut down for the further operation of his sentence until he was quite dead. He has been canonised by his church, and his name now figures in the Roman martyrology*.

In the whole course of history an instance more demonstrative of the baleful effects of false religion on the mind and heart is not to be found than this plot. A more horrible design never was conceived; yet those who engaged in it were mostly men of mild manners, correct lives, and independent fortunes,—all, we may say, actuated by no ignoble motive, but firmly believing that they were doing good service to God. "I am satisfied," said John Grant on the day of his execution, "that our project was so far from being sinful, that I rely on my merits in bearing a part of that noble action as an abundant satisfaction and expiation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life†." "Nothing grieves me," said Robert Winter to Fawkes, "but that there is not an apology made by some to justify our doing in this business; but our deaths will be a sufficient justification of it, and it is for God's cause." It is said by Greenway, that as Rookwood was drawn to execution, his wife stood at an open window in the Strand, comforting him and telling him "to be of good courage, inas

* Miracles of course were required. A new species of grass, therefore, grew on the spot where he last stood in Hendlip lawn. It was in the form of an imperial crown, and the cattle never touched it. A spring of oil burst forth on the spot where he was martyred. But the chief miracle was Garnet's Straw. This was an ear of the straw used at his execution, which a young catholic picked up, and on which there appeared the face of the martyr. The story made such a noise that the straw was thrust into it: it appeared of course to have been a pious fraud. Garnet was addicted to intemperance, a habit likely to grow on one in his situation. There were also insinuations made against him and a lady named Anne Vaux, who was his constant companion wherever he went. We, however, believe that lady's character to have been without stain, and regard her as a single-minded devotee.

† In like manner marshal Tavannes expected that his share in the St. Bartholomew massacre would procure him forgiveness of his sins.

much as he suffered for a great and noble cause." Of the truth of this, however, we are rather dubious; fear alone would, we apprehend, prevent her from giving utterance to such expressions.

The English catholics, it is well known, were divided into two almost hostile parties, the jesuited and that of the secular priests. The conspirators were all of the former party, and the latter, who had been utterly ignorant of the plot, were unanimous, loud, and, we have no doubt, sincere in the abhorrence which they expressed at it. Digby, in a letter to his lady, laments to find that the cause for which he had sacrificed everything was disapproved of by catholics and priests, and that that which brought him to his death was considered by them to be a great sin. But these innocent catholics had their share in the penalty, for a new and more severe penal code was enacted. The lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton were imprisoned and fined for their suspicious absence from parliament. The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000*l.*, deprived of his offices, and adjudged to remain for life a prisoner in the Tower.

A favourite object of the king, ever since his accession, had been the effecting of a union (a legislative one it would appear) between his two kingdoms. The measure was submitted to the parliaments of both countries, but national prejudices and jealousies were too strong to permit so desirable a measure to be then effected; and all that could be obtained was the abolition of the laws in which each treated the other as strangers and enemies, and a decision of the English judges declaring the *postnati*, or Scots born since the king's accession, to be natural subjects of the king of England.

During the six succeeding years of James' reign (1607-12) little occurred to disturb the national tranquillity, though the king and the house of commons still went on bickering; he straining every nerve to obtain money unconditionally,—*they* struggling to secure in return an abolition of purveyance, wardship, and other feudal oppressions. The king meantime chiefly attended to his hunting and his writing; the task of supplying his lavish expenditure fell to Salisbury, now lord treasurer, like his father, but with a very different sovereign, and a far more refractory parliament to manage. His health appears to have given way under his mental anxiety, and he died at Marlborough (May 24, 1612), as he was returning from Bath, where he had been to try the waters. His charac-

ter was that of a sagacious, prudent statesman, but he wanted the high principle and honourable feeling of his great father. "He was," says Bacon, "a more fit man to keep things from getting worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be better."

Toward the close of the year 1612 the king and country were deprived of the heir-apparent, prince Henry. His death caused little grief to James, who looked on him rather as a rival than as a son; and the prince made no secret of the contempt in which he held his father, whose character was the opposite of his own in every respect. Henry was zealous in his attachment to the reformed faith; he abstained from costly and immoral pleasures and excesses; his delight was in athletic and martial exercises. When one time the French ambassador came to take leave of him, he found him handling the pike. "Tell your king," said the prince, "how you left me engaged." He greatly admired sir Walter Raleigh. "Sure no king but my father," he used to say, "would keep such a bird in a cage." He died (Nov. 6) in the eighteenth year of his age, of a fever, the consequence of excessive and injudicious exercise. His death was of course imputed by the people to poison; the earl of Rochester, the royal favourite, was the person charged, and some even suspected the king himself, how unjustly we need not say.

The death of prince Henry was a subject of general regret, and it is a curious question how far it was a misfortune or otherwise to the nation. It has sometimes struck us, that had he come to the throne, animated as he was by a martial spirit, he would have entered vigorously into the defence of the elector palatine and the prosecution of a war with Spain; and that to obtain supplies from parliament he would, like the great Edwards, have made the needful concessions in favour of liberty, and that thus the civil war might have been averted. But it was not in this manner that the liberties of England were to be secured; they were to pass through the fire of civil discord.

James, with his habitual aversion to gloom, forbade any one to approach him in mourning; he would not allow the preparations for the Christmas revels to be interrupted; and in the following February (1613) he celebrated with extraordinary splendour the nuptials of his only daughter, Elizabeth, with Frederick the count palatine of the Rhine. The princess was only in her sixteenth year.

A lady of high rank was at this time paying the penalty of

her proximity to the throne. Arabella Stuart had, though expressly forbidden by the king, given her hand in secret to sir William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp. As both were descended from Henry VII., the king's jealousy took alarm, and he was committed to the Tower, *she* to the house of sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth. They were however permitted by their keepers to have secret interviews, and the king then ordered that Arabella should be removed to Durham. She refused to leave her chamber, but she was taken out of it by force. James however allowed her to remain a month at Highgate for her health. While there she disguised herself in man's attire, and rode to Blackwall, and then went down the river to where a French bark lay ready, and got aboard. Seymour meantime, disguised as a physician, made his way out of the Tower, and entered a boat which was to convey him to the bark; but the French captain, fearing to wait, had set sail in spite of Arabella's entreaties. Seymour got over to Flanders in a collier; the bark was taken off the Nore, and Arabella was immured in the Tower. To her petitions for liberty James replied, that "as she had tasted of the forbidden fruit she must pay the forfeit of her disobedience." The harsh treatment which she experienced deprived her of reason, and she died in the fourth year of her confinement, the victim of that odious policy of state, which, on the plea of self-preservation, tramples on all the principles of nature and justice. It is remarkable that Arabella's husband was afterwards, as marquess of Hertford, one of the most devoted adherents of the son of her persecutor.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES I. (CONTINUED).

1613-1625.

It is time now that we should proceed to notice a remarkable feature in the character of this feeble monarch—his favouritism. To this he had been addicted from his earliest days; and it is rather curious, that he, the most slovenly of men in his own person, should have been as fastidious as even the late queen about the looks and dress of those who were about him. A few years before the time of which we now write, on the occasion of a tilting-match, lord Hay, one of the Scottish nobles,

selected a youth of the border family of the Kerrs for his equerry. Robert Kerr or Carr was now about twenty years of age, tall and handsome, and but just returned from his travels. It was his office to present his lord's shield and device to the king; and as he was about to perform it, his horse became unruly and threw him. His leg was broken in the fall, and James, affected by his youth and beauty, had him removed to a room in the palace, where he visited him after the tilt. The visits were frequently renewed: the youth gradually won the heart of the king, who resolved to make of him a scholar, a statesman, and a man of wealth and rank. The last was easy; to effect the former he himself became his tutor in Latin and his lecturer in politics. While Salisbury lived, the favourite, though laden with wealth and raised to the dignity of viscount Rochester, took no part in affairs of state; but after the death of that minister, the duties of his offices were devolved for some time on the new viscount. Rochester, from the outset of his career, had the good sense to select an able adviser in the person of sir Thomas Overbury, a man of talent and judgement, but ambitious and insolent, and little encumbered with scruples. His prudence however kept his patron's bark steady before the wind, and his voyage might have been prosperous to the end had it not struck on the rock of illicit love.

The young earl of Essex, as we have seen, had been restored in honour and estate at the king's accession; and Salisbury, whose own eldest son was married to a daughter of the earl of Suffolk, in order to increase his influence by family connexion, proposed a match between her sister, the lady Frances, and young Essex. No objections being made, the marriage took place, the bridegroom being fourteen years of age, the bride his junior by a year. Immediately after the ceremony the young husband was sent to travel on the continent; the bride was committed to the care of her mother, who, instead of keeping her in the seclusion appropriate to her situation, adorned her with the showy accomplishments of the age, and took her to court. Here her beauty and her graces became the subject of general admiration; prince Henry is said to have cast an eye of favour on the lovely young countess; but Rochester, by the aid of letters composed for him by Overbury, won her heart, and ere long, it was suspected, she made him a secret surrender of her modesty.

When Essex returned, at the age of eighteen, and claimed his privileges, he was received by his lady with distaste and aversion. Her parents obliged her to live with him, but she

persisted in denying him his conjugal rights; for she thought so long as she did that she could not properly be called his wife. A separation from him, and a marriage with Rochester, were now the objects of her wishes, and the viscount was equally eager with herself for the union.

When Rochester informed Overbury of his design, the latter, who saw in it nothing but evil to his patron and ruin to himself, remonstrated in the strongest terms; he dwelt on the infamy of the countess' character, the odium and hazard of the attempt to obtain a divorce, and he finally threatened to abandon him if he persisted in his project. All this Rochester forthwith communicated to the countess. In her rage she offered 1000*l.* to a knight named sir David Wood, whom Overbury had injured, to assassinate him. Wood refused; Rochester then prevailed on the king to appoint Overbury his envoy to France or Russia. This office, at Rochester's secret instigation, he declined, saying that the king could not, in law or justice, send him into exile; for this contempt, as it was termed, he was committed to the Tower, where, after a confinement of about six months, he died suddenly.

Meanwhile the business of the divorce was proceeded with; the countess suing for it on the ground of bodily incapacity on the part of her husband. The king, to his disgrace, took a warm interest in it; and Essex, whether conscious of defect, or desirous to be released from a woman who hated him, made such admissions as gave a pretext to seven out of twelve of a court of delegates to yield to the wishes of the king and pronounce a sentence of divorce. Shortly after (Dec. 26) the fair adúlteress was married to her paramour (whom James, that she might not lose in rank, had previously created earl of Somerset) in the royal chapel, in presence of the king and queen, with extraordinary magnificence. The bride daringly appeared in the virgin costume of the day, her hair hanging in curls down to her waist. It may be that the king was not aware of the infamy of the parties; the favourite, however, had lately given him 25,000*l.* to relieve his necessities, and he hoped by this union to set him on good terms with the father and uncle of the bride.

The vengeance of heaven, though delayed, is frequently sure, and the crimes of this guilty pair were destined to come to light. The qualities by which Somerset had won the royal favour soon began to decay; his youthful bloom was fading, for conscience dimmed its lustre. Another object too had caught the unsteady affections of the king. George, one of

the sons of sir George Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, a tall handsome youth of about one-and-twenty, who had travelled a little, and spent a short time at the court of France, and whose taste in dress was exquisite, had attracted the eyes of the king at the performance of a Latin play at Cambridge in 1612, and the impression he made on his mind was at once perceptible, by his appointing him to the office of cup-bearer. The enemies of Somerset now conceived the idea of setting up Villiers as his rival; but James had formed a cunning plan of taking no one to his favour unless specially recommended by the queen; "that if she should complain afterwards of the *dear one*, he might make answer, It is long of yourself, for you commended him unto me." The task of gaining the queen was committed to archbishop Abbot, and, after long refusing, she consented, with these prophetic words, "My lord, you know not what you desire. If Villiers gain the royal favour, we shall all be sufferers; I shall not be spared more than others; the king will teach him to treat us all with pride and contempt." Forthwith (Apr. 24, 1615) Villiers was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber, and knighted. The king wished the two favourites to live in harmony, but Somerset haughtily spurned the advances of Villiers, and the court was soon divided into two parties.

Reports now were rife that Overbury had not come fairly by his end, and circumstances brought the guilt of it so near to the earl and countess that James directed chief justice Coke to make out a warrant for their committal. The king's hypocrisy on this occasion is almost incredible. Somerset took leave of him at Royston to go up to London, on a Friday (Aug. 1), promising to return on Monday. James, as usual, hung about his neck, and slobbered his cheeks, declaring he should neither eat nor drink till he saw him again, adding, "For God's sake give thy lady this kiss for me." Yet the earl was not in his coach when the king said, "Now, the devil gae with thee, for I will never see thy face mair."

A dreadful tissue of iniquity was speedily unravelled. It appeared that the countess had long been intimate with a Mrs. Turner, the widow of a physician, a woman of infamous character, and was by her made acquainted with one Dr. Forman, a pretended conjurer, who supplied her with means for preventing the earl of Essex from consummating his marriage, and with philtres for attaching the viscount; that Mrs. Turner had recommended one Weston, who had been her husband's bailiff, as a fit person for their designs on Overbury, and sir

Gervase Elways, the lieutenant of the Tower, a creature of Somerset's, was made to appoint him to attend on the prisoner; and Northampton, the abettor of his niece's depravity, assuring Elways that what was to be done had the king's approbation, engaged him to wink at the attempts that Weston might make on the prisoner's life. The course adopted was to mingle slow poisons with Overbury's food, but these not succeeding, Weston gave him a poisonous clyster, which had the desired effect. He was buried immediately, Northampton averring to the king that he had died of an odious disorder caused by his vices. Some time after, the apothecary's boy, who had assisted Weston in giving the clyster, being at Flushing, talked freely of the matter, and his information being conveyed to sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, inquiry was set on foot by the king, and all the suspected persons were arrested. Weston made an ample confession, and he, one Franklin, and Mrs. Turner*, were executed at Tyburn, and Elways on Tower Hill. The countess, when arraigned, pleaded guilty; Somerset, who was perhaps innocent, defended himself stoutly for the space of eleven hours, but he was found guilty by his peers (July 11, 1616). The king granted a pardon to the countess, the execution of the earl's sentence was suspended, and some years after it was reversed. They were allowed to retire to the country, with an allowance of 4000*l.* a year, where they lived in misery, hating and shunning each other. The countess died (of a loathsome disease it is said) in 1632, the earl lived till 1645.

Shortly after these trials, sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, who had given offence by his conduct on them, and by his vigorous maintenance of the authority of the law of the land against the encroachments of the prerogative, was dismissed from his high office. In effecting this, the arts of sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general and his rival, were of great efficacy. This extraordinary man, who united the noblest genius with the meanest soul†, who was the first philosopher and statesman, and at the same time one of the most servile flatterers of his age, was made, on the retirement of lord Ellesmere (1617), lord keeper, and afterwards chancellor, and he thus attained the summit of his ambition.

* She had introduced a yellow starch for stiffening ruffs, and in derision of her the hangman wore yellow cuffs and bands.

† His conduct toward his friend and benefactor the earl of Essex is almost unparalleled for baseness. On his trial he prosecuted him with virulence, and after his death he exercised his pen to defame his memory.

Sir Walter Raleigh was now at liberty, for the new favourite had been induced to exert his interest in his behalf, and he was liberated after a confinement of thirteen years. But he was poor; his property had been seized when he was condemned; and the manor of Sherbourn, which, before the death of queen Elizabeth, he had conveyed to his eldest son, was also lost, for a single word had been omitted in the deed of conveyance, and this omission was held to invalidate it. Lady Raleigh and her children threw themselves at the feet of the monarch, imploring him not to deprive them of their only support; but his unfeeling reply was, "I mun ha' the land, I mun ha' it for Carr"; for this minion had, as the phrase then was, *begged* it. James, however, gave her, by way of compensation, 8000*l.*, for what was said to be worth 5000*l.* a year.

It will be recollected that Raleigh had already made an unsuccessful voyage to Guiana. His imagination still ran on the gold-mines which he fancied that region to contain: even while in prison he had kept up his claims to it, by sending out small expeditions, and he now proposed to fit out an expedition at the expense of himself and his friends, the king to receive the usual fifth of the gold and silver to be thence imported. The avarice of James was tempted, but he had long had an anxious desire to unite his house in marriage with the royal line of Spain, whom he therefore feared to offend, and who he knew hated and dreaded Raleigh. Moreover, Gondomar, the Spanish resident, had by his wit and his adroit flattery, gained a most undue influence over the royal mind. The moment he heard of the rumoured expedition, he remonstrated with the king; James assured him that he would not give Raleigh a pardon, so that his former sentence would still hang over him; and that if he made any attack on the Spanish settlements, he would either have him executed or deliver him up on his return. Gondomar affected to be satisfied; he learned from the king all the particulars of the expedition, which he transmitted to Spain, and directions were sent out to the Spaniards in Guiana to oppose Raleigh when he arrived.

After a delay of nearly a year Raleigh sailed (1617) from Plymouth with fourteen vessels. Misfortunes befel him from the very outset; two of his ships quitted him, a number of his men perished by a contagious disease, which brought himself to death's door. At length, in November, he reached the mouth of the Orinoco, up which river he sent five of his vessels, each containing fifty men, under captain Kemys, who professed to

have discovered the mine in one of the former voyages, giving him strict orders not to molest the Spaniards; for it is to be observed, that since Raleigh had been last there, and had taken possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, the Spaniards had settled there, and built a sort of town, named St. Thomas. As the English passed this place they were attacked by the Spaniards in the night; but they repelled the assailants, pursued them to the town and took it. In the action Raleigh's eldest son and the Spanish governor, a near kinsman of Gondomar's, were slain. They then proceeded up the river in search of the mine, but to no purpose; and having suffered severely from an ambuscade of the Spaniards, they returned to Raleigh, who, aware of the full extent of the mischief that had been done, reproached Kemys so bitterly with his conduct, that he retired to his cabin and put an end to himself. Raleigh was soon compelled to return home by a mutiny among his men, and he arrived at Plymouth in the beginning of July 1618. The king was exasperated; Gondomar claimed, and was promised vengeance, and a proclamation was issued against Raleigh; this he learned at Kinsale in Ireland, and yet he proceeded to Plymouth, and was on his way to London when he was arrested by his kinsman sir Lewis Stukeley. It is the statement of Raleigh's son, that the earls of Arundel and Pembroke were bound to the king for his return, and that to free them from this engagement he thus surrendered himself. But when he had exonerated them he thought himself justified in making his escape if he could; accident or treachery, however, foiled all his attempts, and he was once more consigned to the Tower. He was now subjected to various examinations, and to sir Thomas Wilson, keeper of the state papers, a man of more learning and talent than honour and virtue, was committed the odious office of endeavouring, under the aspect of mildness and sympathy, to draw out of him a confession of a treasonable intercourse with the French agent. In this, however, he failed, as the prisoner was perfectly innocent on that head.

About the middle of October a letter arrived from the king of Spain, expressing his wish that Raleigh should be executed in England, rather than given up to him. Accordingly a privy seal was directed to the judges of the king's bench, commanding them to proceed to execution against sir Walter Raleigh, under his former sentence. When the prisoner was required to show cause against it, he submitted that his majesty's commission giving him power of life and death over others amount-

ed to a pardon. • This plea was overruled by the chief justice, execution was granted, and on the 29th of October the aged warrior was conducted to a scaffold in Old Palace Yard. There were present several of the nobility: sir Walter spoke with his usual calmness and courage, clearing himself from all the charges made against him. Respecting the earl of Essex, his words were, "I take God to witness I had no hand in his blood, and was none of those that procured his death. I shed tears for him when he died." The dean of Westminster asking him in what faith he meant to die, he said, "In the faith professed by the church of England, and that he hoped to be saved, and have his sins washed away by the precious blood and merits of our Saviour Christ." When he had put off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to let him see the axe. He poised it, and running his thumb along the edge, said with a smile, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." The executioner going to blindfold him, he refused, saying, "Think you I fear the shadow of the axe, when I fear not the axe itself?" He gave the signal by stretching out his hands, and his head was struck off in two blows. "Every man," says a witness, "who saw sir Walter Raleigh die, said it was impossible to show more decorum, courage, or piety, and that his death would do more hurt to the faction that sought it than ever his life could have done."

Sir Walter Raleigh died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. In his character were united the warrior, the statesman, the courtier, and the man of letters and science. Were it not that his imagination occasionally predominated over his judgement, he might have easily been the first man of his age. His death is an indelible stain on the character of the king, who betrayed him to the Spaniards, and then put him to death*, after he had virtually pardoned him, and on a charge of which he must have known him to be innocent. The panegyrists of the contemptible monarch (Hume in the van) have sought to blacken the character of his victim, but their calumnies have been amply refuted†; and with all his faults, sir Walter Raleigh is to be numbered among England's most illustrious sons.

The queen, who had tried in vain to interest the favourite

* Marriage treaties with Spain seemed to require the cement of innocent blood. Witness Warwick and Raleigh.

† See Cayley and Tytler. Mr. Hallam seems to think ill of Raleigh, but without giving his reasons. This able writer has, however, what appears to us an unfair habit of judging the men of the sixteenth by the maxims of the

for Raleigh, died early in the following year (1619). In the very same year a crown was offered to her son-in-law. The privileges which had been secured by imperial edicts to the Bohemian protestants having been violated by the emperor Matthias, they had recourse to arms, and on his death refused to acknowledge his successor, Ferdinand of Austria, as king of Bohemia. They offered the crown to the elector of Saxony, and on his refusal, to the elector palatine, who imprudently accepted it, and was crowned (Nov. 4) at Prague. His father-in-law, though ignorant of the Bohemian constitution (by which the crown was elective), at once pronounced the Bohemians rebels, and ordered him to resign the crown; but the people of England exulted at the prospect offered of an increase of strength to the protestant cause, and were urgent with the king to aid the elector in his contest with the house of Austria. James was now sadly hampered between his love of peace, his high notions of the divine rights of kings, and his anxiety to procure an infanta for his son, on the one hand, and his family feeling and the clamours of his subjects on the other. He had recourse to the usual refuge of weak minds, a middle course; he mediated and negotiated; he allowed sir Horace Vere to raise a regiment of two thousand four hundred men, for the defence of the palatinate. But all was in vain; a decisive defeat under the walls of Prague (Nov. 4, 1620) deprived the elector of his crown, and his hereditary dominions were rapidly conquered by Spinola, the general of the king of Spain. He and his family retired to the Hague, where they lived in poverty, and king James was to the end of his life occupied in fruitless negotiations for the restoration of the palatinate.

The affairs of the palatinate, and the expense caused by them, obliged the king to call a parliament (1621). One of the first matters to which the commons turned their attention was the old grievance of monopolies, and the practice of impeachment was revived. Sir Giles Monpesson, who had patents for the manufacture of gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, in which he and his agent, sir Francis Mitchell, had been guilty of great fraud and oppression, was the first object of attack. Monpesson escaped to the continent; but the lords condemned both him and Mitchell to be fined and imprisoned,

nineteenth century, and a kind of prejudice against Elizabeth and her great men, Essex (perhaps the least great) excepted. That Lingard should be adverse to Raleigh was to be expected; he was the foe of Spain.

and to lose their knighthood. But a far higher head than these was to be abased by this parliament. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against the viscount of St. Alban's (as Bacon was now styled) for bribery and corruption in his high office of chancellor (Mar. 21). From his bed, to which he had taken, he wrote to the lords confessing the truth of the charges. He was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, be imprisoned during pleasure, and be incapacitated from approaching the court, sitting in parliament, or holding any office of dignity or profit. The king remitted the fine, and gave him his liberty, and the remaining five years of his life were chiefly occupied with abject efforts to recover the favour of the court. In his defence it was alleged that it had long been the usage for the chancellor to accept presents from suitors; but it was replied that no precedents could justify so pernicious a practice. The unanimity with which he was condemned, and his not daring to make a defence, would seem to intimate that he had far out-gone his predecessors. Yet Bacon was not an avaricious man; it was his love of show, his want of economy, and his easiness to his servants and dependents that obliged him to have recourse to all modes of obtaining money. It is also said that he could have defended himself; but that, as his defence would have contained disclosures of matters which the king wished to remain unknown, promises were made him to induce him to refrain from that course. Of this however there is no proof, nor is it even credible.

The session terminated in a quarrel between the king and the commons. They drew up a petition praying him to engage vigorously in the defence of the palatine; to make war on Spain; to marry his son to a protestant princess; to enforce the laws against papists. On obtaining a copy of the petition, he expressed the utmost indignation, and wrote to the speaker, complaining of the "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits" in the house, who presumed to meddle with mysteries of state, things beyond their capacity. The house, in reply, intimated that they were entitled to interpose in matters relating to the dignity and safety of the throne and kingdom. Their liberty of speech was, they said, their ancient and undoubted right, an inheritance transmitted from their ancestors. When the approach of the committee with this address was notified to James, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for so many kings he said were a-coming. In his answer, he wished that they had rather said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and him-

self, for most of them had grown from precedent, which rather shows toleration than inheritance. If, however, they did not encroach on the prerogative, he assured them he would be careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges. This produced a memorable protestation on the part of the commons, that their privileges were their birthright and inheritance; that affairs of state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; and that the members have a right to freedom of speech, and should not be molested for anything said or done in the house, except by censure of the house itself. The king tore this protest with his own hands from the journals, and published his reasons for so doing. He dissolved the parliament forthwith, and he committed some of the most prominent members to prison, and sent others on a commission to Ireland by way of punishment.

The Spanish match was the object nearest to James' heart. Philip III. had kept the matter hanging for years in the hope of obtaining conditions which might lead to the re-establishment of popery in England. On his death (1622), James hoped that with the young king, Philip IV., a more speedy arrangement might be effected, and he sent the able and experienced lord Digby (soon after earl of Bristol), who had been already three times his minister at Madrid, once more ambassador to Spain. He also despatched an envoy to the pope, and he relaxed the penal laws, discharging a great number of the recusants from prison. Philip, who was evidently sincere, exerted himself to procure a dispensation at Rome, and James and his son subscribed the religious articles respecting the infant, after they had been seen and corrected at the Vatican; they also pledged themselves that the persecution against the catholics should cease if they only performed their worship in private houses. Everything seemed now arranged, when a romantic adventure of the prince came to disconcert the whole project.

Villiers, who was now marquess of Buckingham, was haughty and insolent, but open and sincere; a zealous friend, and a violent enemy; utterly devoid of prudence, and incapable of restraining his passions. In the heyday of his favour he had not hesitated to let the prince of Wales taste of his insolence; and that prince, who was of a cold, proud, reserved temper, felt this deeply, and testified his displeasure in strong terms. A gleam of prudence, however, probably suggested to Buckingham, that, as the king was growing old, and he was himself a young man, his situation might not be an enviable one under

the successor, unless he had previously appeased him. He therefore bent all his endeavours to effect this object, and he succeeded so completely that he soon stood even higher with the prince than with the king, who was now rather weary of his insolence.

Buckingham now took an opportunity of remarking to the prince how slowly the treaty for his marriage went on, and how much it might be accelerated by his own presence at the court of Madrid, by which advantages respecting the palatinate and other matters might also be obtained. The prince's imagination was kindled, and Buckingham then proposed that they two, with a few attendants, should travel in disguise to Madrid. Charles gave a ready consent; he threw himself on his knees before his father, and having made a previous condition that he would not consult with any one on what he was going to request, craved his permission to undertake the journey. Buckingham, who was present, backed the suit, and the king gave a reluctant consent.

But when James was left to himself and had time to reflect calmly on the matter, he saw it in its true form of absurdity and danger both to the person of the prince and to his own reputation, and when they came to him next day for their despatches, he began to explain to them the various cogent reasons which had made him resolve to retract his consent. The prince remonstrated with dutiful submission and shedding tears; but Buckingham, who was used to deal with him in a different way, told him that no one in future would believe anything he said, that he had contrary to his promise revealed the matter to some rascal who had furnished him with these pitiful reasons, but that he would find out who this counsellor was, and that the prince could never forget his disappointment or forgive the author of it. The weak monarch, thus bullied, renewed his consent; and it was agreed that sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, a gentleman of his bedchamber (both of whom were well-acquainted with Spain), should alone accompany them. Cottington was forthwith sent for. "He will be opposed to the journey," whispered Buckingham to the prince. "He dares not," was the reply. When he came, the king having told him that he was going to be entrusted with a secret which he must not reveal to any one, added, "Here is baby Charles and Steeny*, who

* These were James's familiar names for the Prince and Buckingham. He called the latter Steeny, from a fancied resemblance between his counte-

have a great mind to go post into Spain and fetch home the infanta: They will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Cottington urged sundry objections; the king threw himself on his bed weeping, and crying, "I told you this before," and lamenting and exclaiming that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles. Buckingham fell to reviling and threatening Cottington, but the king said, "Nay, by God, Steeny, you are much to blame for using him so. He answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in*."

All ended in the king's renewing his consent. The prince and marquess went (Feb. 17, 1623) to a house of the latter's in Essex; whence, attended by his master of the horse, sir Richard Graham, and furnished with false beards and periwigs, they proceeded to Dover, where they were joined by Cottington and Porter. Under the assumed names of Jack and Tom Smith they passed over to Boulogne and proceeded to Paris, where they stopped one day, and saw the king, the queen-mother, and the princess Henrietta at dinner, and again at a masked ball to which they were admitted in the evening. They travelled rapidly through France, and on the evening of the 7th of March, they reached Madrid, having left their attendants a day's journey behind. They went straight to Bristol's house; the prince stayed in the street while Buckingham went in bearing their portmanteau. Bristol is said to have evinced little surprise at their appearance, having already had some suspicion of their design from conversations with Gondomar, who appears to have been the real author of the project, which he suggested to Buckingham. The next day the arrival of the prince being notified at court, he was waited on by the prime minister, the count-duke of Olivarez, and in the evening the king in person came to visit him. Nothing could exceed the respect with which he was treated; the king everywhere gave him precedence; he was presented, after the Spanish manner, with two golden keys to the royal apartments;

nance and that of St. Stephen in the pictures of that saint. James used to style himself their *dad*; and Buckingham seems to have termed himself the *dog* of the royal family, for as such he subscribes himself in his letters to the king; and the queen addresses him as "My kind Dogge," in her letter requesting him to intercede for Raleigh.

* See Clarendon (i. 30.), who had the account from Cottington himself.

the council were ordered to obey him; the prisons were thrown open, and all sumptuary laws were suspended.

Our limits do not permit of ~~our~~ entering into the details of the prince's abode in Spain. Numbers of the English nobility repaired thither to attend the son of their king; and though for some time he was not given access to the infanta, and could only get a sight of her at a distance, the negotiation for the marriage was proceeded with in good faith by the Spanish court. They were not, however, without hopes of his conversion; the pope himself wrote to him, and the reply of Charles was conceived in such terms as must have given good hopes of a change of his faith*; yet Charles was at no time given to change in religion or anything else, and we fear that we must view his conduct, on this occasion, as an instance of the duplicity and insincerity which characterized him through life. The pontiff added some more articles to the dispensation, the most important of which was, that the children should be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age. The articles were transmitted to London, and were sworn to by the king and council; James also swore privately to others for tolerating the catholics. But the death of the pontiff now caused new delays, and Buckingham had by this time resolved to break off the match. He regarded Bristol as his political rival, and he was jealous of the consideration with which he was treated; he had had several quarrels with Olivarez: the Spaniards, on the other hand, viewed with disgust his shameless profligacy, his arrogant temper, and the want of respect and decorum in his conduct toward the prince. He was also anxious to get back to the English court, where he found that he had more enemies than he had suspected.

James, under pretext of the new delay, was induced to send an order for the return of the prince. It was now arranged that a procurator should be left with Bristol to be delivered after the arrival of the dispensation; that the espousals should take place before Christmas, and the prince be represented by Philip himself or his brother Don Carlos. The infanta took the title of princess of England, and a suitable court was formed for her. Buckingham, as lord high-admiral, having gone before

* "The letter to the pope is by your favour more than compliment; which I never saw before, and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument but what will endure the light." It is thus that Clarendon writes of it to secretary Nicholas.—*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 337.

to see that the fleet was ready, Charles took a solemn leave of the queen and the infanta; Philip accompanied him on his way as far as the Escorial, and they parted as brothers. Several of the Spanish grandees attended Charles to St. Andero, where he embarked; and on the 5th of October he landed safely at Portsmouth, to the great joy of the king and the nation.

The dispensation came from Rome on the 12th of November. Philip appointed the 29th for the espousals, and the 9th of December for the marriage; the nobility were invited to attend, the towns and cities of Spain were commanded to make public rejoicings, when couriers came from England to lord Bristol, ordering him not to deliver the proxy, to prepare to return to England, and to tell Philip that James would only go on with the marriage on condition of his giving a pledge to take up arms in defence of the palatinate. Philip justly complained of the indignity thus offered him; the orders for the marriage were recalled; and the infanta with tears laid down her new title. Bristol, on his return, was ordered to remain at his country seat and to consider himself a prisoner, and thus at once fell down the edifice which James had been so many years erecting.

In all this it is easy to discern the influence of Buckingham, but the Spaniards were the dupes of their own artifices. They had protracted the negotiations for years in the hope of extorting the most favourable terms possible for the catholic religion in England. Their object was certainly a laudable one, for it evinced a zeal for what they regarded as the truth; but their zeal carried them too far, and they injured rather than served their co-religionists. As for prince Charles, it had perhaps been fortunate for him if he had married the infanta, for his subsequent misfortunes may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the influence of his queen.

With the large dower of the Spanish princess, James had hoped to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments; but that hope being gone, no resource remained but to summon a parliament. To this measure, when urged by the prince and Buckingham, he gave an unwilling consent, and when parliament met (Feb. 24, 1624), he addressed it, submitting the late negotiations and all other matters to its consideration. On the subject of religion, he required them to judge him charitably as they would be judged, adding that he had certainly, on sundry occasions, relaxed the severity of the penal laws; but as to dispensing with or altering them, "I never," he cried, "promised nor yielded,

"I never thought it with my heart, nor spoke it with my mouth." This daring falsehood he uttered in the presence of his son and Buckingham, who well knew his oath to the secret articles of the marriage treaty!

A few days after Buckingham addressed the two houses, the prince standing by to prompt him and vouch for the truth of what he said. By the aid of downright falsehoods, of misrepresentations, of garbled extracts of despatches, he made out, to the satisfaction of those who were glad of any pretext for a quarrel with Spain, that the Spanish court had been insincere from first to last in the negotiation. An address was voted requesting the king to break off the treaties with the court of Madrid; Buckingham became a universal favourite; bonfires and public rejoicings testified the delight of the people at the prospect of a war with the papists. The king gave a reluctant consent to a war, and the commons voted a sum of 300,000*l.* for carrying it on, which, at the king's own desire, was to be paid into the hands of treasurers appointed by themselves.

Cranborne, earl of Middlesex, lord-treasurer, was now impeached for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was a citizen of London, who had risen chiefly through the favour of Buckingham; but he had of late incurred his displeasure, and his patron and the prince now urged on his impeachment: the king, who saw further into matters than either of them, "told the duke that he was a fool and was cutting a road for his own breach, and the prince that he would live to have his belly full of impeachments*," but they heeded him not; Cranborne was found guilty by the lords.

Toward the end of this year a treaty of marriage was effected between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta-Maria, sister of the king of France. Unhappily for the house of Stuart, one of the articles was, that the queen should have the education of the children till they were thirteen years of age. James and his son, heedless of their late oaths† and protestations, also agreed to articles which nearly amounted to a toleration of the catholic religion.

The king thus at length succeeded in his darling object of obtaining a high match for his son; but he was not fated to

* Clarendon, i. 41.

† Charles had, a few months before, bound himself by oath, "That whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." Journal of Commons, 756. Lingard, ix. 219.

witness his marriage. He died on the 27th of March in the following year (1625), after a fortnight's illness. His disorder was said to be tertian ague and gout in the stomach. He met his end with great constancy and devotion, charging his son to be steadfast in his religion and not to desert his sister and her children.

The character of this monarch was a strange mixture of sense and folly. On perusing his writings, one cannot fail to be struck with the shrewdness, sagacity, and good sense which they exhibit, yet ever and anon some error occurs to prove that the author was not a wise man. It was, however, in his actions that James' folly most displayed itself, and here he forfeits all claims to respect. Wisdom in conduct is never, we believe, to be found where moral courage is absent, and this last usually requires physical courage for its support. In this James was notoriously deficient; and hence nothing great, little good, can be recorded of him. His treatment of Arabella Stuart was cowardly and cruel, that of Raleigh unjust and pusillanimous; in the case of the Somersets his conduct was disgraceful. In his habits James was filthy; he drank to excess, he swore and blasphemed in an odious manner; he had a nasty trick of kissing and beslobbering his favourites, that gave rise to surmises of improper familiarities, which, however, are without proof, and therefore are entitled to no credit. In a word, with all his learning and his talents, it would be difficult to find a monarch less entitled to respect than James I.

The court of James was licentious and profligate to an extreme degree, and if we may believe the accounts of the time, even the court-ladies appeared in public in a state of beastly intoxication. The whole story of the Somersets presents a lamentable picture of aulic depravity. At the same time, the court was often the scene of great magnificence, and those stately masques where Ben Jonson supplied the poetry, and Inigo Jones the machinery, far exceeded any of the court entertainments of succeeding times.

The history of the reign of James is more that of the court than of the nation. The most important national event which it contains is that of the colonisation of the north of Ireland, which we will now briefly relate.

On the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds in the late reign, their immense territories had become forfeit to the crown. A plan of colonisation was adopted, and the lands were parcelled out among undertakers (as they were named)

at low rents. The grants, however, were too large and the conditions were not duly complied with, so that though Munster thus received a large accession of English blood (the stock of its nobility and gentry of the present day), the experiment was a failure. After the accession of James, the great northern chieftains O'Neal and O'Donnell fled to Spain, and their territories, amounting to half a million of acres, fell to the crown. The king and Bacon then devised a system of colonisation which was carried into effect by sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. The grants were to be in three classes of 2000, 1500, and 1000 acres. Those who obtained the first were to build a castle and a *bawn* or strong court-yard; the next a house of stone or brick and a bawn; the third a bawn only. They were all bound to plant on their lands, in certain proportions, able-bodied men of English or Lowland-Scottish birth, who were to live in villages and not dispersedly. A portion of these lands was also granted to the native Irish. This was a noble plan, and though, like everything designed for the benefit of that unhappy country, the cupidity and injustice of those who sought their profit in oppressing the natives, prevented its attaining its object fully, it has been productive of great and permanent benefit; and what was formerly the wildest and most barbarous part of even Ireland, is now that which in industry and civilisation makes the nearest approach to England.

In the fifteenth year of his reign (1617) the king revisited his native realm. The chief object of his visit was to extend his power in matters of religion, and to seek to approximate the churches of England and Scotland. In this last country, between the avidity of the great lords, who had robbed the church of its landed property without shame or remorse, and the fanatic spirit of the reformed preachers, and the feebleness of the crown, the ancient system of church government had been unable to keep its ground. Episcopacy had been formally abolished, and the republican form named Presbytery erected in its place. But man is still man, under all forms; and the revolvers against spiritual tyranny, pious and well-intentioned as they undoubtedly were, even exceeded the pretensions of their predecessors; and since the days of Becket, Britain had witnessed no such assumptions of immunity from civil jurisdiction as were put forth by Melville, Black, and other champions of the church and opposers of the crown in Scotland. Their conduct, however, having led to a tumult in

Edinburgh, in which the king ran some risk, the parliament was induced to pass a law establishing the authority of the crown over the clergy, and the king succeeded in obtaining the consent of the clergy to his appointment of fifty-one of their number to titular prelaties, who were to sit in parliament as representatives of the church. In this state of things James succeeded to the crown of England.

In 1606 an act of the legislature restored to the bishops a part of their revenues; they were some time after made perpetual moderators of the provincial synods, and they finally (1610) regained all their original powers, the rights of ordination and spiritual jurisdiction being vested in them. When the king visited Scotland (1617) he required that some of the rites of the church of England should be adopted, such as kneeling at the eucharist, giving it to persons on their death-bed, and the practice of confirmation by a bishop. These were rejected by the first assembly which was convened, but the following year means were found for having them received, and the Scottish clergy were thus brought into a reluctant agreement with the church, which they regarded as little better than that of Rome.

The state of religion in England during this reign was far from satisfactory. After the death of archbishop Whitgift (1604) the king conferred the primacy on Bancroft, bishop of London, a prelate distinguished by his zeal against presbytery and puritanism. The puritan ministers underwent the persecution of being silenced, disgraced, and imprisoned, while Bancroft lived; but his successor, Abbot (1610), a far better man, had a leaning toward their opinions, and they now experienced favour rather than the reverse.

Hitherto the protestants in general had held most of the opinions which are termed Calvinistic, especially on the subject of predestination, or the absolute decrees of the Deity, as it was explained in the writings of St. Augustine; but about this time the milder doctrine of the Greek fathers had been promulgated in Holland by Arminius, from whom it was henceforth named. James, who had been reared in the opposite sentiment, was quite outrageous, when Vorstius, who held these opinions, was appointed to a professorship at Leyden. The States, to propitiate him, were obliged to deprive and banish their new professor; indeed, the king hinted that they might as well have committed him to the flames. Yet James himself, and a portion of the prelates and clergy, afterwards

adopted the Arminian tenets. It is rather curious, that those who thus became the most strenuous asserters of the freedom of man's will were the great upholders of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience*.

The liberties of England owe so much to the puritans, that one feels little inclined to dwell on their errors; but justice requires that they should appear in their true colours, and not be suffered to make a monopoly, as it were, of virtue and goodness. In piety and in moral conduct they were, taken on the whole, superior to their opponents; but they were harsh and morose, inquisitorial and censorious, absurdly scrupulous about trifles, and the enemies of all pleasure and innocent recreation. The modes, however, of opposing them that were employed were injudicious. The persecution of them was of a kind calculated rather to annoy and irritate than to suppress, and the publication of the Book of Sports, though well-intended and not adverse to the spirit of true religion, did more harm than good. The following was the occasion of it. The puritans had been gradually converting the Christian Lord's Day into a Judaical sabbath,—not, we may observe, the sabbath of the Mosaic law, in which, as at all their festivals, the people of Israel were 'to rejoice before the Lord,' but a gloomy sullen day of hearing sermons and shunning all innocent recreations,—and this, in their usual arbitrary spirit, they would have forced on all, whatever their opinions might be. The catholics naturally took occasion to censure the reformed religion for this gloom and morosity, and the king and his clerical advisers took notice of it. From the puritans on the subject, a prohibition was issued, forbidding any one to prevent the people from having, after

* The following anecdote is well known: "On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of King James I., Mr. Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Dr. Andrews, the bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neal, bishop of Durham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation these prelates had with the king, on which Mr. Waller did often reflect. His Majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied the bishop, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king then said to the bishop of Durham, 'You put-offs, my lord.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it.' Mr. Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king."—*Life of Waller*, prefixed to his Poems.

divine service, dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, and other manly and harmless recreations, as also may-poles, may-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, and bowls, were prohibited. No recusant, however, was to have the benefit of this liberty, which was confined to those who had attended divine service that day. The Book of Sports, as it was termed, was ordered to be read out in the churches, but primate Abbot forbade it to be read in his presence at Croydon, and it only served to give the puritans an occasion of representing their opponents as being totally devoid of religion.

The houses of commons during this reign were deeply pervaded by the puritanical spirit*, a proof of its prevalence throughout the nation. Hence with their zeal for repressing the abuses of the prerogative, and securing the liberties of the people, were joined an anxiety for the persecution of the catholics, and a continued effort to extend the rigid principles of their party.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I.

1625-1629.

THE new monarch, now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, offered in his morals and character a favourable contrast to his father. He was grave and serious in his deportment, regular in his conduct, an enemy to licentiousness and riot of every kind, a lover and a patron of the fine arts. He had, however, imbibed to the fullest extent his father's absurd notions of the divine rights of kings, and their accountability to God alone for the discharge of the duties of their high office. Any attempts to limit his authority he regarded as usurpation and rebellion, and, as we shall see, he held that any concessions extorted from the monarch were revocable, as contrary to his duty to God to grant. Charles was sincerely attached to the

* When in 1621 a bill was brought into the commons for the more strict observance of the sabbath, Mr. Shepherd opposed it; he objected to the word sabbath, justified dancing on that day by the example of king David, and was for allowing sports on it. For this boldness he was, on the motion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house! Such were puritanical notions of freedom of speech.

episcopal form of government in the church. To his misfortune, he was also blindly devoted to the insolent, rapacious, self-willed, domineering upstart whom the folly of his father had gorged with wealth and offices* and made ruler of himself and his kingdom.

The first care of Charles was to celebrate his marriage with the princess Henrietta-Maria. The nuptials were performed by proxy at Paris (May 1), whither the duke of Buckingham repaired with a splendid train to conduct the young queen into England. The king met her at Dover, and thence conducted her to Hampton Court, as the plague was raging in London.

On the 18th of June Charles' first parliament met at Westminster. The king submitted to it the state of his finances; he was encumbered by a debt of his father's to a large amount; he had all the expenses of his marriage and other charges to meet, and he was about to be engaged in a war against the whole house of Austria. To meet all these, "the house of commons," Hume sarcastically observes, "conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000*l*." Such conduct appears to be, as that partial writer represents it, a cruel mockery of an innocent and a confiding young monarch. When carefully examined, however, it will perhaps appear in a different light. We will, for this purpose, take a brief view of the composition of the two houses of parliament.

During the whole of the Tudor period we have seen the house of lords the humble instruments of the will of the crown, to whose bounty they owed their wealth and honours. But nearly a century's possession of the monastic lands had inspired many of them with a feeling of security and independence; and as they gazed on the venerable turrets of Wilton, Woburn, and the other abbeys and priories which now formed their abodes, they caught a portion of the spirit which had animated the barons of the days whose memory these stately piles recalled. Their honours, too, had acquired the sanction of time, and they viewed with disdain the dignities of the upstart Buckingham, whose pride, insolence, and rapacity galled their very souls. An opposition to the crown, composed of these men

* He was lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, warden of the cinque ports, master of the horse, justice in eyre of the forests and chases this side the Trent, constable of Windsor castle, knight of the garter, &c. &c. The wealth that had been heaped upon him is almost past computation.

and of the maintainers of puritan doctrines, now appeared in the lords, and its strength may be estimated by the circumstance of the earl of Pembroke, its head, being the holder of ten proxies, only three less than those of Buckingham, the dispenser of wealth and favour*.

In the commons there were the two parties essential to a popular assembly in a monarchy, the supporters of the crown and its measures, and the opponents of abuses and advocates for the rights and privileges of the subjects; that is, the court- and the country-party. The former were a minority, and they felt the necessity of proceeding with caution, extenuating and softening rather than defending abuses. The latter were mostly puritans, zealous against all that appeared to them superstitious in religion, hostile to the exorbitant powers exercised by the prelates, and perhaps in many cases secretly inclined to the presbyterian form†; but at the same time sincerely anxious for the national rights and liberties. There were other members (afterwards known by the name of *patriots*) who were more zealous for civil liberty than for changes in religious ceremonies, and who did not view with any great abhorrence the cope and surplice or the wedding-ring. Such were sir Edward Coke, sir Thomas Cotton, John Selden, John Pym, and others.

Puritans and patriots were alike animated by a zeal against popery, which they knew well, and viewed in its true character, as the inveterate foe of both mental and civil liberty. Tolerance was at that time unknown, and to the declaimers in its favour we may remark, that the experience of two centuries has shown that this vaunted *panacea* has in no single instance succeeded in mitigating the ferocity of the spirit of popery; that it is as persecuting, as intolerant, as faithless, as hostile to knowledge and to social improvement, at the present day, as it was in its most flourishing period‡. After this ample experience, we should hesitate at the call of infidels and scio-

* It was shortly afterwards resolved that no peer should hold more than two, which continues to be the rule. This practice, by the way, supposes either a superlative degree of wisdom, or an unreasoning spirit of party in peers, who thus vote on all questions without having heard the arguments for and against them.

† That there was such a spirit abroad is evident from the demands made at the Hampton-court conference. See above, p. 7.

‡ We must request the reader not to misunderstand or misrepresent us. All our remarks on popery in these volumes relate to the system, not to the individual members of the church of Rome, among whom may be found numerous examples of the sincerest piety and the most exalted virtue.

lists to look on such men as Coke, Selden, and Pym, as narrow-minded illiberal bigots.

One of the first proceedings of the commons was to require every member to receive the sacrament in St. Margaret's church, and thus testify his attachment to the protestant religion: for there was now a regular establishment of capuchin friars at Somerset-house, the residence of the queen, and these men boldly paraded the streets in their habits; the jesuits and other priests also began to show themselves openly in various places, and the court was known to be full of catholics. The commons then petitioned the king to enforce the laws against recusants. Dr. Montague, one of the court-divines, having published a work called *Appello Cæsarem*, recommending the catholics to the favour of government, and representing the puritans as a people desiring an anarchy, and therefore to be discouraged, he was summoned to answer for it at the bar of the house of commons. The Arminians exerted themselves in his favour; the king declared that he was one of his chaplains; but all availed not; he was forced to give securities to answer the charge of contempt of the house, and impugning the articles of the church of England.

The object of the king was to obtain an immediate supply of money; the commons wished to couple with it a redress of grievances. They saw that the king was a mere puppet in the hands of Buckingham, and they now had their doubts of the justice of the war with Spain, into which he was about to plunge the nation. They were loath to vote a large sum without conditions, and yet they could not with a good grace refuse supplies. They therefore adopted a middle course; they voted two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*) for immediate use. They also, instead of voting, as had long been the usage, the duties of tonnage and poundage to the king for life, granted them only for a year. The lords, however, rejected this bill. At the request of the two houses, on account of the plague, there was an adjournment for three weeks, when they were to meet at Oxford.

The parliament now learned the following circumstance. King James had promised the French king to aid him by a loan of eight armed vessels to be employed against Spain in the Mediterranean. These ships, under admiral Pennington, came to Dieppe, and there the crews suspected, or rather discovered, that they were to be employed against the Huguenots of La Rochelle. They forthwith drew up a *round robin*, and laid it under the admiral's prayer-book, and Pennington de-

claring that he would rather be hanged for disobedience in England than fight against his fellow-protestants in France, returned to the Downs. Buckingham, by false representations, induced them to return to France; but when they found that they had been deceived, they, with the exception of one gunner, abandoned their vessels, which were taken by the French and employed against La Rochelle.

The knowledge of this did not prepossess the commons much in favour of the king and Buckingham. They therefore still talked of a redress of grievances as preliminary to a supply; they put sundry questions to the duke, asking, among others, if he had not broken off the match with Spain out of spleen to Olivarez, and whether he had not made that with France on still less favourable terms? They were in train to impeach him, but the king to save him dissolved the parliament contrary to the advice of his privy council.

It is usual, with the advocates of Charles, to make it a heavy charge against the parliament, that they had involved him in a war with Spain and then refused the supplies. But war had not yet been declared, and Charles was under no necessity of entering into it. Urged on, however, by his own passions or those of Buckingham, he was bent on war with that monarchy. To show his protestant zeal, in violation of his engagements at his marriage, he issued a proclamation enforcing the laws against recusants; to raise money he levied tonnage and poundage at the ports, though the bill for it had not passed; he sent privy-seals to the nobility and gentry, and suspended the payment of all fees and salaries. Ships and troops had meantime been assembled at Plymouth, and in the month of October a fleet of ninety sail, carrying ten thousand soldiers, put to sea. Buckingham had given the command to sir Edward Cecil, now lord Wimbledon, a man advanced in years, who had long been in the Dutch service, but who was generally held to be incompetent. Cadiz was the place fixed on for attack, but no council of war was held till they were in sight of the port, and time was thus given for escape to the shipping, which might have been captured had they entered the port at once. The troops, however, landed and marched rapidly to secure the bridge leading from the isle in which Cadiz stands to the main land. But the soldiers meeting with cellars full of wine got drunk and unruly, and their timid leader re-embarked them, though no enemy had appeared. He then sailed to intercept the Plate-fleet, but it passed him in the night. He

returned to Plymouth (Dec. 8) after losing more than one thousand men by disease. The council instituted an inquiry, but after many examinations of Wimbledon and his officers, they judged it best to bury the affair in silence.

The failure of this project was a heavy blow to the king. Had it succeeded, and had he gotten the plunder of Cadiz and the Plate-fleet, he would have been, in some measure, independent of his parliament; but now he had rashly run into a war, and without the aid of the commons he had no mode of extricating himself. He had, moreover, pledged his word to call a parliament after Christmas. All, therefore, that could be done was to try to break the strength of the opposition. Pembroke was induced to seek a reconciliation with Buckingham; and the great seal was taken from bishop Williams, whom Buckingham feared, and committed to sir Thomas Coventry. In order to exclude Coke and six others most hostile to the favourite from the house of commons, the king himself inserted their names in the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year: at the same time new proclamations were issued against the recusants, to convince the nation of the monarch's zeal for religion.

The king was crowned on Candlemas-day (1626), and four days after (Feb. 6.) the parliament met. They appointed committees of religion, of grievances, and of evils, their causes and remedies.

The progress of their inquiries was not pleasing to the king: he reminded them of his wants; they promised three subsidies and three fifteenths, if a favourable answer were given to their prayer for the redress of grievances; the king advised them to hasten the supply; "else," said he, "it will be worse for yourselves; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it." The commons promised obedience, but ere they proceeded in the matter, they came to the resolution of impeaching the favourite as the main cause of the evils for which they sought redress. Buckingham had now also a formidable foe in the lords. The earl of Bristol wrote to the peers complaining that his writ of summons had been withheld. On their noticing it, the king directed that the writ should be issued, but at the same time he wrote to Bristol, ordering him not to avail himself of it. Bristol sent this letter to the house, asking their advice on the subject, and claiming permission to appear and accuse his enemy of high crimes and misdemeanours. Forthwith the attorney-general, by order of the king

and Buckingham, charged Bristol himself with high treason. The lords resolved to hear both parties, giving precedence to the last, but deciding that the charge against the earl should not impeach his testimony.

The charges made against Bristol chiefly rested on the testimony of the king himself. Against this, as an injurious precedent, the earl properly remonstrated. Still, however, their intrinsic weakness was such that he was able easily to make a full and convincing reply to them. To the charges which he made against the duke no reply was given. He accused him of having conspired with Gondomar to draw the prince to Spain that he might be there induced to change his religion; of having while there disgraced his country by his indecent and licentious conduct; of having broken off the treaty because the Spanish council refused to treat with him, and of having on his return deceived the king and parliament.

The commons having voted that "common fame is a good ground of proceedings for that house," sent up to the lords an impeachment against the duke. The managers of it were sir Dudley Digges, sir John Eliot, John Selden, John Pym, and four other members. They charged him with the purchase and the sale of offices, with procuring titles and pensions for his kindred and allies, with giving the ships to be employed against La Rochelle, with embezzling the king's money and obtaining grants of the crown lands, with having given plasters and potions to the late king in his sickness, etc. The king, asserting himself to be implicated by Digges and Eliot in the terms which they employed in urging this last charge, committed them both to the Tower. The commons refusing to proceed with any business till their members were released, sir Dudley Carleton was so imprudent as to remind them how in other countries kings, finding parliaments to turn liberty to license, took away and abolished them; "and now," said he, "the common people wanting good food look more like ghosts than men, and go in canvas cloth and wooden shoes." For this he narrowly escaped being made to ask pardon on his knees. Digges and Eliot, having denied or explained what was laid to their charge, were set at liberty. The duke made a plausible defence, drawn up for him by sir Nicholas Hyde, an eminent lawyer, and the king, effectually to screen him, dissolved the parliament (June 15), though the supplies had not been voted. To the prayer of the lords for a short delay he replied, "No, not of one minute," and in a Declaration which he issued, he

stated "that in this, as in all his other royal actions, he is not bound to give an account to any, but to God alone, whose immediate vicegerent he is." The earls of Arundel and Bristol, as the duke's enemies, were both placed in confinement.

Charles had at this time family dissensions also to annoy him. The young queen was under the complete influence of her priests and her servants. The former had actually, it is asserted, made her walk on foot in penance to Tyburn, the scene of the death of so many martyrs of the catholic cause, and they gave great offence by appearing publicly in their habits. The latter made her abandon the study of English, and furnished her with pretexts for quarreling with the king. After a good deal of difficulty and opposition, Charles succeeded in clearing his palace and kingdom of these mischievous people. A new household was formed for the queen, who gradually got the better of her ill-humour, and she soon acquired a fatal influence over the mind of her husband.

The king now saw plainly that parliament would only grant supplies on the condition of the redress of grievances, and as he was resolved not to be dictated to by them, he proceeded to raise money without their aid. He continued to levy tonnage and poundage, though they had not been granted; the crown lands were made, by leases and other means, more productive; the fines on recusants were more strictly exacted; privy-seals were again issued. The sea-ports were required to supply and maintain for three months a certain number of armed vessels, and the lords-lieutenant of the counties had directions to muster and train the people to arms, as invasion was apprehended. An attempt was made to prevail on the people to pay the amount of the subsidies voted by the parliament; but in London, Middlesex, and Kent, which were first applied to, the proposition was indignantly rejected. A new plan was then adopted; a loan to the amount of three subsidies (200,000*l.*) was demanded, each man to give according to the rate at which he was assessed in the last subsidy. The clergy were instructed "to stir up all sorts of people to express their zeal to God, and their duty to the king" in this matter; and the commissioners of the loan were directed to deal with each person separately, to insist on the required sum, to examine him on oath respecting his motives and advisers if he declined, and to furnish the privy-council with the names of those who persisted in refusing.

This arbitrary mode of taxation was enforced by despotic

measures of power. The inferior people who refused to lend what was not likely ever to be repaid, were impressed and sent to serve in the army or navy; the gentry were called before the council, and several of them were committed to prison. Five of these, sir Thomas Darnel, John Corbet, Walter Earl, John Heveningham, and Everard Hampden, applied to the court of king's bench for their writ of *habeas corpus*; the writ was granted, but the warden of the Fleet made return that the warrant of the privy council assigned no particular cause for their imprisonment. The case therefore came to be argued (Nov. 7) before the court over which sir Nicholas Hyde now presided. Noy, Selden, and other eminent lawyers appeared for the prisoners. Heath, the attorney-general, supported the pretensions of the crown. The former argued from the article of Magna Charta that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned unless by lawful judgement of his peers, or the law of the land," and the repeated assertions of this principle, giving precedents of the admission to bail of persons committed by the council during the Tudor period. Heath replied on high prerogative principles, alluding to the king's absolute power, and arguing from the legal maxim 'the king can do no wrong,' that a sufficient cause must have existed, though it was not set forth; the precedents cited on the other side, he contended, did not apply to the present case. The court decided (27th) in favour of the crown. "The consequence of this decision," an able writer observes*, "was that every statute from the time of Magna Charta designed to protect the personal liberties of Englishmen became a dead letter; since the insertion of four words in a warrant (*per speciale mandatum regis*), which might become matter of form, would control their remedial efficacy."

The protestant cause had sustained great reverses in Germany, and his allies there now required aid of the king of England. His evil genius Buckingham had also engaged him in a war with France. This worthless insolent minion had, as we have seen, been sent over to conduct Henrietta-Maria to England. He there presumed to make love to the young queen Anne of Austria; but found he had a rival in cardinal Richelieu himself; and when, after setting out with his fair charge, he privately returned to Paris, he got a hint that if he persisted in his design he would be assassinated. "He swore

* Hallam, Constitutional History, i. 529.

in the instant that he would see and speak with that lady in spite of the strength and power of France," and he *did* see and speak with her in a brief interview⁴; but he never could obtain permission to return to the French court. Revenge then actuated him; he sought to alienate the king from the queen, and behaved to her himself with the greatest rudeness and insolence. Something, for example, having occurred to prevent her calling on his mother at an appointed hour, he came in a high rage to her, and among other rude expressions told her "she should repent it." The queen replying with some quickness, he added that "there had been queens in England who had lost their heads." By provoking and insulting the French court in various ways, he sought, but in vain, to draw it into a declaration of war. He then resolved to commence hostilities himself. Soubise, one of the principal Huguenot leaders, came over to England to concert measures; and a fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth.

On the 27th of June, 1627, the duke made sail for La Rochelle with one hundred ships, carrying about seven thousand soldiers. The gates of that town however were shut against him, the people alleging that they could not act without the consent of the other members of their union (who were now at peace with the crown); but they agreed to furnish supplies, if the English remained in the neighbourhood. For this purpose it was necessary to take possession of the isle of Rhé, or that of Oléron: the latter near La Rochelle, well-supplied with wine, oil, etc., and feebly garrisoned; the other more distant, and defended by a citadel and a strong garrison. Buckingham proposed to attack Oléron; but while Soubise was gone to consult the people of the town he landed (July 12) in the isle of Rhé, where the garrison opposed him gallantly, but was forced to retire. Instead of then attacking the fort at once, he passed five days in inaction; in the interval fresh troops came over to the isle, and the fort was strengthened. At length he advanced against it; but he committed one error after another, and at last (Oct. 29) raised the siege and commenced his retreat. The route partly lay along a narrow causeway or mound, with salt-pits on each side. The French seized the time for attack when a part of the troops were on the causeway, the cavalry were driven among the foot and trampled them down, and numbers were forced into the pits and there drowned. The loss of the English was about two thousand men. Buckingham is said to have shown great personal courage-on

this occasion; but this is the praise of a mere soldier rather than of a general, and entitles him to little commendation.

The French protestants had been induced by the solicitations of the English court to take arms against their king. La Rochelle was menaced by the royal arms, and the people implored Charles to aid them. This he engaged to do in the strongest terms, binding himself never to abandon them. A new expedition was planned; but when the question came how the money was to be raised, some of the council proposed the legal mode of summoning a parliament. To this the king with much reluctance* assented, and writs were issued. Sundry illegal modes of raising money were however previously tried; but all proving of none effect, the king once more met the grand council of the nation (Mar. 17, 1628).

The primate, who had been suspended for refusing to license one of the political sermons in favour of the forced loan†, bishop Williams, whom Buckingham had caused to be sent to the Tower, and the earl of Bristol, who was charged with treason, were permitted to take their seats in the upper house. The gentlemen (seventy-eight in number) who were confined for refusing the forced loan were set at liberty, and they were all returned for various places. "Never before," says Lingard, "had parliament assembled under auspices more favourable to the cause of freedom. The sense of the nation had been loudly proclaimed by the elections, which had generally fallen on persons distinguished by their recent opposition to the court; it was the interest of the lords to co-operate with men who sought the protection of private property and personal liberty; and the same necessity which had compelled the king to summon a parliament placed him without resource at the mercy of his subjects."

* Some time before, "at the council-table, some proposing a parliament, the king said *he did abominate the name*."—Mede, Letters, Sept. 30, 1626.

† One Sibthorpe preached a sermon enforcing passive obedience. If the commands of the prince, he said, were against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, the subject was not, as in all other cases, bound to active obedience, but he was to passive obedience, that is, "to undergo the punishment without either resistance, or railing, or reviling." The king commanded the primate to license this sermon himself (not in the ordinary way, by one of his chaplains); Abbot, on reading it, refused; he was then suspended, and Laud bishop of London licensed it forthwith. At this time also, Dr. Mainwaring, one of the royal chaplains, preached two sermons at court maintaining that the king is not bound to obey the laws; that he may lay on what taxes he pleases, and that all are bound to pay them under pain of eternal damnation.

But Charles would not or could not see this. He addressed them in high terms, telling them plainly that it was only as a means of obtaining money that he had called them together; and that if they did not do their duty in contributing, "he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose." "Take not this," he added, "as threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my equals); but as an admonition from him that both out of nature and duty hath most care of your preservations and prosperities."

The commons manifested no offence at this haughty language: they voted a supply of five subsidies, to be paid within a twelvemonth. But when the king thought to grasp the prize, he was met by demands, his assent to which was a necessary preliminary to the passing of a bill granting the supplies. Four resolutions had been passed unanimously, viz. 1. No freeman to be imprisoned without a lawful cause expressed. 2. The writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted in all cases. 3. If the return assigns no cause, he is to be delivered or bailed. 4. No tax or loan to be levied by the king without an act of parliament. At a conference with the peers the case was argued by Selden, Coke, and others on one side, and by the crown-lawyers on the other. The lords made some amendments, which were rejected by the commons. During two months Charles had recourse to every expedient to escape the necessity of parting with his arbitrary power. At length (May 28) his assent was solicited to the celebrated Petition of Right. This stated, 1. That freemen had been required to lend money to the king, and on refusing had been molested with oaths, arrests, etc. 2. That persons thus arrested, and no cause assigned, had been remanded when brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*. 3. That soldiers had been billeted in private houses, to the great grievance of the inhabitants. 4. That soldiers and sailors were tried for their imputed offences by martial law, and not by the law of the land. It prayed that all such proceedings should cease, "as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject and the laws and statutes of the nation." Charles resolved to dissemble. In a few days (June 2) he came to give the royal assent to the bill formed from the petition; but, instead of the usual brief *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, it was long and ambiguous. The commons were filled with grief and despair; but their spirit soon revived, and they were on the

very point of voting Buckingham to be "the grievance of grievances," when the danger of the favourite shook the resolution of the monarch, and he gave his assent to the bill in the usual manner, amidst loud acclamations of applause. The subsidy bills were speedily passed; but they were followed by a remonstrance imputing all the late national evils and losses to Buckingham, and praying for his removal from court; it was also asserted that tonnage and poundage depended on the consent of parliament. The king having obtained the money he wanted resolved on a prorogation; and the clerk of the commons was just reading the bill of tonnage and poundage (26th) when they were summoned to meet the king. He told them that by assenting to the Petition of Right he had granted no new liberties, only confirmed the ancient ones; and that tonnage and poundage was what he could not do without; "it was never intended," said he, "by you to ask, and never meant, I am sure, by me to grant." He gave the royal assent to the subsidy bills, and then prorogued the parliament.

It is with sincere pleasure that we quote the following observations of Lingard: "Thus ended," says he, "this eventful session, one of the most memorable in our history. The patriots may have been occasionally intemperate in their warmth and extravagant in their predictions, but their labours have entitled them to the gratitude of posterity. They extorted from the king the recognition of the rights which he had so wantonly violated, and fixed on a firm and permanent basis the liberties of the nation. It is indeed true that these liberties were subsequently invaded—that again and again they were trampled in the dust; but the Petition of Right survived to bear evidence against the encroachments of the prerogative. To it the people always appealed, to it the crown was ultimately compelled to submit*." It was in effect a second Magna Charta†.

The king immediately gave a proof of his insincerity. The Petition of Right had been printed for circulation at the desire of both houses: by his orders the impression was cancelled, and a new one issued with his *first* answer to it. "By which expedient," says Hume, "he endeavoured to persuade

* *O si sic omnia!* He immediately proceeds to remark on the religious intolerance of the patriots; but for this we cannot well blame him.

† As our limits do not allow of our narrating the parliamentary details, we here give the names of the leading patriots. They were sir John Eliot, sir Edward Coke, sir Robert Philips, and Selden, Glanvil, Noy, and Pym.

the people that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions."

La Rochelle was at this time hard pressed by the royal forces, commanded by Richelieu in person. A fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth, of which Buckingham was again to take the command. But he was this time to negotiate, not to fight, as both Charles and Louis were now convinced that by their hostility they were only strengthening the house of Austria. One morning (Aug. 23) the duke had some high words in his chamber with Soubise and other French gentlemen; he was then proceeding to his carriage, when, as on crossing the hall he turned to listen to a whisper from colonel Friar, an unknown hand plunged a knife into his heart, and left it sticking there: he cried "villain!" plucked it out, staggered against a table and died. The French gentlemen were suspected of the deed, and narrowly escaped instant death; the assassin had meantime reached the kitchen, and might have escaped, but on a sudden alarm he drew his sword, crying, "I am the man." He was seized; he said his name was John Felton, a protestant and a lieutenant in the army, from which he had retired, as junior officers had been put over his head, and his arrears of pay had been withheld. The remonstrance of the commons had convinced him that the duke was the cause of the national calamities, and that by killing him he should serve God, his king, and his country. He had no accomplices; he had travelled seventy miles to do the deed; so little personal enmity had he, that as he struck the blow, he prayed "May God have mercy on thy soul!" Felton was transmitted to London, and underwent several examinations, but persisted in his story. The marquess of Dorset threatened him with the torture. "I am ready," said he; "yet I must tell you, by the way, that I will then accuse you, my lord of Dorset, and no one but yourself." The king wished to have him racked, but the judges declared torture to be contrary to the laws of England. Felton pleaded guilty (Nov. 27), owning the enormity of his offence, and praying that the hand which did the criminal deed might be struck off before he died. He was executed as a murderer.

The king was at his prayers in a private house near Portsmouth when the news of the murder of the duke was brought him. He testified no great emotion at the time, but he felt deeply. He took the family of his favourite under his protection, paid his debts to the amount of 61,000*l.*, caused him to be buried in Westminster-abbey, and styled him 'the martyr

of his sovereign'—such was his infatuation! Buckingham was only thirty-six years of age; his death was perhaps fortunate for himself, for, as Lingard justly observes, "if he had escaped the knife of the assassin, he would probably have fallen by the axe of the executioner." A more worthless minion, one more destitute of every good and great quality, it would be difficult to find; and one blushes to think of England's being governed, as in effect it was, for so many years by such an ignorant, insolent, and profligate upstart.

The expedition to La Rochelle sailed under the earl of Lindsey; but its efforts were of no avail; the town surrendered at discretion, and the Huguenot power was completely broken.

About this time the king gained to his side a man in all respects infinitely the superior of Buckingham. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a man of large fortune, and great influence in Yorkshire, had sat in every parliament since 1614. He had followed a neutral line of conduct, but his natural temper inclined him to the side of arbitrary power. In the present parliament, however, he had shown himself one of the most prominent champions of freedom; for Buckingham had out of jealousy deprived him of the office of Custos Rotulorum of his county, and while that wound was yet raw, a privy seal had been sent him at the suggestion of his rival, sir John Savile. He refused compliance, was brought before the council, and committed to prison. In the ensuing parliament he took his place among the patriots, and displayed such ability and energy that the court saw its error, and resolved to gain him if possible. This was easy to effect; he became a baron, and then a viscount, and lord-president of the council of the North, and he never after wavered in his devotion to despotism.

The king at this time also gave great offence to the parliament by promoting some divines whom they had censured. Montague was made bishop of Chichester; Mainwaring, Sibthorpe, Cousins, and other Arminians, or rather semi-papists, obtained good livings. In contempt also of the parliament, the duties of tonnage and poundage were levied, and the goods of Rolles a member of parliament, Chambers, and other merchants who refused to pay them, were seized.

On the 20th of January, 1629, parliament re-assembled. The fraud of the king in the printing of the Petition of Right was made known; the case of Rolles was brought before the house, and the sheriff of London and the officers of the customs had to appear at the bar. The king then summoned both

houses to meet him at Whitehall, and there urged them to put an end to all disputes by passing the bill for tonnage and poundage, assuring them that he did not take these duties as a part of his prerogative, but by the gift of his people; and that if he had levied them hitherto, he did it out of necessity, and not "by any right which he assumed." The commons, however, took no heed of this and other attempts to obtain money without conditions. It was their fixed and just principle, that inquiry into and redress of grievances should precede supplies. This they immediately set about, directing their attention first to the all-important subject of religion. On the 27th sir John Eliot addressed the house in an able speech, on the subject of the innovations lately made therein, and the result was a vow, entered on the journals, to admit no new sense of the articles of religion. After a few days the house adjourned to the 25th of February, on which day it was agreed to present charges to the king against Laud bishop of London. The king then sent his command for both houses to adjourn to the 2nd of March.

On that memorable day Eliot entered the house, having a protestation prepared to propose to the members. It contained the following articles: 1. Whoever shall innovate in religion by introducing popery, Arminianism, etc., is an enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whoever shall counsel to take or assist in taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament, is an enemy, etc. 3. Whoever shall pay the same is an enemy, etc. When he had introduced these by a speech directed chiefly against the lord-treasurer Weston, he desired sir John Finch, the speaker, to read them, but he refused; the clerk did the same; Eliot read them out himself, and then required the speaker to put them to the vote. He replied "he was commanded otherwise by the king," and rose to quit the chair, but two members, Hollis and Valentine, held him down. A tumult arose; swords were near being drawn: Eliot gave the protestation to Hollis to put it to the house, and it was heard with acclamation. The king sent the sergeant to take away the mace, but he was detained, and the doors were locked: the usher of the black-rod then came; he could not gain admission: in a rage the king ordered the captain of the guard to go and force the doors, but the members having passed the protestation, and adjourned to the 10th, now issued forth in a body. Eliot, Hollis, Valentine, and others, were forthwith summoned before the council, and on their refusing

to answer out of parliament, for things said and done in it, were committed to the Tower: on the 10th the king went down to the house of lords and dissolved the parliament, on account, he said, of "the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house."

The imprisoned members applied for their *habeas corpus*, but the king, by removing them from the custody of the officers to whom the writs were directed, frustrated their efforts. They were offered their liberty if they would petition the king, and express contrition for having offended him. This course they at once rejected, as it would be an acknowledgement of the legality of the arbitrary acts which they opposed. Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were finally proceeded against in the king's bench, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure; and Eliot was fined 1000*l.*, Hollis 100*q* marks, and Valentine 500*l.* The others were released after a confinement of eighteen months; but Eliot ended his days in the Tower. When the decline of his health had made him yield to the entreaties of his friends, and petition for his liberty, the answer given was, "It is not humble enough." He sent a second petition by his young son, offering to return to his prison when he should have recovered his health, This also was ineffectual. When he died, his children petitioned to be allowed to take his body to Cornwall, to lay it in the tomb of his ancestors. "Let sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died," was the unfeeling reply of the monarch.

Thus terminated Charles' third parliament. As we shall now find him for some years dispensing with these assemblies, taking his subjects' money at his own arbitrary will, and running the full career of despotism, we will transcribe the following passage from his panegyrist, lord Clarendon:—"It is not to be denied," says he, "that there were in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formal act of either house (for neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts on those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings."

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1629-1640.

FOR a period of twelve years we are now to witness the exercise of absolute monarchy in England; the king, like his brethren of France and Spain, taking his subjects' money at his will, giving no account of the expenditure, and arbitrarily punishing all who ventured to murmur or oppose the civil and religious despotism now established.

External tranquillity being requisite for his designs, Charles made peace with the courts of France and Spain. When the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden put himself at the head of the protestant cause in Germany, six thousand men were raised for his aid in Great Britain, in the name of the marquess of Hamilton, who commanded them, but at the expense of the king. This was the only money employed for foreign purposes; the produce of the taxes and impositions in general went to the support of the government, and to the maintenance of a most brilliant court.

After the death of Buckingham, the only man he seems ever to have loved, Charles had no favourite, and he became his own minister. The queen, a vain, selfish, self-willed woman, possessed an undue influence over his mind. He had drawn from the popular side not only Wentworth and Savile, but sir Dudley Digges, whom he made master of the rolls, and the two lawyers Noy and Littleton, who became his attorney- and solicitor-general: sir Richard Weston, the lord-treasurer, a suspected catholic, was one of the most unscrupulous instruments of the royal despotism.

In his project of abolishing the liberties of the people, Charles was aided by the hierarchy of the church, headed by William Laud, whom the favour of Buckingham had raised rapidly through various episcopal gradations to the see of London, and whom on the death of Abbot (1632), the king advanced to the primacy. Laud was a man of a narrow mind, but of much reading; matters of little importance to enlarged intellects, were, therefore, of great moment to *him*; he had thus conceived a ridiculously exalted notion of the value of ceremonies

in sustaining religion, and a preposterous opinion of the peculiar sanctity and sublimity of the episcopal character; he also held the Arminian tenets. In all these matters his sincerity is not to be questioned, but he was actuated by a cruel, persecuting spirit, and he would allow none to maintain opinions contrary to his own.

It is, we think, a matter not to be disputed, that the fathers and founders of our church were not Arminians, and most surely the articles of our church evince that those who compiled them agreed with St. Austin on the abstruse points of predestination, original sin, and such like, however ambiguously they may have expressed themselves. Our early reformers also seem to have regarded episcopacy as a thing of human rather than divine institution, and they drew close the bonds of fellowship with the foreign churches, even those of France and Geneva, which had cast it off altogether. In the church of Rome they saw only Antichrist, the enemy of Christ, and not a part of his mystic body. But Laud, Montague, Heylin, and the other *high-church* divines as they were now termed, recognised the church of Rome as a true church; they strongly asserted the divine origin of episcopacy, and the necessity of a regular transmission from the time of the apostles, and therefore looked on the other protestant churches as mere schismatics. In fact, the approximation now made to Rome was so great, that the pope actually sent to offer Laud a cardinal's hat, an offer that was not spurned at*. It was the court rather than the church of Rome that Laud disliked; he would willingly be himself the pope of England, and he could not brook submission to him of Rome.

The following are some of the changes made at this time. Strange ceremonies were employed in the consecration of churches, the communion table was removed from the centre of the churches to the east end, railed in and called an altar, and obeisance was made to it; the officiating minister was named a priest, and his habit became more gaudy; the use of pictures, images, crucifixes, and lights in the churches was contended for; prayers for the dead, confession and absolution were inculcated. The doctrine of the real presence, or something very nearly resembling it, seems to have been held by Laud and others.

* "My answer was," said Laud, "that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

The catholics were full of hopes at witnessing these favourable symptoms in the church of England, and the court of Rome was induced to send an envoy named Panzani to London. A negotiation for the union of the churches was commenced with him by lord Cottington, secretary Windebank and bishop Montague, but entirely unknown to Laud and the clergy in general. Like all projects of the kind, it was a mere abortion, for Rome will never recede from any one of her pretensions. The king in return for the courtesies which the court of Rome lavished on him put a stop to the prosecution of the recusants; it was agreed that diplomatic relations should be established between the two courts, in the name of the queen, and Panzani was succeeded in his post at London by a Scotsman named Conn, whose place was afterwards taken by an agent of higher rank, the count Rossetti. As usual, the catholics behaved with great insolence; "they attempted," says Clarendon, "and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families," and they urged the court on in all its ruinous and oppressive measures. "To conclude," adds the noble historian, "they carried themselves so as if they had been suborned by the Scots to root out their own religion."

The punishments of those who impugned the innovations in the church were very severe, and the licensing of the press being in the hands of the dominant party, no works in opposition to them could be printed. It was not even permitted to assail the church of Rome; and it will scarcely be believed, that Fox's Book of Martyrs, bishop Jewell's works, and the celebrated Practice of Piety now failed to obtain a license to be printed.

The treatment of the father of the excellent archbishop Leighton at this time will serve to give an idea of the punishments inflicted on those who drew down on themselves the vengeance of the implacable Laud. Leighton, a Scots divine, had printed in Holland a book named Zion's Plea against Prelacy, addressed to the members of the late parliament. In this he no doubt treated the bishops with great rudeness and violence, terming them "men of blood" and prelacy "anti-christian," showing "the fearful sin of their pestering God's worship, and overlaying people's consciences with the inventions of men, yea, with the trumpery of Antichrist," and calling on the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy. Speak-

ing of the queen, he styled her a daughter of Heth, that is simply a papist in the language of the time. For this he was sentenced by the court of Star-chamber (1630) to be committed to the Fleet for life; to be fined 10,000*l.*; to be degraded of his ministry; to be pilloried, whipt, have an ear cropt off, a nostril slit, and his cheek branded with an SS (*i. e.* Sower of Sedition), at Westminster, and the same to be repeated some days after at Cheapside*. When this cruel sentence was pronounced Laud pulled off his cap and gave God thanks for it, and in his Diary he records minutely and without the slightest pity or remorse how it was carried into execution. Leighton lay in his dungeon till the year 1641, when he was released by the parliament.

William Prynne, a barrister, published at this time a ponderous quarto volume named *Histriomastix*, full of zeal and learning against plays and players. Prynne had already incurred the enmity of Laud and the high-churchmen by some works against Arminianism and prelatic jurisdiction, and they were on the watch for him. It happened that about six weeks *after* the publication of Prynne's book the queen performed a part in a pastoral at Somerset-house; and as in Prynne's book it was said "that women-actors among the Greeks and Romans were all notorious impudent prostituted strumpets," which in the table of contents was thus referred to, "Women-actors notorious whores," Laud showed the passage to the king, affirming that it was meant for the queen (by the spirit of prophecy no doubt), but the royal pair took no notice of it. Laud then, resolved not to be balked, set his trusty chaplain Peter Heylin to hunt through all Prynne's works, and to collect the scandalous points out of them. These Laud carried himself to Noy on a Sunday morning, desiring him to prosecute Prynne in the Star-chamber. Noy did as directed, and Prynne was sentenced to be fined 1000*l.*; to be expelled Oxford and Lincoln's-inn; to be degraded from his profession in the law; to stand twice in the pillory, lose an ear each time, have his books burnt before him by the hangman, and be imprisoned for life. This sentence also was carried into effect.

At this time also Dr. Bastwick, a learned physician, having

* See Neil's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 538, and Harris' Life of Charles I. 260. Whitelock and Heylin say that Leighton counselled the parliament "to kill all the bishops by smiting them under the fifth rib." Neal and Pearce aver that there are no such words in his book. Even however if he had used them, they were a common figurative expression at that time.

on the whole in a flourishing condition. The advocates of Charles would fain ascribe the merit of this to the government, but a more natural and adequate cause is the energy of the English people, which even the worst government is unable totally to repress.

The year 1637 is rendered memorable by the stand made by the celebrated John Hampden and others against the arbitrary system of taxation now exercised by the crown. The impost which gave occasion to it was that of ship-money, a device of the apostate lawyer Noy, who by a diligent search through the dusty records of the Tower had discovered that in ancient times the sea-ports, the maritime counties, and even some places inland had been required to furnish shipping for the public service. What use Noy proposed to make of his discovery his death prevents us from ascertaining; but his seed had not fallen on a barren soil in the council, for in 1634 a writ was issued to the magistrates of London and other ports requiring them to furnish ships of war of a certain tonnage, and fully equipped. The citizens of London pleaded their charter, but to no purpose; the writ was everywhere obeyed. There was a plausible pretext indeed for augmenting the navy at this time. The rovers of the piratic states of Africa dared to appear even in the British channel, and landed and carried away into slavery the people of the south coast of Ireland, and the French and Dutch fished with impunity in the British seas. But Charles had another reason for wishing to be master of a powerful navy. His anxiety for the recovery of the Palatinate, and probably his dislike of Calvinism and freedom had caused him in 1631 to sign a secret treaty with Spain for the conquest of Holland, his share of the spoil to be the isle of Zealand*. Yet so inconsistent and insincere was this ill-judging prince, that the very next year he entered into a negotiation with the malcontents of the Low Countries to aid them in casting off the yoke of Spain, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself, or perhaps with a view to the interest of the elector-palatine. But there was a Spanish party in his council, and lord Cottington informed the court of Madrid of the intrigue†. Charles then adhered to the former treaty, till, aware that the house of Austria was only illuding him, he was induced by the queen's party in the cabinet to form closer relations with the

* Clarendon Papers, i. 49. ii. Append. xxvi. Hallam, ii. 17.

† Hardwick Papers, ii. 54. Hallam, ii. 18.

court of France; yet he still made overtures to that of Spain, and the consequence was that he drew on himself the secret enmity of both.

Charles had now a fleet of sixty sail, and the purpose for which the ship-money had been imposed was thus fully answered. But the precedents collected by Noy it was now thought might be made to extend much further, and give origin to a source of permanent revenue. The honour of this discovery is ascribed to the late speaker Finch, now chief justice of the common pleas. Writs for the levy of ship-money were accordingly directed to the sheriffs of *all* the counties, and when the people murmured, an opinion of the twelve judges in favour of its legality was obtained by the court and published. Some, however, ventured to appeal to the laws against it. The first was the stout-hearted citizen John Chambers, who brought an action against the lord mayor for imprisoning him on his refusal to pay it. Lord Say and Mr. Hampden also appealed to justice, and the decision in the case of the latter seemed to set the matter to rest, and show that there was no redress to be looked for.

John Hampden was a gentleman of good fortune in Buckinghamshire, who had sat in all the parliaments since the year 1620: he was the friend of Eliot, and, like him, strenuous in maintaining the rights of the people. Being now assessed twenty shillings ship-money, he refused to pay it. The cause was brought before the twelve judges in the exchequer chamber, and was argued in behalf of Hampden by St. John and Holborne; on the part of the Crown by Bankes the attorney- and Littleton the solicitor-general. Hampden's counsel urged that the constitution had provided in various ways for the public safety, by the ordinary revenues and by parliamentary supplies. They showed from *Magna Charta*, the Confirmation of the Chart-ers, the statute *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, and other acts of the legislature, that the consent of parliament is necessary to legal taxation; they asserted that none of the precedents adduced on the other side applied to the case of an inland county, and concluded by appealing to the *Petition of Right*. The king's counsel on their side adduced the *Danegelt* of the Anglo-Saxon times and the precedents collected by Noy, many of which certainly bore a strong analogy to the present case, but they were in early times, and could not claim authority like the aforesaid statutes. "But," said Bankes, "this power is innate in the person of an absolute king, and in the persons of

the kings of England. It is not any ways derived from the people, but reserved unto the king when positive laws first began. For the king of England, he is an absolute monarch; nothing can be given to an absolute prince but what is inherent in his nature. He can do no wrong; he is the sole judge, and we ought not to question him." "This imposition without parliament," said judge Crawley, "appertains to the king originally, and to the successor *ipso facto*, if he be a sovereign, in right of his sovereignty from the crown. You cannot have a king without these royal rights, no, not by act of parliament." Finch maintained that no act of parliament could bar the king of his right to defend his people, and that therefore acts "to bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and their money, too," are void.

Seven of the twelve judges gave judgement for the crown; the remaining five in favour of Hampden; Croke and Hutton, two of the most distinguished, denying in the strongest terms the alleged right of the crown and the legality of the writ for ship-money*. The tax was now adjudged lawful, but the judgement, as Clarendon observes, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (Mr. Hampden) than to the king's service." The high notions of the royal authority put forth by the crown lawyers alarmed all classes of people, for they saw no limitation to it but the royal will; and though Charles himself might be an Antonine, it would put it in the power of his successor to be a Tiberius. Ship-money henceforth was very reluctantly paid: it is said not to have averaged more than 200,000*l.* a-year, a sum, however, equal to three subsidies.

The indomitable Prynne had from his dungeon put forth a tract called *News from Ipswich*, in which he assailed the prelates with great violence; Bastwick, too, had written diatribes against them, and a clergyman named Burton, who had been chaplain to Charles when prince, took the same ground. They were prosecuted in the star-chamber, and sentenced to pay each a fine of 5000*l.*, to stand in the pillory, have their ears cut off, and be imprisoned during life. They were sent to the

* Croke intended at first to give judgement for the king, but his wife, "a good and pious woman, told him," says Whitelock, "that she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want or any misery with him rather than be an occasion for him to do or say anything against his judgement and conscience."

castles of Carnarvon, Lancaster, and Launceston, and were afterwards removed to Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, though no model of moral perfection, was a man in ability greatly superior to Laud, with whose new-fangled theology he did not agree, and he had much more statesmanlike ideas on the mode of dealing with the puritans. Though it was chiefly through Williams that Laud had obtained his first bishoprick, he had no feeling of gratitude, and he was bent on his ruin. Williams was therefore accused in the star-chamber of divulging secrets of state; while this case was pending he was charged with tampering with the king's witnesses, and was suspended from his office, fined 10,000*l.*, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure in the Tower. Afterwards a letter from Osbaldiston, master of Westminster school, in which the words "little urchin" and "little great man" were thought to be meant for Laud, being found among the prelate's papers, he was sentenced to pay a further fine of 5000*l.* to the king and 3000*l.* to the archbishop.

The state of civil and religious despotism to which they were now subjected made men seek for a place of retreat, and they cast their eyes on the distant shores of the New World. In 1629 a charter had been obtained for the colony of Massachusetts-bay, and about three hundred and fifty religious sectaries sailed thither. Numbers followed in the subsequent years, and the settlements were extended through the province, which was henceforth named New England. After the failure of the attempt to resist the levying of ship-money, persons of higher rank, the lord Say and Brook, sir Arthur Haselrig, Hampden, his kinsman Oliver Cromwell, and others, resolved to quit their now enslaved and degraded country. These last, it is said, were actually on board the vessel which was to take them off (1638), when a proclamation, dictated by the bigotry of Laud, appeared, forbidding masters of ships to carry out any passengers who had not a license from the privy council, and a testimonial of conformity from the minister of his parish.

Such was the condition of things in England; the affairs of Scotland will now claim our attention.

In the year 1633 Charles visited his native kingdom for the first time since his accession. He was received with great affection and loyalty, and crowned with the usual splendour. But Laud, his evil genius, attended him, and the prejudices of the people were shocked by the appearance of an altar with wax tapers and a crucifix, before which the officiating prelates

bowed as they passed; and when the archbishop of Glasgow declined wearing the gorgeous habits provided for him, Laud rudely forced him from the side of the king, and put Maxwell bishop of Ross in his place.

A parliament followed, which gave the king an occasion for displaying his arbitrary temper, and served to alienate from him the affections of many of his nobles. He had, indeed, some years before inflicted a wound, which still rankled, by a measure for the redemption of the church-lands and tithes on which the nobility and gentry had so ravenously seized at the time of the reformation: for it must be confessed, that whatever value the Scottish people may set on religion, liberty, and other important matters, there is no point on which they are more tremblingly alive than in what concerns their property.

Charles left Scotland after sowing the seeds of future troubles, and the prosecution of lord Balmérino shortly after powerfully aided to alienate the nobility. This nobleman, who had been one of the opposition in parliament, happened to have in his possession a copy of an apology for their conduct, which he and his friends intended to present, but were withheld by the fear of exciting the royal displeasure. A transcript of this was surreptitiously obtained by one who was his private enemy, and communicated to the archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom it was conveyed to the king, with an assurance that it had been circulated for signature throughout Scotland, and that it was the nobles who upheld the clergy in their opposition to the surplice. Balmerino was therefore selected for an example, and he was indicted on the statute of *leasing-making*, or causing discord between the king and his people. A jury, with lord Traquair, one of the ministers, for foreman, was selected to try him; yet so flagrantly iniquitous was the proceeding, that even *that* jury found him guilty only by the majority of the foreman's casting vote. The people were furious at this decision, and it was resolved in secret consultations, that if anything happened to him, they would massacre those who had found him guilty. Traquair on learning this hastened up to London, and a pardon was granted to Balmerino; but the impression which his danger had made on the minds of the nobility and people was deep and permanent.

In religion matters were pushed on in order to bring Scotland to a uniformity with England. The bishops began to appropriate the civil dignities to themselves. Archbishop Spottis-

wood was made chancellor; Maxwell bishop of Ross aspired to the office of lord-treasurer; and of the fourteen prelates, nine were members of the privy council. They had courts with powers similar to those of the court of high commission in England, and acting under the influence of Laud, they proceeded to draw up canons and a liturgy for the church of Scotland. They commenced with the former, sanctioning the latter before it was prepared. The whole structure of presbytery was dissolved by these canons. Each church was to have a font at the entrance and an altar in the chancel; and various other regulations were made which the people regarded as little better than popery. The liturgy which was compiled was formed on that of the church of England, but came ~~nearer~~ nearer to the mass, of which a report soon spread that it was nothing more than a translation. From the pulpits the clergy declaimed against it; it was reprobated in conversation and in pamphlets. Spottiswood and the elder and more experienced prelates recommended great caution in introducing it; but on its transmission to London and approval by Laud, a royal proclamation was issued enjoining it to be used in every parish-church in the kingdom by a certain day.

On the appointed day (July 23, 1637), the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate according to the liturgy in St. Giles', the bishop of Argyle in the Grey-friars' church; the judges, prelates, and members of the privy council were present in the former, which was thronged with people. The service began, when an old woman, it is said, filled with zeal, sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head, crying, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" A tumult arose, the women rushed to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty; the bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him, and but for the aid of the magistrates, he would have perished on the spot. In the other churches the service was interrupted by tears, groans, and lamentations, but there was no violence. Throughout the rest of Scotland, the efforts of the prelates were unavailing, and the liturgy was used only at St. Andrew's and in three other cathedrals.

The clergy had been directed to purchase two copies of the liturgy for each parish, and the prelates now proceeded to enforce obedience to this mandate. A divine named Henderson and three others presented supplications to suspend the charge. These being backed by several of the nobility and gentry, and

the general aversion from the liturgy becoming manifest, the council made a representation^a to the king, obscurely intimating a desire that the liturgy should be recalled. But prudent concession was a thing unknown to Charles; a stern reproof and an injunction of the immediate adoption of the ritual were the answer returned. The consequence was an immense accession to the number of the supplications and an organisation of the opponents of the liturgy throughout the kingdom.

In the month of October vast numbers of people flocked to Edinburgh to learn the king's reply to the supplications which had been transmitted to him. A proclamation ordered them to disperse; they in return drew up an accusation against the prelates on account of the canons and liturgy, which was rapidly subscribed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and people all through Scotland. The following month they re-assembled in increased force, and having obtained permission of the council to choose representatives to carry on the accusation, they appointed several of the nobility, two gentlemen for each county, and one or more of the clergy and burgesses for each presbytery and borough. Thus were formed the celebrated *Tables*, or committees, which being subdivided and regulated, gave order and consistency to their union. Their demands now increased; they required the abrogation of the high commission, the canons and the liturgy. To this neither Laud nor the king could yield without the ruin of their favourite plans, and a proclamation was issued censuring the supplicants, and forbidding them to assemble under the penalties of treason.

This was a fatal measure to the crown; for the Tables forthwith resolved on a renewal of the national covenant, the bond of religious union first adopted by the Lords of the Congregation, and twice renewed in the reign of James. It took its name and character from the covenants of Israel with Jehovah recorded in the Scriptures, and it also partook much of the nature of the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance which had long prevailed in Scotland. It was now drawn up by Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and by Johnstone of Wariston, a distinguished advocate. It renounced popery and all its doctrines, practices, and claims in the strongest terms; and then declaring the liturgy and canons to be thus virtually renounced, concluded with an obligation to resist them, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and law. The supplicants were invited by the Tables to repair to a solemn meeting at Edinburgh; a fast was ap-

pointed, and the preachers, as directed, recommended a renewal of the covenant. Accordingly, on the 1st of March 1638, in the Grey-friars' church, it was solemnly renewed with prayer and spiritual exhortations. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and thousands of all orders, sexes, and ages subscribed it; copies were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and it was everywhere subscribed with shouts of joy, or with tears of contrition for their past defections. Within two months all Scotland (Aberdeen excepted) was banded to the covenant. Men saw in it the hand of Heaven; the austerity of devotion increased; a religious spirit soon pervaded all the relations of social life, and the public spirit assumed new vigour.

An independent assembly and a free parliament were the demands of the covenanters. The court employed every art to illude them, being secretly resolved to have recourse to arms. With this view all their demands (after Charles had taken sufficient care to convince them of his insincerity) were suddenly conceded, and an assembly was held at Glasgow (Nov. 21) to regulate the church. The marquess of Hamilton, the king's representative, was instructed to excite jealousies among the members, and if he found the assembly restive, to dissolve it. Seeing that he could not manage it, he therefore, under pretext of its being irregularly chosen, and consequently not competent to the trial of prelates, one of the measures proposed, declared it dissolved, but the members refused to separate; their resolution was approved of by many of the privy council, and the accession to their side of the potent earl of Argyle gave them increased courage. The acts of the six preceding assemblies were forthwith annulled, the canons, liturgy, and high commission were condemned, and episcopacy was abolished. Eight of the bishops were excommunicated, four deposed, and two suspended. And thus was prostrated at one blow the fabric which it had occupied two reigns to erect.

It had been Hamilton's advice to the king from the beginning to have recourse to arms, and the necessary preparations had therefore been made. To procure money, loans were required from the nobility; under the influence of Laud, the church contributed largely; and the catholics, at the call of the queen, and well-aware that it was their interest to support the crown from which alone they could expect favour, gave their money for the support of the *Episcopal War*, as it was denominated. Arms and artillery were provided, the counties were directed to send their trained bands or militia, and the

peers to lead their retainers in arms to York; a negotiation (which however was frustrated) was also entered into with the regency of the Netherlands for the use of six thousand veterans. The covenanters, on their side, prepared for a defensive war. By means of the numerous Scottish pedlers who hawked their wares through England, they opened a communication with the English puritans; Richelieu, willing to repay Charles in kind, secretly supplied them with money, and arms and ammunition were purchased on the continent. The covenant was sent to the Scots in the Swedish service for their subscription; and Alexander Lesley, an officer of great experience in the wars of Germany, was invited over to take the command of the army which was to be raised. Many other able officers also returned to the defence of their country; the pulpits inculcated the justice of defensive warfare, and resounded with the curse of Meroz on those "who came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Volunteers crowded to the standards and were disciplined by Lesley and his officers; the royal castles were all surprised, and the port of Leith was put into a state of defence. When the Gordons rose under their chief, the earl of Huntley, to maintain the royal cause in the north, the earl of Montrose marched against them, and compelled Huntley to come as a hostage to Edinburgh (1639).

The king advanced at the head of twenty three thousand men to Berwick. Lesley took his position at Dunse-law; while Munro, the second in command, was stationed at Kelso. The armies were about equal in number; the king was superior in cavalry, but in infantry the advantage was entirely on the side of the Scots, who, in addition to superior discipline and better officers, were animated by a spirit of fanatic devotion, while the English soldiers were utterly indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged. The Scottish camp continually resounded with psalmody and prayer; morning and evening the men were summoned to their devotions by beat of drum, and two sermons each day kept up their fervour.

Lord Holland, who commanded the English cavalry, advanced to Kelso, but at the sight of the Scottish forces his men turned and fled. The king, who had expected that the Scottish nation would have submitted at once on his appearance at the head of an army, saw his hopes all baffled, and now easily discerned that all who attended him were adverse to a war; Laud too, aware of the superior strength of the Scots, counselled peace, and the Scots themselves were very reluctant to

carry matters to an extremity with their sovereign. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore readily listened to; Scottish commissioners came to the royal camp (June 11), the king treated with them in person, and it was arranged that a parliament and a general assembly should meet in the month of August to regulate the affairs of church and state. The Scottish army was then disbanded, and the royal castles were restored.

The assembly and the parliament met at the appointed time; the former came to the same conclusions respecting episcopacy and the other matters as that of Glasgow had done; and Traquair, who presided over it, gave the royal assent to them. For this he had the king's permission; who, however, was resolved to revoke, when he should have the power, these, in his mind, unlawful concessions. The parliament not proving manageable was prorogued for six months.

Charles now summoned lord Wentworth over from Ireland, where he had for some years held the office of lord-deputy. He consulted with him, Laud, and Hamilton on the affairs of Scotland, and the result of their deliberations was a resolution to reduce the Scots by force of arms. Some other members of the council were then added to them, in order to deliberate on the mode of providing funds for the war; and at their instances, Charles agreed to call a parliament: meantime writs were issued for the levy of ship-money, and the lords subscribed various sums, Wentworth giving the example by putting down his name for 20,000*l*. It was arranged that the parliament should not be called till the following April, in order to give Wentworth an opportunity of holding a parliament previously in Ireland, to which country he returned with the title of lord-lieutenant; he was also elevated in the English peerage by being created earl of Strafford.

The covenanters had sent the earls of Dunfermline and Loudon, and sir William Douglas and Mr. Barclay as their commissioners to London, to complain to the king of the prorogation of the parliament and other injuries; they were also, it would appear, instructed to deal with the discontented English*. Traquair, however, had got possession of the copy of

* "They had great resort to them," says Whitelock, "and many secret councils held with them by the discontented English, chiefly by those who favoured presbytery and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censures in the star-chamber, exchequer, high-commission, and other judicatories. *They also who inclined to a republic* had much correspondence with them, and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The earl of Essex,

a letter addressed to the king of France (*au Roi*), and signed by Lesley, Mar, Rothes, *Moncrose*, Montgomery, Loudon, and the secretary Forrester, justifying their cause and asking for aid*. The commissioners, therefore, were arrested, and Loudon was committed to the Tower. It is said that a warrant was issued for his execution without any trial; but the lieutenant, who was a Scotsman, took it to the marquess of Hamilton, who, though it was midnight, entered the apartment of the king and prevailed on him to recall it, or else Scotland, he said, would be lost for ever. We trust that this story is not true: Charles, though a despot, was not a man of blood.

The earl of Strafford having held his parliament in Ireland, where his will was law, and obtained an unconditional grant of money, and levied an army of eight thousand men, returned to England, and on the 13th of April 1640, after an interval of twelve years, a parliament met at Westminster. Though the majority of the members had never sitten before, the composition of the house of commons was the same as ever, the puritan and patriotic party greatly preponderating in it. The king, on the opening of the session, having addressed them in a few brief terms, the lord-keeper related all the proceedings of Scotland, and telling them that "his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation, which would not be grateful to him," required them to grant a supply forthwith, after which they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance and have a favourable answer. The commons having then chosen sergeant Glanville speaker, prepared to proceed to business†; and "whilst men," says Clarendon, "gazed upon each other, looking who should begin, (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament,) Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech of two hours' length, he enumerated and displayed all the grievances which afflicted the state, under the heads of

Bedford, Holland, the lord Say, Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality were deep in with them."

* The fact of this letter having been sent was long disputed. Mazure (*Hist. de la Rev. de 1688*, iii. 405) has put an end to doubt by printing it.

† "The house met always at eight of the clock and rose at twelve; which were the old parliament hours; that the committees upon whom the greatest burden of business lay might have the afternoons for their preparation and despatch." Clarendon, i. 233.

breach of privilege of parliament, injury to the established religion*, and invasion of the subjects' rights of liberty and property. Having then shown that these were as hurtful to the crown as to the people, he proposed that the lords should be invited to join in a petition to the king, and in searching out the causes and remedies of these evils. Other members followed in the same strain, but when one of them termed ship-money an *abomination*, he was called to the bar and narrowly escaped being reprimanded. Clarendon mentions this "that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of."

The court being impatient for the money prevailed on the peers to urge the commons to begin with the supply. This interference was voted to be a high breach of privilege. The king then sent to say that if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would release all his title or pretence to ship-money in future. This matter was debated for two days, when, on the proposal of Mr. Hyde, that the question of supply simply should be first put, sir Henry Vane, the treasurer, said that he had authority to state that the king would only accept of it in the manner and proportion proposed in his message. He was followed by the solicitor-general, and it being near five o'clock, the house adjourned. Next day (May 5), the king dissolved the parliament. Three members were then committed, and a declaration was published giving the reasons for the dissolution, charging the disaffected members "with attempting to direct the government, and to examine and censure its acts as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament." Thus abruptly terminated the Short Parliament as it was named: contrary to the usual custom, the convocation continued to sit till the end of the month; it passed canons ordering the clergy to teach the people the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of

* The "principles of popery," said he, "are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some by certain respects; but the ultimate end even of that moderation is, that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is opposite to them. Laws will not restrain them; oaths will not. The pope can dispense with both these; and where there is occasion, his command will move them to the disturbance of the realm against their own private disposition, yea, against their own reason and judgment, to obey him. The king and the kingdom can have no security but in their weakness and disability to do hurt." How well Pym understood the genius of popery! The catholics at the present day assure us, that their religion is unchanged and unchangeable, yet, such is our extreme liberality, we will not believe them.

resistance to their authority, imposing on them the *et cetera* oath* as it was named, and regulating the position of the communion-table and so forth, and finally granting the king a benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years.

The dissolution was a matter of exultation to Pym and his friends, for they knew that the king must soon call another parliament. Oliver St. John said to Hyde, "that all was well, and that it would be worse before it could be better, and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done." Their communications with the Scottish agents now became more frequent, and their future tactics were arranged.

Preparations for invading Scotland were now made; the voluntary loan produced 300,000*l.*; the counties were required to supply each a certain proportion of men, provide them with coat- and conduct-money, and furnish horses. It was proposed to invade Scotland with 20,000 men from England and 10,000 from Ireland, while Hamilton should pour down with 10,000 more from the Highlands. The want of funds, however, and the activity of the covenanters, frustrated this plan. Charles gave the chief command of his army to the earl of Northumberland, but that nobleman falling sick he took it himself; Strafford was lieutenant-general: lord Conway, who was a military man, commanded the cavalry.

Conway marched with the first troops that were levied into Northumberland. The Scottish army of 26,000 men was encamped at Dunse, and on the 12th of August, at the desire, as they thought†, of their English friends, they crossed the Tweed, and entered England. Conway prepared to dispute the passage of the Tyne at Newburn, but it was forced by the Scots, who speedily became masters of the two northern counties, which being the coal-counties, enabled them to distress the city of London whenever they pleased. At the same time they forced the inhabitants to pay them 5600*l.* a week, and they seized the property of the clergy and the catholics.

The king was now at York with an ill-affected army. He had summoned a great council of the peers to meet him there on the 24th of September, and he proposed to lay before it the petition which the Scots now sent him; he had also received

* The oath was to maintain the church as it was. One of the clauses was, "Nor give consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c."

† Lord Savile had sent them a letter to this effect, to which he forged the signatures of some of the leading opposition peers.

a petition subscribed by twelve peers, and another signed by ten thousand citizens of London, praying him to call a parliament, a measure which his council also advised. Accordingly, when the great council met he announced his intention of calling a parliament for the 3rd of November, and sixteen peers then proceeded to Ripon to negotiate with the Scots. The treaty was soon transferred to London, and it was arranged that till it was concluded the northern counties should pay the Scots 5600*l.* a-week, to be repaid out of the first supply granted by parliament.

The despotism of Charles had now reached its close. We have exposed it freely; we have shown that it went to depriving the nation of all that is most valuable to civilized man. The lives, the liberties, the properties of the people, were to be at the disposal of the monarch, who held himself accountable to Heaven alone for the exercise of the powers which he claimed. A galling ecclesiastical tyranny also pressed on the people, fettering conscience and controlling the free expression of thought. Is there any one so base, so unworthy of the name of freeman, as to regret that this state of things has not been perpetuated to our own times? And what certainty have we that such would not have been the case had Charles not been checked in his career, and that popery would not again have overspread the land, if he had transmitted the plenitude of despotism to his popish sons? We are now to witness the conduct of the men who broke that power, and to treat them with the same impartiality which we have employed in the case of the monarch.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1640-1641.

ON the 3rd of November, 1640, that parliament met, whose deeds, for good or for evil, have rendered it, with one exception, the most memorable assembly in the annals of the world. The greatest exertions had been made by both parties to procure returns favourable to their political views; but the efforts

of Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the popular party, joined with the feelings of the electors themselves, who saw the necessity of a reform in the state, had obtained them a triumph in most places over their opponents. To the honour of our forefathers, it is to be recorded, that in no single case did the popular choice fall on the vulgar demagogue, the political charlatan, the bankrupt in fame or fortune, who cajoled his constituents by affecting to have no will of his own, and to be in the legislature merely the mouthpiece of their notions and whims; it is however to be observed that men of that character were rare at the time. The members of the Long Parliament, as this was subsequently styled, were in general men of high moral character, of cultivated minds, and of independent fortunes, the landed property of the commons being said to be treble of that of the peers. In a word, a more august assembly than that which now met at Westminster has never appeared on the scene of the world.

Yet partiality must not blind us; we must not give the reins to imagination, and view in the Pym, the Hampdens, and the St. Johns of those days men without blemish, raised above the common lot of humanity, and incapable of artifice or error. We shall find them employing the arts inseparable from political parties, acting at times in violation of the principles of justice, and treading in the footprints of the despotism which they sought to restrain. We have not hidden the faults of the king; we will not pass over in silence those of the parliament.

The views of the popular leaders may be collected from the following incident. A few days before the parliament met, as Pym and Hyde were conversing on the state of affairs, the former said, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties," and much more to the same effect. The parliament, Clarendon observes, "had a sad and a melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events." The king did not go in his usual state, taking his way thither by water. He was also disappointed in his expectation of having the recorder of London, sir Thomas Gardiner, chosen speaker, as he was not returned

for any place. His choice then fell upon a lawyer named Lenthall, a man of good practice in the law, but of no parliamentary experience, and little calculated to maintain the dignity of his office.

The first week was employed in the formation of committees and the reception of petitions, many of which were brought up by troops of horsemen from the country. On the 10th the earl of Strafford came up from the North, at the earnest desire of the king. He was aware of his danger, knowing himself to be the object of the hostility of the popular party, and of the Scots; but the king gave him his solemn assurance, "that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head." The next day Pym suddenly rose, and stating that he had matter of high import to communicate, desired that the strangers' room should be cleared, the outer door of the house be locked, and the key laid on the clerk's table. When all this was done, he rose, and dilating on all the illegal acts that had been done, and magnifying the virtues of the king, added, "We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed," and who they were that had perverted the king's excellent judgement. He then proceeded to say, that "he believed there was one more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who in the memory of many present had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people, but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced." He then named Thomas earl of Strafford, and ran through the whole history of his administration in the North and in Ireland, "adding," says Clarendon, "some lighter passages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion." Other speakers followed in the same strain. A message then came from the lords, desiring a conference, but a reply was made that they were engaged in weighty business; notice was at the same time sent to their friends in the peers to keep that house from rising. It was finally moved to impeach the earl of high-treason, no one dissenting, only lord Falkland (who was no friend to him) suggesting that it were better to

digest the accusation previously in a committee. But Pym said that would blast all their hopes, as the earl, when he got notice of it, would procure the parliament to be dissolved. It was resolved then to proceed at once; the doors were thrown open, and Pym issued forth at the head of three hundred members, and at the bar of the house of lords impeached the earl of high-treason, in the name of the commons of England.

Strafford, who had been in conference with the king, hastened to the house, and "with a proud glooming countenance," was making toward his place at the board-head, but he was ordered to retire. He obeyed: after some delay he was recalled and directed to kneel at the bar; he was then delivered over to the usher of the black-rod, to be kept in custody. He passed to his coach through a crowd of people, "all gazing," says Baillie, "no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered." None, however, insulted him.

The impeachment of Strafford was certainly a masterly manœuvre on the part of the popular leaders, and the unanimity of the vote proves the general feeling of his being a chief encourager of the royal excesses. But if it be true that *he* was prepared to impeach *them* for their dealings with the Scots, the purity of their patriotism on this occasion may be questioned. A further stroke of policy was the impeachment of his friend sir George Radcliffe, whose evidence might be of advantage to the earl.

The objects aimed at were good, but the straight path of justice was not always followed by the patriots. A committee of elections unseated many members who did not suit their views. "It was often said by leading men amongst them," says Clarendon, "that they ought in those cases to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the person, whatever the desire of those was in whom the right of election remained. And therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rules by which another hath been rejected." One of their rules was that no one should sit "who had been a party or a favourer of any project, or who had been employed in any illegal commission." On this ground they unseated several; but the king afterwards charged them with not having applied their rule impartially, passing over their own friends, sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Whittaker, "who had been scandalously engaged in those pressures."

Under the newly-adopted term of *Delinquents*, all the lieu-

tenants and deputies of counties who had exercised powers not strictly warranted by statute were brought into danger. The sheriffs and all concerned in raising ship-money were also voted delinquents. The farmers and officers of the customs were similarly treated. The judgement in the case of Hampden was reversed; those judges who had given it were obliged to give large security to abide the judgement of the parliament. One of them, sir John Berkeley, was arrested as he sat on the bench, and carried to prison, "which struck," says Whitelock, "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster-hall, and in all his profession," as no doubt it was meant that it should.

An impeachment against Laud was also carried up to the lords by Denzil Hollis, and that prelate was committed to the black-rod. The lord-keeper Finch and secretary Windebank, being menaced with impeachment, fled to the continent.

Bishop Williams, who had lain for three years in the Tower, was now released; so also was the unfortunate Leighton. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were recalled from their island-prisons, and they entered London in a kind of triumph, being followed by five thousand persons, men and women, on horse-back, wearing bay and rosemary in their hats. Those who had passed sentence on them were now adjudged to pay them heavy damages.

All the modes by which the king had been of late in the habit of raising money were resolved to be illegal. To secure the benefits resulting from this resolution, a bill was brought in (Jan. 19, 1641) that a parliament should be called every third year, and if the crown and the proper authorities neglected to call it, the people should meet of themselves, and choose their representatives. To this bill the king gave his assent (Feb. 15), and the people testified their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

Petitions against episcopacy or its abuses poured in from all quarters. One signed by two thousand of the clergy prayed for the extinction of the order; another to the same effect, called the Root and Branch petition, came from fifteen thousand citizens of London. The Scottish commissioners, eager to set up their own idol, exerted themselves zealously. "Against the bishops," says Baillie, who was one of them, "we pray, preach, and print what we are able most freely..... There is a world of pamphlets here..... Their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question.

"We must have it cut by the axe of prayer." Fasts, he adds, were also held, that "the Lord might join the breath of his nostrils with the endeavours of weak men to blow up a wicked and anti-scriptural church."

During all this time a committee of the commons were busily engaged in preparing heads of accusation against Strafford. To give him as little chance as possible, they bound themselves to strict secrecy as to their proceedings, by a kind of voluntary oath. The king, on his part, in his anxiety to save him, sought to conciliate his opponents, and the lords Bristol, Essex, Bedford, Hertford, Mandevile*, Savile, and Say, were sworn of the privy council. He was even induced to take a further step, ~~and~~ listen to a proposal to "prefer some of the grandes to offices at court, whereby Strafford's enemies should become his friends, and the king's desires be promoted." The proposed arrangement was, that the earl of Bedford should be treasurer, and his follower Pym (who sat for his borough of Tavistock) his chancellor of the exchequer, lord Say master of the court of wards, Denzil Hollis secretary of state, Oliver St. John solicitor-general. Hampden, it is said, was to be tutor to the prince, and others were to be otherwise provided for. But from one cause or other these promotions did not take effect, and "the great men," adds Whitelock, "baffled thereby, became the more incensed and violent against the earl, joining with the Scots commissioners, who were implacable against him." When to this remark of one who could not well be mistaken, we add the following anecdote, it may be doubted if the men who sought Strafford's blood were such models of public virtue as their admirers make them. At the time of Strafford's apostasy he and Pym met at Greenwich; they conversed awhile on public affairs, and as they were concluding, the latter said, "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders." This threat was uttered before Strafford had committed any greater offence than that of abandoning those with whom he had lately acted, but to whose party he had never properly belonged.

Strafford, it is not to be denied, was a despot by nature, and therefore if the court had not won him, he would, by natural consequence, have become the most formidable of demagogues. Attached to the crown the grand object of his life was to render it absolute. In his presidency of the North he was arbi-

* This was the eldest son of the earl of Manchester, who was created viscount Kimbolton.

trary and rigorous in the extreme, but he had only the king's service in view, and he was impartial in his despotism. When he was appointed to the government of Ireland in 1632, he went over to that "conquered country," as he styled it, fully determined to make his master, as far as it was concerned, "the most absolute prince in Christendom." The effects produced by the force of his genius were surprising; while he ruled it with a rod of iron he made it flourishing and wealthy; the customs were quadrupled in the short space of four years, for he guarded the seas, and repressed all internal commotion. In the fifth year the revenue exceeded the expenditure by 60,000*l*. He introduced the linen-manufacture, but he suppressed that of wool, in order to keep Ireland dependent on England, and he formed magnificent projects of foreign trade, and sought for sources of internal industry. Confiding in the vigour of his mind, he feared not to convene parliaments, and when they met he swayed them at his will. He raised and maintained a numerous and well-appointed army. He never for a moment lost sight of his main object, that of rendering the sovereign absolute; in his soul he regarded absolute monarchy as the best form of government; to produce it he laboured in concert with Laud, a man every way his inferior no doubt, but in this matter as sincere and as vehement as himself. Their favourite word was THOROUGH, and they frequently complained of the scruples and slowness of their royal master, who would not proceed as rapidly as they required.

All the preliminaries being arranged, the day fixed for the trial of this mighty man arrived. It was the 22nd of March; the place was Westminster-hall; the earl of Arundel acted as lord-high-steward. The peers, in their robes, were seated on benches in the centre; on scaffolds at each side sat the commons, as a committee of their house; with them the Scottish commissioners and the deputies sent over by a portion of the Irish house of commons, to make charges against the lord-lieutenant. At the upper end was an elevated throne, and at each side of it a latticed box for the royal family; at the lower end of the throne was a gallery for ladies of quality. A bar stretched across the hall, leaving about one-third of it for the use of the public.

The court sat every morning at nine o'clock. The earl entered attired in black, wearing his George by a golden chain, and having made three bows to the lord-high-steward, knelt at the bar; then bowing to the peers, he took his place at a small

desk, the lieutenant of the Tower standing beside him, and his four secretaries at his back. He lay under every disadvantage; he was suffering from the stone and gout; according to the iniquitous practice which prevailed then and long after, he was not allowed the aid of counsel, except on points of law, and the witnesses against him were examined on oath, while *his* were not; he had but thirty minutes given him to prepare his reply to the charges urged against him by the managers, and while he was thus engaged an eternal hubbub was kept up around him; the lords walking about and chatting, the commons more noisy still, and a continued clamour at the doors.* The bishops too, probably fearing for themselves, had, on the suggestion of Williams, resigned their right of being present, and the king had weakly consented to allow the privy councillors to be examined on oath by the committee respecting advice given by the earl at the board. Against these, Strafford had to sustain him, his own mighty powers, his conviction that the charges against him did not amount to treason, and the repeated assurance of the king that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune.

On the second day Pym rose, and "made," says Whitelock, "an introduction very rhetorical and smart to the articles." These, which were twenty-eight in number, were urged during thirteen days by the lawyers Glyn, Maynard, Palmer, and Whitelock. The general charge was "an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental government of the kingdom and introduce an arbitrary power." Of the particular charges three were contended to amount to the treason of levying war against the king. These were, 1. billeting soldiers on the peaceable people of Ireland till he had made them submit to his illegal demands: 2. raising an army in Ireland, and advising the king to employ it in bringing England into subjection: 3. imposing a tax on the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his trained bands. The remaining articles, consisting of charges of hasty and imperious expressions, of oppressions of individuals, and of illegal proceedings, it was contended, though of no great importance separately, amounted to what was termed cumulative treason, as indicating his design of subverting the

* "It was daily," says Baillie, "the most glorious assembly the isle could afford, yet the gravity not such as I expect." "After ten," he adds, "much public eating, not only of confections, but of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the king's eye."

liberties of the country. Against all these charges Strafford defended himself with eloquence and effect, and the tide it was soon perceptible was turning in his favour; he won the hearts of all the ladies by his graceful and manly eloquence, and the number of his friends among the peers was visibly on the increase. Pym and his coadjutors now began to doubt if they should be able to convict him of treason. They therefore (Apr. 10) desired to be allowed to produce an additional piece of evidence to one of the articles. Strafford claimed the same liberty; but Glyn objected, crying that "the prisoner at the bar presumed to prescribe to the commons;" the lords, however, thought his demand but reasonable. The committee then rose up, and shouting, *Withdraw! withdraw!* "cocked their beavers," says Baillie, "in the king's sight," and retired in high indignation, without even appointing a day for the next meeting.

This was on Saturday, and on the Monday following Pym produced in the house of commons a copy of some notes taken by sir Henry Vane of the opinions delivered at the council-table on the day that the last parliament was dissolved, according to which Strafford had said, that the king having tried the affection of his people in vain, was "absolved and loose from all rule of government, and might do what power would admit;" he added, "you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce *this* kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." The manner in which Pym obtained these notes was rather suspicious. The young sir Henry Vane being on the eve of marriage, his father, who was out of town, sent him up the keys of his study and boxes that he might get out some title-deeds which were required for making the marriage-settlement. A red velvet cabinet having attracted his attention, he opened it and there found those notes; he hastened with them to Pym, who took a copy of them, and the original was then replaced in the cabinet. Questions founded on these notes had been put to sir Henry Vane by the committee of the commons on three occasions before the trial; the two first times he declared that he knew nothing of Strafford's project to employ the Irish army "to reduce *this* kingdom," the third time he recollected the very words. On the trial he repeated his last evidence, but professed that he did not know whether by "this kingdom" was meant England or Scotland. All the other councillors who were examined declared that they did not recollect

the words, and that there was no idea of employing the Irish army anywhere but in Scotland.

These notes then were the additional evidence which the managers wanted liberty to produce, and with the following view. The law (though it had often been transgressed) required two witnesses in case of treason, and there was only the single evidence of sir Henry Vane to this point; Pym therefore "conceived those circumstances of his and young sir Henry Vane's having seen those original results, and being ready to swear that the paper read by him was a true copy of the other, might reasonably amount to the validity of another witness"!!

Clarendon tells us that when Pym had made this disclosure to the house, young Vane got up and acknowledged the truth of all he had stated, adding other particulars. His father then "rose with a pretty confusion," and said that he now saw whence the questions had been derived which had surprised him so much, but owned that the copy corresponded with the notes which he had since committed to the flames. He expressed such indignation against his son, that a motion was made, "that the father might be enjoined to be friends with his son." There was, however, for a long time a great coolness between them in public. Clarendon and others looked upon the whole as a well-acted scene, sir Henry Vane having himself, they believed, communicated the notes out of enmity to Strafford. The cause of this enmity is said to have been the latter's having taken his second title from Raby, a place belonging to the Vanes.

Pym being unable to convert his copy of the notes into a second witness, now introduced a bill to attain the earl of Strafford for endeavouring to subvert the liberties of the country; for they had long since resolved to employ this odious, unconstitutional course, if the impeachment seemed likely to fail*. At a conference therefore with the lords on the afternoon of this day, the copy of Vane's notes was produced, and the next day (13th), when the trial was resumed, they were read openly. Lord Clare, Strafford's brother-in-law, urged that "this kingdom" meant Scotland, and Strafford himself

* Wariston, one of the Scottish commissioners, writes, *April 2*, "Strafford's business is yet but in the 15th article. The lower house, if they see that the king gains many of the upper house not to condemn him, will make a bill of *teinture* [attainder] and condemnation formally in their own house," etc. See Dalrymple, ii. 117.

dwelt on this point and on the variations in Van's testimony, adding, that the evidence of four councillors ought surely to outweigh that of one. The lord-steward then told him if he had any thing more to say in his defence to proceed, as the house intended now to prepare to give judgement.

The earl then went over his former ground of defence, contending that nothing charged against him amounted to treason. In conclusion he said, "It is hard to be questioned on a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years without smoke to discover it till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every one passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where the tokens upon this crime, to declare it to be high-treason?" He then warned the peers for their own sakes not to "awaken these sleeping lions" of constructive treasons. "My lords," said he in conclusion, "I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me;" here he stopped, letting fall some tears; he then resumed, "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgement, and whether that judgement be of life or death, *Te Deum laudamus!*" Pym and St. John spoke in reply. It is said that when the former uttered the following words, "If this law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," Strafford raised his head, and looked at him fixedly; Pym became confused, his memory failed him. "To humble the man," says Baillie, "God let his memory fail him a little before the end." He looked at his papers, but they were of no avail. He then briefly said that the solicitor-general, St. John, would, on a future day argue

some law-points before them with learning and abilities much better for that service*.

Whitelock, a generous enemy, says of Strafford's defence, "Certainly never man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgement and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

The commons meantime were proceeding with their bill of attainder. It was read the third time on the 21st, only fifty-nine members voting against it in a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The most strenuous opposer of the bill was lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, a member of the committee of impeachment. "I am still the same," said he, "in my opinions and affections as unto the earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be charactered. I believe him still to be that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch." For this speech Digby was immediately questioned in the house, and when he printed it the house ordered that it should be burnt by the hangman, "which," says May, "was the visible cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it."

The bill was carried up to the lords the same day, and as an inducement for them to pass it, there was added a proviso that it should not be held a precedent for future times. On the 24th the tardy peers were called on to appoint a day for reading it, and on the 29th Strafford being placed at the bar, St. John argued for two hours in proof of the legality of the attainder. Among other arguments he employed the following: "He that would not have had others to have had a law, why

* In this speech of Pym's was the following noble passage: "The law is the boundary, the measure between the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another; the prerogative a cover and a defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue;—if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

should he have any law himself? It's true we give laws to hares and deers, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats, and other vermin, for preservation of the warren." In other words, Strafford must be destroyed, with law, or without law.

Two days after (May 1) the king summoned both houses, and told them that in conscience he could not condemn Strafford of treason, or assent to the bill of attainder, "but for misdemeanors, he is so clear in them, that he thinks the earl hereafter not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no not so much as a constable"; and he conjured the lords to find out some middle way. Charles, by this address, characteristic of his usual want of judgement, only hastened the fate of Strafford; for the commons, seeing their advantage, exclaimed loudly against the breach of privilege committed by the king's interfering with a bill in progress. Next day being Sunday, the pulpits which were occupied by the puritan clergy inculcated "the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents now to be acted"; and on the following morning there came a rabble of about six thousand persons, armed with swords, daggers, and clubs, crying for justice on the earl of Strafford, and complaining that "they were undone for the want of execution on him, trading was so decayed thereby." They insulted several of the lords, and they posted up the names of the fifty-nine members of the commons who had voted against the attainder, calling them Straffordians, or traitors to their Country. When these members complained to the house of being thus proscribed, they could get no redress, it being, they were told, the act of a multitude. If it be asked, Where did the mob get their list? the reply will appear in the sequel.

While the mob was shouting outside, Pym took occasion to reveal to the house sundry matters which had come to his knowledge respecting intrigues and designs against the parliament; and on his motion, a protestation (borrowed from the Covenant) to defend the protestant church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people, was taken by all the members. It was transmitted next day to the lords, where it was taken in like manner, the catholic peers of course declining it, and being thereby prevented from voting on Strafford's attainder.

Orders were then given for the protestation to be taken all through England.

The important matter which Pym now communicated to the house was what is called the Army-plot. It is said that he had had a knowledge of it for some time, and had dropped hints of it in order to produce the effects he desired in the city. The matter is involved in great obscurity; the following is what appears to us the most probable account.

The parliament had been very regular in their payments of the money promised to their "dear brethren," as they termed the Scots. On one occasion the latter wrote up pretending an instant need of 25,000*l.*, and the commons having only 15,000*l.* in hand, took to make up the sum 10,000*l.* from a sum of 50,000*l.* which was to have gone to the English army. Some of the field-officers of this last, namely, lord Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, son of lord Wilmot, and colonels Ashburnham, Pollard, and others, were members of the house of commons, and Wilmot rose and said, "that if such papers of the Scots could procure moneys, he doubted not but the officers of the English would soon do the like." Petitioning being now so much in vogue, these officers formed themselves into a *juncto*, as it was called, and prepared a petition to the king and parliament, to be presented from the army, of which the prayer would be the preserving of the bishops' functions and votes, the non-disbanding of the Irish army until that of the Scots was also disbanded, and the settlement of the royal revenue. This was communicated by Percy to the king. Meantime there was a plot on foot among Henry Jermyn, master of the horse to the queen, sir John Suckling, George Goring, son of lord Goring, and others, the object of which was deeper, it being to bring up the army, and overawe the parliament. It would appear that not merely the queen, but even the king was acquainted with this design, for he commanded Percy and his friends to communicate with Jermyn and Goring. They had three meetings, and Goring, finding that the more violent courses which he urged were not relished, and seeing also that the command of the army, the object of his ambition, would not be bestowed on him, went and made a discovery to lord Newport, and then to the parliamentary leaders. Percy, Jermyn, and Suckling, finding the affair discovered, fled to France; the others stood their ground. Percy afterwards (June 14) wrote a letter to his brother, giving an account (apparently a true one) of the whole affair, and then Wilmot, Ashburnham,

and Pollard were committed to custody. Lord Digby, having asserted that Goring was a perjured man, was expelled the house, and Goring was voted to have done nothing contrary to justice and honour.

The king, in his extreme anxiety to save Strafford, may have lent an ear to the wild project of Goring; he also assented to another, of introducing one captain Billingsley, with two hundred men, into the Tower for that purpose, and gave his warrant for it. But Balfour, the lieutenant, a Scotsman, having discovered the object, refused to admit them. It is also said that Balfour was offered a sum of money to let the earl escape, and on his examination he swore that Strafford had offered him for that purpose 20,000*l*. "besides a good marriage for his son *."

On the 5th a bill was introduced into the commons which virtually dissolved the monarchy. There being a difficulty in raising money for the pay of the armies, a Lancashire knight engaged to procure 650,000*l*. if the king would pass a bill "Not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve this parliament without consent of both houses, to endure till the grievances were redressed, and to give the parliament credit to take up monies." The next day this bill was hurried through all its stages, and sent with that of the attainder, up to the other house. The lords wished to limit it to two years, but the commons would not consent, and on the eighth it was passed. The lords at the same time passed the bill of attainder, the judges having previously declared that on two of the articles the earl was guilty of treason. This opinion would be of more weight were it not that the judges had such recent experience of the power of the commons. Various causes concurring to make several of the peers absent themselves, there were but forty-five present when the bill was passed, and of these nineteen voted against it.

The two bills were sent to the king. In his distress of mind he called some of the prelates and privy-councillors to his aid. Some urged the authority of the judges; bishop Williams is said to have drawn a pernicious distinction between a king's private and public conscience, by which in his public capacity he might do an act which he secretly believed to be a crime. Bishop Juxon† alone, we are told, honestly advised him to

* As this was sworn June 2, after Strafford's death, we have only Balfour's own word for its truth. May says the match was the earl's own daughter.

† An upright honest man. "I never," said the king, "got his opinion

follow his conscience. A letter also came from the earl himself, urging him to pass the bill. "Sir," said he in it, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done." A truly noble mind would have perished sooner than sacrifice such a voluntary victim; Charles, to his ultimate ruin and eternal disgrace, signed a commission to three lords to pass both the bills.

It is probable that Strafford did not look for this result, for when Secretary Carleton came from the king to inform him of what he had done, and his motives for it, he could not at first believe it. When satisfied of the truth, he stood up, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on his heart, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

Denzil Hollis, who was Strafford's brother-in-law, told Burnet that the king sent for him, and asked if he knew of any course to save his life. Hollis hinted at a reprieve, which would give himself time to use his influence with his friends in the commons. The king would appear to have assented to this course, but, with his usual inconstancy, he adopted another. The day after his assent to the bill (11th) he sent a letter by the young prince of Wales, written by himself to the lords, urging them to join him in prevailing with the commons to consent to his imprisonment for life; "but," he subjoined, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *Fiat Justitia*." In a postscript he adds, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." This postscript is said to have sealed the earl's doom.

The following morning (12th) was appointed for the execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower-hill; the earl, when ready, left his chamber; Laud, as he had requested, was at his window to give him his blessing as he passed; the feeble old man raised his hands, but was unable to speak, and fell back into the arms of his attendants. The earl moved on; the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the mob should tear him to pieces; he replied that it was equal to him whether he died by the axe or by *their* fury. The multitudes extended far as the eye could reach; the earl took off his hat several times, and saluted them; not a word of insult was heard: "his step and air," says Rushworth, who was present,

freely in my life, but when I had it I was ever the better for it."—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 96.

"were those of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man to undergo the sentence of death." From the scaffold he addressed the people, assuring them that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart; it augured ill for their happiness, he told them, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood; he assured them that he had never been against parliaments, regarding them as "the best means under God to make the king and his people happy." He turned to take leave of his friends, and seeing his brother weeping, he gently reproached him. "Think," said he, "that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage-bed. That block shall be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours." He then began to undress, saying, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." He knelt and prayed, archbishop Usher and another clergyman kneeling with him. He laid down his head to try the block: then telling the executioner that he would stretch forth his hands as a sign when he was to strike, he laid it finally down, and giving the signal, it was severed at a single blow; and thus in the forty-ninth year of his age perished Thomas earl of Strafford, "who, for natural parts and abilities," says Whitelock, "and for improvement in knowledge, by experience in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him."

We have been thus minute in our account of the trial and death of this distinguished man, because we think it affords an index to the motives and conduct of the popular leaders. These are judged by men even at the present day more by feeling and prejudice than by reason; and while the admirers of republicanism see in Pym and his coadjutors a species of demigods, men raised far above all selfish objects and private feelings, the advocates of the crown regard them as mere factious demagogues, only anxious to destroy the monarchy. Here too, as elsewhere, the truth lies in the middle. Pym and his friends were politicians and statesmen; and it is not among such that any one versed in history and human nature will look for perfect virtue. They had noble objects in view, no doubt; it was a glorious task to lay a curb on despotism, and secure to the nation civil and religious liberty. But in the attainment of these objects they were not sufficiently nice as to means, and while hastening after justice they at times trampled it under

their feet. In the prosecution of Strafford it is easy to discern a personal vindictiveness, only to be satiated by his blood, and which no security against his return to power would have disarmed. It was this that led them, when distrusting their power of convicting him legally of treason, to bring in their fatal bill of attainder. As for the conduct of the king on this occasion, we have no excuse to offer for it; if faithless to his country, Strafford had been but too faithful to *him*; and surely, as a stand was to be made somewhere, it might better have been made in the defence of the life of a man whom he believed to be innocent, than in the support of a particular form of church government. But Charles never loved the earl, and the queen is thought to have urged him to sacrifice him.

This important trial also reveals to us the skill of the popular leaders in raising and sustaining what is now termed a 'pressure from without.' The following were the usual modes employed*:—1. The *press*, whence issued swarms of pamphlets answering to the 'leading articles' of the newspapers in our days, which, as Baxter tells us, "were greedily bought up throughout the land, which greatly increased the people's apprehension of their danger." 2. The *pulpit*. This had from the time of the Reformation been too often diverted from its legitimate use to serve political purposes. The patriots and puritans had of late years often and justly complained of its being employed to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; but in the day of their own power they recognised its efficacy, and employed it unsparingly. The clergy attended the houses, and received their instructions, and the congregations learned from the pulpit what they should perform in support of their leaders in the house. 3. *Petitions*, which gave an opportunity for large bodies of people to approach the houses, often armed, and thus daunt the opponents of the popular leaders. If we may believe Clarendon, a scandalous artifice was sometimes employed. A moderate petition was read at a public meeting, to which few could refuse to subscribe; but after the signatures were obtained, a petition of a very different character was placed at the head of them, and thus people often found themselves supplicants for what they had no mind to. 4. *Rumours*. At various times since the meeting of parliament it had been reported that the papists were assembled in arms underground in Surrey, and openly in Lancashire; that there was a plot for blowing up the Thames and thus drowning the city, on the

* They are enumerated by Dugdale, Short View, &c.

discovery of which there was a public thanksgiving ; that there was another for blowing up the house of commons with gunpowder ; sir John Earle actually smelled the powder ; the report spread to the city ; the drums beat, and the trained bands and crowds of the people hastened to Westminster to protect the members. A tailor sitting under a hedge heard two soldiers talking of how some of their comrades were to get so much apiece for killing several of the lords and commons ; the citizens started one night from their warm beds, and flew to arms at midnight, on a report that the king was coming down with horse and foot. We are told that in the space of two or three months these reports amounted to not less than thirty-nine. 5. *Spies*. Pym is said to have carried on an intrigue with lady Carlisle*, through whom he learned all that was passing in the royal apartments ; and, according to Clarendon, "all tavern and ordinary discourses" were carried to him. 6. Lastly, *organized mobs* of the London apprentices and others. These are said to have been under the direction of some of the clergy ; and we are told that one of them, named Burgess, would point to the rabble, saying, "These be my ban-dogs ; I can set them on and take them off again as I please."

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1641-1642.

AFTER the fall of Strafford, the king seems to have abandoned all thoughts of resistance for the present. The plan of giving office to some of the leading patriots had been resumed ; but unhappily for him, the earl of Bedford, an honourable and moderate man, who would have engaged to save Strafford, died at that very conjuncture. It was however partially carried into effect, lord Say being made master of the court of wards, Essex lord chamberlain, Hertford governor to the prince, and Leicester lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Bishop Juxon resigned

* Merely a political one, we believe. This lady, who was sister to the earl of Northumberland, is said to have been the mistress, first of Strafford and then of Pym. We have, however, seen nothing to justify this imputation on her character.

his office of lord-treasurer, to which the influence of Laud had advanced him, but in which his conduct had been irreproachable, and the treasury was put into commission.

The act securing them from a dissolution having set the parliament somewhat at their ease, they felt the less necessity for keeping the Scottish army in the kingdom, and they now began to think seriously of disbanding both armies. In the month of February they had voted a sum of 300,000*l.* "toward a supply of the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland." There were, moreover, 120,000*l.* of arrears due to the Scots. The mode of payment was arranged; and in addition to six subsidies, it was proposed to raise a supply by means of a graduated poll-tax, a duke being rated at 100*l.*, men of 100*l.* a year at 5*l.* The English army was to be paid off in like manner, and the earl of Holland was made general in order to disband it.

While Holland remained in London, the command of the army lay with sir Jacob Astley. The king, ever anxious to regain his power, listened to another project for marching the army up to overawe the parliament. It was proposed to proceed in the usual way by petition, and one was drawn up to be presented to the king and parliament in the name of the officers and soldiers; in which, after enumerating and praising all the late measures of reform, they complain that there are certain "stirring and practical" persons whom nothing short of the subversion of the government would satisfy, and who overawed the parliament by means of mobs; "for the suppression of which," it proceeds, "in all humility we offer ourselves to wait upon you, if you please, hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of defence to our gracious sovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them," etc.

This petition was read and approved of by the king, in token of which he wrote his C. R. at the bottom of it. It was then sent down to the army by captain Legge, with directions not to show it to any one but sir Jacob Astley. The chief agent employed by the king in this affair was one Daniel O'Neal, an Irish catholic, who had served abroad, and was now serjeant-major (*i. e.* adjutant) in the regiment of sir John Conyers, and who was also engaged to treat with the Scottish army for their neutrality. The whole plan, however, proved abortive, and it soon came to the knowledge of the parliament, and augmented their distrust of the king.

On the 22nd of June the commons presented to the king an act granting him tonnage and pour'dage, also one for the poll-money; these were accompanied by two others for suppressing the courts of star-chamber and high-commission. The king came down on the 2nd of July, and passed the money-bills, but demurred to the others; learning, however, how much dissatisfaction this had caused, he came again on the 5th, and passed the other two bills; thus, in his usual unhappy manner losing the credit he might have gained by a cheerful compliance with what he could not avoid.

The king's attachment to his sister and her family is an amiable trait in his character; and his anxiety for the restitution of the Palatinate had led him into negotiations and civilities with the pope and the catholic princes which had caused alarm to his more zealous protestant subjects. He now, with the hearty concurrence of the parliament, prepared a manifesto on that subject, which sir Thomas Roe was directed to present to the emperor at the approaching diet at Ratisbon. Another act which had given much satisfaction to the people, as a proof of his protestant feeling, was the marriage between his daughter Mary (now, however, only in her tenth year) and the prince of Orange, which had been solemnised at Whitehall on the 2nd of May. In fact, had Charles been really willing to be a constitutional instead of a despotic monarch, the path was now plain before him which led to the hearts of his people.

The historian May observes, that at this time the parliament had lost much of its popularity. This he ascribes partly to their *lifting-at* the bishops, which turned the universities and most of the clergy against them; partly to their not checking the rabble, who frequently disturbed the church-service, and tore the books and surplices, they being, he says, "either too much busied in a variety of affairs, or perchance, too much fearing the loss of a considerable party whom they might have need of against a real and potent enemy"; partly to the reports of the preachings of tradesmen and other illiterate persons of the lowest rank. Others, again, were disappointed that political miracles had not been performed, and alienated by the heavy taxes that were imposed. He appears to agree in opinion with those who thought that the parliament greatly injured their cause by mixing religion so much up with it.

It is necessary that the reader should be here informed of the proceedings of the parliament hitherto on the subject of religion. On the presentation of the Root and Branch peti-

tion, it was carried by a small majority to refer it to the committee of religion. Sir Edward Dering, an honest dull man, then brought in a bill for the abolition of episcopacy; and though we are assured that very few of the members desired any such thing, the second reading was carried by 139 to 108. Hyde, however, the chairman of the committee, gave it so much interruption that no progress was made in it; and petitions numerous signed were presented from various counties, wishing episcopacy and the liturgy to be reformed but retained. In July the house voted in favour of a scheme of archbishop Usher's, for making every county a diocese, with a presbytery of twelve divines presided over by a bishop, who should with them have authority "to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade and excommunicate." On this occasion also, some members maintained that it was unlawful for bishops to sit in parliament. As the lords were disinclined to any measure of this nature, and the bishops stood their ground firmly, articles of impeachment, on account of the late canons, were exhibited against one half of the bench (Aug. 4). The prelates, however, did not shrink; they only required time and counsel to prepare their answer, which was granted. The commons had already (July 5) voted Wren bishop of Ely "unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in the church or commonwealth," and he had been committed to the Tower. They moreover made an order, which sir Robert Harlowe was empowered to execute, "to take away all scandalous pictures, crosses, and figures within churches and without;" and the "zealous knight," adds Whitelock, "took down the cross in Cheapside, Charing-cross, and others the like monuments, in part." "

The Irish army had been disbanded, and on the 6th of August the English and Scottish armies were disbanded also; "and the Scots, with store of English money and spoils," says Whitelock, "and the best entertainment, left their warm and plentiful quarters." On the 10th the king set out for Scotland, and he travelled with such speed that he reached Edinburgh in four days. He was followed thither by a committee of the commons, composed of lord Howard of Escrick, Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hampden, and sir William Arny, "to preserve the good intercourse and understanding which was begun between the two nations," and to watch the proceedings of the king. Before he departed he had signed a bill making the earl of Essex general of his forces on this side of the Trent. Parliament continued to sit till the 9th of September, when it adjourned

to the 20th of October, having appointed a committee of fifty to sit during the recess.

The hopes of regaining his power had urged Charles to visit Scotland, where there was a man able and willing to execute the most daring projects, and who was now devoted to him. This was James Graham earl of Montrose, who, in his disgust at the king's neglect of him at the time of his coronation, had joined the covenanters, but offended with *them* for preferring Argyle to him in civil, and Lesley in military affairs, had become secretly devoted to the king, to whom he made important communications. Being detected in a plot, he was now a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. By means of William Murray of the bedchamber, he corresponded with the king, into whose mind he infused suspicions (whether well- or ill-grounded it is hard to say) of Argyle, and even of Hamilton. According to Clarendon, who had the account from the king himself, "he informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, and that the marquess was no less faulty and false towards his majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the parliament, but rather desired to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do; but the king, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the parliament."

It would seem that on account of the great power and influence of these noblemen, the king consented to the employment of stratagem for their arrest. The plan is said to have been, that Argyle, Hamilton, and his brother lord Lanark, should be sent for to the royal drawing-room on Sunday October the 2nd, where they should be arrested as traitors, and be handed over to lord Crawford, who was to be near with a party of soldiers; they were then to be placed in a close carriage, and hurried on board a frigate which lay in Leith roads, where they were to be kept till their trial. It is added, that if they attempted resistance they were to be put to death. The accused, however, got information the evening before, and absented themselves from court. Next morning they wrote to the king and parliament, giving their reasons, and then went out of town, and finally retired to Glasgow. As the letters of the Hamiltons were "not without some reflections on his majesty," Charles insisted on their submitting to a public trial. It was finally thought best for all parties that the trial should be before a private committee, of which the members should be sworn to secrecy.

This event is named the Incident. Like so many other events in Scottish history, owing to that extreme fondness for secrecy and stratagem, characteristic of the nation, it is enveloped in an obscurity which will never perhaps be totally dissipated. The plot for the arrest, however, seems to be proved, but what the exact object of the king was it is difficult to say. It may have been part of a plan to master the Scottish parliament; or Charles may have thus hoped to come at the proofs which he knew existed of the invitation given to the Scots to enter England by the popular leaders at Westminster, on which he might found a charge of treason against them. When the account of the Incident was transmitted to London by the committee, the parliament felt or affected great consternation, and they applied to the earl of Essex for a guard to protect them.

In the midst of these alarms tidings reached the king and parliament of the breaking out of a most sanguinary rebellion in Ireland. The causes which produced this horrible explosion had long been in secret operation: we will here briefly enumerate them.

The mildest term that can be applied to the native Irish at this time is that of barbarians; they were in fact in many parts of the country but little removed from the savage state. There was not in existence a people more capable of acts of ferocious cruelty, or more fanatically attached to the system of superstition which formed their religion, and their devotion to their clergy was blind and implicit; their hatred was intense towards the English nation, name and religion. Finally, the genius of popery is destructive and intolerant, and, as Pym observed, nothing but its feebleness will ever keep it at rest. To these causes, namely, the barbarism of the people, their hatred of the English, and the spirit of their religion, is to be added the loss of their lands. The territory of an Irish sept or clan was somewhat of the nature of an Indian hunting-ground; no one had any particular possession in it, every death in the sept causing a new arrangement. Tillage, therefore, could only be in scanty patches, and the native Irish actually moved about with their herds like the Eastern Turkmans. Still this rude kind of possession was property, and it galled them to lose it. In their eyes the portions which had been regranted them on English tenures were not of equal value, and they little prized the civilisation which had been thus introduced. This was the case in three of the provinces; there had been no English planta-

up the religion to which she was devoted in Ireland; and it is possible enough that Charles himself, over whom her influence was now unbounded, may have listened to a project which held forth to him a prospect of recovering his darling despotism. It is utterly incredible, however, that he should have given his assent to a plan for expelling the English; but he might have preferred seeing the government in the hands of the catholics rather than in those of a party which he knew to be devoted to the parliament. Charles had such a fondness for intrigue, and was in the habit of listening to so many different opinions, and adopted such a variety of expedients for attaining his objects, that one can very rarely venture to deny with confidence any charge made against him.

The plan, though communicated to a great number of persons, had been profoundly concealed. • A principal object was to get possession of the castle of Dublin, in which were the arms of the late army and large stores of ammunition. For this purpose it was arranged that Roger Moore, lord MacGuire, Hugh MacMahon, Hugh Byrne, and other gentlemen, with twenty men from each county, should come up to the capital, and that the attempt should be made on the 23rd of October. It was only on the night of the preceding day that the lords justices got information of what was intended, and that by the merest chance. There was a man of Irish origin, but who had lived chiefly among the English, and was of the protestant religion: his name was Owen O'Conolly, and, for what reason is not known, MacMahon wished to engage him in the plot. He therefore wrote to him to come to his house in the county of Monaghan without delay. On Conolly's arriving there he found that MacMahon was gone up to Dublin, whither he followed him, and arrived at six o'clock in the evening of Friday the 22nd. MacMahon took him to lord MacGuire's and informed him of the whole plan for a simultaneous rising at ten o'clock the next morning, to destroy the English all through the kingdom. Conolly told him it could not succeed, and urged him to discover the plot, and thus save his estate; but he refused, and swore that Conolly should not leave his lodging (whither they had returned) that night. After drinking with them for some time, Conolly pretended a necessity to go down to the yard, and leaving his sword behind him, went out attended by MacMahon's man; he then jumped over the wall, and made all haste to the house of sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices. It was only nine o'clock when he came with the infor-

mation of the conspiracy. As Conolly was somewhat flustered by what he had drunk, he delivered his account in so confused a manner that Parsons gave but little credit to it. He therefore desired him to go back to MacMahon and learn what more he could, and he himself having given directions for securing the castle-gates, went to his colleague sir John Borlase, and they sent for such of the council as were in town. Conolly, who had been seized by the watch, and would have been carried to prison had not one of Parsons' servants fortunately come up at the time, was brought in, and being now tolerably sober, gave a full account of all he had discovered. Before day came MacMahon was arrested: he did not attempt to deny the plot; he told the council that "what was to be done in other parts of the country was so far advanced at that time as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it," and that he was sure to be avenged if he suffered any evil. The lord MacGuire and some others were also arrested, but Moore, Byrne, and the rest got timely information, and so escaped.

MacMahon's assertions were soon verified. Lord Blaney arrived at midnight (24th) with tidings of his own house and family at Castle-Blaney in the county of Mouaghan, and two other strong houses in the same county, having been surprised that morning by the rebels, and in three hours after news came of the Irish in the Newry having broken open the king's store there and seized the ammunition. That same day (Sunday) lord Gormanstown and the other catholic lords of the Pale came making great professions of loyalty, and craving to be supplied with arms. The next day (25th), the justices wrote an account to the earl of Leicester of what had taken place. Owen O'Conolly was the bearer of the letter, and he was very properly recommended to the royal bounty.

We shall now proceed to relate the progress of the rebellion. The main object of the rebels, as we have seen, was to root the English out of the country. It is said that they had debated whether they should do this after the fashion set by the court of Spain in the case of the Moriscoes, and merely expel them, or whether they should fall on and slaughter them. It is probable that Roger Moore and the more enlightened and humane were for the former course, while sir Phelim O'Neal and the priests, especially the friars, were for slaughter and massacre. Nothing, however, would seem to have been decided on, and all were left to act as they judged best. On the 22nd (Friday) the priests in several places in Ulster, it is said, dismissed the

people with directions to go and take possession of their lands ; and next morning they assembled in great numbers, armed with staves, sithes, and pitchforks, and began to drive away the cattle of the English settlers, and then to break into their houses and seize their goods : some houses were burnt, and some of the English murdered on this first day of the outbreak. They soon proceeded to greater extremities ; they stripped them, men, women, and children, naked, and turned them out of their houses. The Irish were forbidden to give them any food or relief as they passed along ; the rags which they had procured to cover them were torn off by the women and children that met them.

The expulsion of the English was greatly facilitated by the manner in which they lived intermixed among the Irish, with whom also they had in some cases intermarried. Many of them had Irish tenants and servants ; many were themselves tenants to the Irish gentry, who preferred them, as able to pay better rents than their own people. Hence they did not draw themselves together in bodies, and stand on their defence, as the Scots did, but each remained in his own house, relying on his Irish friends, neighbours, landlords, tenants, or servants, to secure him. But they only experienced cruelty and treachery, those on whom they depended being too well instructed by their priests in the sinfulness of showing mercy to heretics.

Any one who is acquainted with the character of the lower Irish, and recollects the atrocities which they commit at the present day, under political or religious influence, will be well prepared to credit the accounts of the barbarities perpetrated by them on the present occasion,—barbarities perhaps only to be paralleled by the deeds of the Spaniards and Portuguese in America and Asia. Some they buried alive ; others they suspended by the arms, and cut them with their swords till they died. They hung up women great with child, and, ripping them open, let the infants fall out, which then became the prey of dogs and swine ; they dashed out the brains of young children, or trampled them to death. Multitudes were shut up in houses, to which fire was set, and they were thus burnt alive. At Belturbet and Portadown the protestants were forced by hundreds into the river, and there drowned. Nay, it is asserted, that by a refinement of cruelty, wives and children were in some cases induced, by a promise of their lives, to be the executioners of their husbands and parents, and when they had thus violated the laws of nature, they themselves were slaugh-

tered. Our blood congeals as we read the depositions of those who escaped out of the hands of these human fiends after witnessing their diabolical acts. The women, as is always the case, were more sanguinary than the men; the very children lent their aid in the work of blood: the friars, with tears, exhorted the people to spare none of the English; priests gave the sacrament to their penitents on condition of their sparing neither man, woman, nor child: excommunication was fulminated against those who should relieve any of the stript and ruined protestants.

Though Ulster was the earliest and principal theatre of these barbarities, they were not confined to it, and similar ones were enacted in the other three provinces, and even in the counties adjoining the capital. The county of Kilkenny and the Queen's County seem to have been most abundant in deeds of cruelty in Leinster. The whole number of those that perished has been variously estimated. The number said to have been returned by the priests in Ulster, from their several parishes, down to April 1642, was 105,000, and archdeacon Maxwell in his deposition (Aug. 22, 1642) stated that there were "above 154,000 now wanting within the very precinct of Ulster." The general impression in England was, that in one way or another 200,000 protestants perished in this rebellion*.

The king, on receiving intelligence of the insurrection in Ireland, referred the whole matter to the parliament of England, who had already voted a supply of 50,000*l.* for that purpose, and taken other needful measures. The Earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland; but these were too few to check the progress of the Ulster rebels, who soon advanced and laid siege to Drogheda. When the Irish parliament met, the catholic members were very gentle in their condemnation of the rebellion†, and in little more than a month from the time of the first outbreak the lord Gormans-

* Clarendon (ii. 20) says that 40,000 or 50,000 were massacred at first; sir William Petty reduces the number to 37,000; Warner to 12,000 in all and in every mode; P. Walsh, the catholic, to 8000; Curry and Dr. Lingard make it almost nothing. In the preceding details we have followed the narrative of sir John Temple, who was master of the rolls in Ireland at the time. To us, who know the character of the Irish, its internal evidence is convincing.

† They objected to the term *rebels*, styling them merely *discontented gentlemen*. At length they consented to the words *traitorous and rebellious actions* of some persons. By the way, as we have abundant instances, no people exceed the Irish in the art of giving specious names to evil deeds.

town and the other catholics of the Pale were in arms on the side of the rebels. 6

Charles now prepared to leave Scotland. To conciliate the nobles he lavished the church-lands and places and honours on them. Argyle was made a marquess, Loudon an earl and chancellor, Lesley and Munro earls of Leven and Callender; Johnston of Warriston was raised to the bench; the livings of Henderson and others were increased. In return, the safety of Montrose and his friends was assured, and ten thousand men were promised for the recovery of the Palatinate. Old Lesley, we are told by Clarendon, assured the king, "that he could not only never more serve against him, but that whenever his majesty would require his service he should have it without ever asking what the cause was." Others, he adds, whispered him, "that as soon as the troubles of the late storm could be perfectly calmed they would reverse and repeal whatsoever was now unreasonably extorted from him." Charles therefore quitted his native kingdom with good hopes that he had at least neutralised it in the struggle which he was preparing to make for the recovery of his despotic power in England. Toward the end of November he returned to London, where, as we have seen, there had been some reaction in the popular feeling in his favour, and sir Richard Gournay, the lord-mayor of the year, was a royalist. A magnificent civic banquet was given to the monarch at Guildhall (Nov. 25), and the streets rang with acclamations of loyalty as he passed to and from it. The king and his friends were unduly elated by these marks of popular favour, and their conduct stimulated the leaders of the commons to put forth their celebrated Remonstrance.

This Remonstrance was a recapitulation of all the illegal acts which had taken place since the king's accession, laying the blame, however, not on the king himself, but on ill ministers, who are called in it "*a malignant party*." It was vigorously opposed in the commons. The debate lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until past midnight (Nov. 22); several members left the house on account of age or infirmity, and yet it was carried only by a majority of eleven, which sir Benjamin Rudyard aptly compared to "the verdict of a starved jury." Hampden's motion for having it printed was rejected as being contrary to usage. As Hyde, the chief opponent of this measure, declared that he would protest against it, and Palmer and others cried out that they did protest, it was resolved by Pym and his friends to make an example, and Palmer, who was ob-

noxious to them on account of his courtesy toward Strafford, was selected and committed to the Tower, the more violent men being for his expulsion. After a few days' confinement, however, he was allowed to resume his seat in the house.

The opposition which the Remonstrance experienced had not been looked for by its advocates. At the conclusion of the debate Oliver Cromwell (who, however, was then of little note,) whispered lord Falkland, and with an asseveration said, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had the next morning and never have seen England more, and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." Having now, however, carried their point, the leaders resolved to use their advantage, and on the 1st of December the Remonstrance, and with it a petition complaining of a malignant party, to whom they attributed all the evils, such as the Irish rebellion, which had occurred, and praying for their removal, etc. was presented to the king at Hampton-court; and a few days after, contrary to his expressed wish, both were printed and circulated. The king, who now began to act by good advice, put forth a reply which left the parliament no advantage over him. A few days after, on receiving an address from the court of aldermen, praying him to reside at Whitehall, he returned to the capital.

The intelligence of the strength and atrocities of the rebels which daily arrived from Ireland made the king urgent with the parliament to proceed in the affairs of that country. A proposal of the Scots to send ten thousand men to Ulster, to be paid by the English, was agreed to, and a bill for impressing an equal number in England passed the commons; but as in the preamble it was asserted that the king had no right to press the subject except in case of foreign invasion, the lords demurred to the novel doctrine, and the attorney-general craved to be heard on the king's part against it. The commons then ordered their committee "to meet no more about that business;" the levies were stopped; and it was declared "that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords." The king then, with his usual imprudence, acting, Clarendon says, under the secret advice of St. John, came to the house of lords and proposed "that the bill should pass with a *salvo jure* both for the king and people." This interference in a pending bill, however, both houses joined in declaring to be a breach of privilege, as it really was, and the king made an ample apology. His offer to raise ten thousand volunteers for the service of

Ireland was at once rejected. The unfortunate Irish protestants were thus sacrificed to the struggles of parties in England. Still we must not unconditionally impute to the parliament mere factious motives; they vehemently, and not without reason, suspected the king of having originally sanctioned the rising of the Irish, and they well knew that if once he had an army at his devotion, he would revoke all his concessions, and pour out his vengeance on the heads of those who had wrung them from him. Their apprehensions were also increased by his displacing Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, "which was looked upon as a bridle upon the city," and giving that office to colonel Lunsford, "upon whom he might rely." On the complaint of the commons of Lunsford's being a man of desperate character, who had heretofore made his escape from prison, and then fled the kingdom, the king made him resign, and gave the place to sir John Byron; but even *he* did not please, and he was some time after replaced by sir John Conyers.

To weaken the king's party in the lords the former bill for taking away the bishops' votes was brought in again. When it was objected that a bill could not be introduced a second time in the same session, Pym replied, that "their orders were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered." It was therefore received, and soon after passed, and sent up to the lords. At this time lord Falkland, who now saw through the designs of the popular party, opposed it, and on Hampden's saying "he was sorry to see a noble lord had changed his opinion since the time the last bill to this purpose had passed the house," he replied, "that he had been persuaded at that time by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore he had changed his opinions in many particulars, as well as to things as to persons."

The old tactics of rumours and petitions were also recurred to. It was at this time that Beale the tailor overheard the project for assassinating the lords and commons. A petition was published in the name of "the apprentices, and those whose apprenticeships were lately expired," stating that "they found the beginning of great mischiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the bud when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no others but the papists and the prelates, and that malignant party that adhered to them," etc. The publication of this petition had its natural result, the resort of multitudes to Westminster, shouting, "No bishops! no bishops!" The train-bands, whom the king had

appointed to guard the houses of parliament, having repelled the rabble from the house of peers by threatening to fire on them, the commons sent to the lords, desiring them to be discharged, declaring that it should be lawful for every member to bring his own servant armed to attend at the door. The rabble, thus encouraged, came in greater numbers about the house of peers, crying, "No bishops! no popish lords!" and calling those who opposed the commons "rotten-hearted lords." When the lords sent to the commons, complaining of the insults which they received, some members said, "We must not discourage our friends, this being a time we must make use of all our friends;" and Pym said, "God forbid the house of commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way." A writ was then issued, by direction of the lords, to the sheriff and justices, requiring them to appoint strong watches to prevent this conflux of people to Westminster. This the commons voted to be a breach of privilege, and they sent one of the justices who acted on it to the Tower. During the Christmas holidays the crowds became still greater, and the cries of "No bishops! no popish lords!" still louder. They were even heard to say before Whitehall, "that they would have no more porter's lodge, but would speak with the king when they pleased." Some read aloud the names of "disaffected members of the house of commons," and of "false rotten-hearted lords." They threatened to pull down the houses of the bishops, and assaulted several of them in their coaches; they laid hold on the archbishop of York, and would, it is said, have murdered him if he had not been rescued.

This prelate was the celebrated Williams, whom the king had lately elevated to an archiepiscopal see. The day he was assaulted he sent for the bishops, to the number of twelve or thirteen, who were in town, and proposed, as it was no longer safe for them to go to the house of peers, that they should present a protestation against the force that was used upon them, and against all the acts to be done during their enforced absence from the house. They consented, and signed the protestation, which Williams carried himself to the king, requesting him to transmit it to the peers. His request was complied with. The lords then desired a conference with the commons, the result of which was the impeachment and committal to the Tower of the prelates, whose conduct, though highly imprudent, was certainly not illegal.

There were many members of the house of commons, who, though zealous for the reformation of abuses, disliked the measures of Pym and his party: such were the upright lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde. The king was advised to call these men to his councils, and he offered the place of secretary to the first, which with some difficulty he was induced to accept; the second was made chancellor of the exchequer. Hyde declined any office for the present, saying that he should be able to do better service by remaining as he was. Lord Digby was already greatly in the confidence of the king, to whose cause his levity and indiscretion often proved of serious injury.

On New year's day (1642) a scuffle took place at Westminster, in which some blood was drawn. A number of officers of the late army and of those soldiers of fortune who were then so numerous had offered their services to the king as a guard; the same was done by the students of the inns of court. Their offer was rather imprudently accepted, and various rencounters took place between them and the mobs that resorted to Westminster. It was on this occasion that the terms Roundhead and Cavalier came into use, the former being given in reproach to the close-cropt apprentices and others of the mobs, who returned it by terming their opponents Cavaliers, as military hectors were usually called.

The 3rd of January 1642 was rendered ever memorable by an act of fatal imprudence on the part of the king. Without consulting any of his ministers (unless it were Digby), he ordered Herbert, the attorney-general, to proceed to the house of peers, and exhibit charges of high treason against the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Haselrig, Pym, Hampden, and Strode. At the same time a sergeant-at-law appeared at the bar of the commons, and demanded that the five accused members should be surrendered to him. Other servants of the king had already gone to these members' lodgings, and sealed up their trunks and studies. The house sent a message to the king "that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them," and then adjourned.

Next day, when the house met, they sent to inform the lord-mayor and common council that their privileges were like to be broken, and the city put into danger, and advised them to look to their security. They then adjourned till one o'clock. When they met again, secret information being come (from lady Carlisle it is said) of what was to happen, the house gave

the five members leave to absent themselves, and, they accordingly withdrew. Presently the king arrived with all his guard and pensioners, and two or three hundred gentlemen and soldiers mostly armed. These he ordered to remain in the hall, and on their lives not to come into the house. He entered with his nephew, the Palsgraf, took off his hat and advanced to the speaker's chair, who quitted it at his approach. The king stepped up to it, and having looked round for a time, told the house he would respect their privileges, but that treason had no privilege, and he was come for those five members. He called Pym and Hollis by name; no answer being returned, he asked the speaker where they were. Lenthall fell on his knees, and said, "he was a servant to the house, and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or speak anything but what they commanded him." The king replied, that "he thought his own eyes were as good as his"; and then said, "his birds were flown, but he did expect the house would send them to him, and if they did not, he would seek them himself, for their treason was foul, and such a one as they would all thank him to discover." He then assured them that the accused should have a fair trial, and retired pulling off his hat till he reached the door. As he retired, the words "Privilege! privilege!" uttered by many voices reached his ears.

What the particular charges to be made against these members were is uncertain. Some think it was the proofs the king had gotten in Scotland of their inviting the Scots in 1640, that he now intended to produce; but since that time an act of oblivion had been passed. Perhaps it was some portion of their late proceedings for which he thought himself now sufficiently strong to punish them. The proceeding was certainly a *coup d'état* for the recovery of his lost power. Clarendon says he was put on it by Digby; the queen, who had been menaced with an impeachment, certainly urged him on. It is said* that when, on cooler thoughts, he resolved not to put his project of going to the house into execution, she cried to him, "Go, coward; go pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see me more;" and that when the hour for the deed was past, she said to lady Carlisle, "Rejoice, for I hope that the king is now master in his states, and that such and such are in custody."

The five members had retired to a house in Colman-street in the city, which was their stronghold. Rumour was set at work; people ran to and fro during the night, crying, "the

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, i. 265.

cavaliers are coming to fire the city!" others added, that "the king himself was at the head of them." The whole city spent the night under arms; next morning, the king, having sent to the lord-mayor to call a common-council, came at ten o'clock to the Guildhall, attended only by three or four lords. He addressed the people, expressing his sorrow that they should have apprehended danger from him, adding, that to show his confidence in *them*, he was come without a guard, and that he presumed they would not shelter those whom he intended to proceed against legally for high-treason. He then told one of the sheriffs that he would dine with him. As he went through the city, shouts of "Privilege of parliament!" were raised, and one person flung into his coach a printed sermon on the text "To thy tents, O Israel!" the words with which the ten tribes abandoned Rehoboam, the son of Solomon.

While the king was in the city the house of commons met, and having declared his late conduct to be the highest breach of privilege and themselves not to be safe, adjourned for a few days, appointing a committee to sit at Merchant-Tailors' hall, in the city, "and all who came to have voices." The lords also adjourned.

Next day (6th) the king issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the five members; the committee met in the city, where another committee of the common-council also sat in order to communicate with them. Their chief occupation was for the present to collect all the particulars of the late breach of their privileges. The five members were afterwards brought to the committee with much state, and a declaration was set forth in which the conduct of the king respecting them was asserted to be a high breach of privilege, and his proclamation "false, scandalous, and illegal." It further contained a narrative of the transactions of the 4th, full of gross exaggeration and even palpable falsehood, and this mere declaration of the committee was printed and circulated, a thing without precedent.

A petition from the city was presented to the king on the subjects of the Irish rebellion, the papists, the changes at the Tower, the "late invasion of the house of commons," etc. Tumultuous crowds repaired to Westminster, "and it was a dismal thing," says Whitelock, "to all sober men, especially members of parliament, to see and hear them." Finally, intelligence came of the great preparations in the city to bring the accused members in triumph to the parliament on the 11th,

the day to which the houses stood adjourned. The king, deeply mortified at his own imprudence, and anxious to escape the insults and the danger which he apprehended, took the further unwise resolution (as many thought it) of quitting Whitehall, and on the 10th he retired with his queen and children to Hampton-court.

Next day, in the afternoon, the river was covered with boats, and between two lines of lighters and long-boats carrying ordnance and prepared for action, the five members, attended by the sheriffs and a part of the train-bands, proceeded to Westminster. Another body of the train-bands advanced along the Strand. Their commander was one Skippon, who having risen from the ranks in the Dutch service, had been made captain of the artillery-ground to drill the citizens, and he now bore the novel title of "sergeant-major-general of the militia of the city of London." They were followed by vast numbers of the populace shouting against bishops and popish lords, and for privilege of parliament, and asking contemptuously as they passed Whitehall, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers?"

The members took their seats; Pym rose and expatiated on the great kindness and affection which they had experienced in the city; the sheriffs then were called in and thanked by the speaker; the masters and officers of ships were also thanked; Skippon was appointed to attend each day with such a guard as he thought proper for the two houses. Next came four thousand men of Bucks, all on horseback, with the Protestation in their hats, with a proffer of their services to the parliament, and a petition to the king complaining of the accusation of the knight of their shire, Mr. Hampden*.

"From this day," says Clarendon, "we may reasonably date the levying of war in England, whatsoever hath been since done being but the superstructures upon those foundations which were then laid." Both parties had in fact resolved on an appeal to the sword; but, to do them justice, neither had any anticipation of the protracted contest and the bloodshed and calamities that were to ensue; each thought that the mere display of force would suffice to intimidate the other. Of the king's intentions we think there can be no doubt; and the late attempt on them had convinced the popular leaders that their only safety lay in depriving the sovereign of his power†.

* "Whereof," says Whitelock, "probably he was not altogether ignorant beforehand."

† "Mr. Hampden," says Clarendon, "was much altered after this accusation, his nature and courage seeming much fiercer than before."

The officers and others, who had formed a kind of guard for the king, followed him out of town. They lodged at Kingston-on-Thames that night, and next day (12th) lord Digby came thither in his coach-and-six from Hampton-court, with a message from the king accepting the proffer of their services. The design in this is manifest; but how the commons could with any sense of truth or justice designate the conduct of Digby a levying of war against the king and kingdom is somewhat strange. Digby, conscious of his own designs and aware of their vengeance, fled to Holland. On the king's refusal to remove Byron from the command of the Tower, the houses directed Skippon to place a guard round it, that neither provisions should go in nor ammunition go out; they directed sir John Hotham to go to Hull, where the arms and ammunition of the late army had been laid up, and keep it with the aid of the trained-bands of the adjoining parts; and they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to let no one in or out of that town but by *their* orders. We must here again observe, that the secret designs of the king, with all of which Pym and his friends were made acquainted by lady Carlisle and others, offered some justification of these stretches of power in the parliament. They knew, for example, that he had sent the earl of Newcastle, a man who was zealously devoted to him, to Hull, near which his estates and influence lay, with "a private commission to be governor thereof," says Clarendon, "as soon as it should be fit to publish such a command, and in the meantime by his own interest to draw in such of the country as were necessary to guard the magazine."

The grand object of the parliament was to obtain the entire control over the military force of the kingdom. For this end a bill which had been drawn up by St. John in the preceding summer for settling the militia, was now brought in and read, with the important addition of "the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons into the hands of such persons as they could *confide in*." Clarendon on this remarks, that "when it had been with much ado accepted and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance; but now there were very few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom. So great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them, so that with little opposition it passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords."

As the peers, however, hesitated to pass a measure so adverse to the crown, all efforts were made to intimidate them. Thus,

when on one occasion the popular party in the lords had recourse to their usual tactics of crying "Adjourn! adjourn!" when they found matters likely to go against them, the duke of Richmond, a courtier, said, "if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months." For this the commons voted to "accuse him to the lords to be one of the malignant party," and to desire them to join in a petition to the king to remove him from any office about his person. Petitions also came pouring in from the counties round London, praying for all that the commons wanted. The common-council of the city, when applied to for a loan for the war in Ireland, could discern no security for trade or anything else unless the lieutenant of the Tower were removed, and it and the other forts, "put into such hands in whom the parliament might confide." Soon after came "The humble petition of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London." These suitors could see no means of averting the ruin about to engulf them, but the removal of "the bishops and the popish lords and others of that malignant faction," which if not done, "they shall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy which is at hand to effect it; want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty." They modestly pray that "those noble worthies of the house of peers who concur with you in your happy votes, may be earnestly desired to join with this honourable house, and to sit and vote as one entire body." Most gracious words were given to these amenders of the state, and Hollis acting on the last hint, when he was sent to request the lords to join in a petition to the king about the militia, desired that "those lords who were willing to concur, would find some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to those that sent them." The very porters of London, filled with patriot zeal, came to the number of fifteen thousand with a petition to the commons, complaining of the "prevalence of that adverse, malignant, blood-sucking, rebellious party," the cause of all the evils. Trade, they said, was dead for want of fortification of the Cinque-ports, whence they themselves "did want employment in such a measure as did make their lives very uncomfortable." In conclusion, they desired "that justice might be done upon offenders according as the atrocity of their crimes had deserved, for if those things were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and to make good that saying, that necessity hath no law." The zeal of the good

dames of the city was no less fervid; headed by Mrs. Anne Stagge, "a gentlewoman and brewer's wife," thousands of them came with a petition to the commons against prelates, papists, and so forth. The petition being read, Pym was sent out to answer them. He thanked them for their petition, which "came in a seasonable time," assured them their desires should be attended to, and entreated them "to repair to their houses, and turn their petition into prayers at home" for the commons.

"Such low arts of popularity were affected, and by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!" is the reflection of Hume on this occasion. We do not go the same lengths as this writer, but we certainly do discern arts little worthy of men of that elevation to which their idolaters raise our Pym and Hampdens. In us, however, who only view in them statesmen of a higher order, they excite no surprise. They are the arts common to statesmen of all ages, as essential to them as cunning to the fox and ferocity to the tiger. We have only to look at the events of our own days for evidence.

Under the influence of this external pressure, the lords passed the bills for impressment and for taking away the bishops' votes, to both of which the king was induced, chiefly by the queen, to give his assent. To the ordinance in which the two houses joined respecting the militia, he deferred giving an answer till he should be at Dover, whither he was about to attend the queen, who, under the pretext of conveying his baby-wife to the prince of Orange, was going to Holland, taking with her the crown-jewels, in order to purchase arms and ammunition for the impending contest. Charles feared that if he were to give a positive refusal at the time the queen's departure might be prevented.

The queen being safely off, Charles came to Greenwich, whither the prince of Wales was brought to meet him. He then gave his answer respecting the militia, offering to appoint the lords-lieutenant of counties nominated by parliament, provided that the powers to be given them should be first by law vested in himself. The houses voted the advisers of this reply to be enemies of the state. The king then went to Theobalds, whither he was followed by a committee with a petition stating that if he did not assent to what they had proposed they would be obliged for the safety of himself and his kingdoms to dispose of the militia themselves in the manner propounded to him. They also prayed that he and the prince would continue to reside in or about London. Charles gave an instant reply,

declining to assent to their demands, but assuring them on his honour "that he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people." The parliament, on receiving this answer, resolved that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence, and a declaration "containing the causes of their just fears and jealousies" be sent to the king. This declaration found him at Newmarket; his answer to it was of the same tenor with his former one. When the earl of Pembroke asked him, "Whether the militia might not be granted as was desired by the parliament for a time?" he replied, "By God, not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." The committee returned to London; the king pursued his journey to York, where he arrived the latter end of March.

As we are now on the eve of the civil war, we will state the previous conduct of both parties. The king had assented to all that was demanded of him, except parting with the militia, and even in this he had yielded in a great measure. At the same time he had given abundant proof that by force or stratagem he would endeavour to recover all he had resigned, and that the only security of the parliament lay in his weakness; but that he had not the power now to make a successful attempt, unless aided by the ill conduct of his opponents, late events had shown. Despotism was what *he* aimed at, that is plain; but did the Pym and Hampdens aim at nothing beyond the maintenance of constitutional liberty? This will best appear by an examination of their acts during the last year.

"After every allowance has been made," says Hallam*, "he must bring very heated passions to the records of those times, who does not perceive in the conduct of the house of commons a series of glaring violations, not only of positive and constitutional, but of those higher principles which are paramount to all immediate policy." He then collects the following instances. The ordinance for disarming recusants, and that authorizing the earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland,—encroachments on the prerogative; Pym's menace to the peers, that if they did not pass the bills sent to them by the commons, these last, "with such of the lords as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom," shall represent the same to the king †, and their accusation of the duke of Richmond,

* Constitutional History, ii. 192.

† This resolution, the germ of that of the house of lords being useless, was moved by Pym on Dec. 3, 1641, "before the argument from necessity

above related,—encroachments on the house of peers; their enormous extension of privilege, any one who said a word against them being dragged off to prison*, as also were those charged with introducing ceremonies in the church (a thing surely not belonging to them), “the outrageous attempts to intimidate the minority of their own body by committing them to the Tower for such language used in debate as would not have excited any observation in ordinary times†.” Then again, as the same writer observes, “their despotic violation of the rights of the people, in imprisoning those who presented or prepared respectful petitions in behalf of the established constitution, while they encouraged those of a tumultuous multitude at their bar in favour of innovation, their usurpation at once of the judicial and legislative powers in all that related to the church, particularly by their committee for scandalous ministers, under which denomination, adding reproach to injury, they subjected all who did not reach the puritan standard of perfection to contumely and vexation, and ultimately to expulsion from their lawful property.” He then notices the impeachment of the twelve bishops, whose protest, though “not perhaps entirely well expressed, is abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law.” In fine, he says, that “these great abuses of power becoming daily more frequent as they became less excusable, would make a sober man hesitate to support them in a civil war, wherein their success

could be pretended.” On Mr. Godolphin’s objecting that if *they* went to the king with the lesser part of the lords, the greater part of these might go to him with the lesser part of them, he was ordered to withdraw, and his offence was to be taken into consideration the following Tuesday.—Hallam.

* One Sandford, a royalist tailor, being charged with saying, “that the earl of Essex was a traitor; that all the parliament were traitors; that the earl of Warwick was a traitor, and he wished his heart in his boots; and that he cursed the parliament, and wished Mr. Pym (calling him King Pym) and sir John Hotham both hanged;”—for this the lords (the puppets of the commons) sentenced him to be kept at work in Bridewell *for his life*, besides some minor inflictions. Pym was called by the royalists King Pym on account of his portly person and his absolute power over his party.

† See the case of Mr. Palmer (above, p. 104). In the debate on the late declaration, in which they most falsely charged the king with a design to change his religion, sir Ralph Hopton, for saying, “that they seemed to ground an opinion of the king’s apostasy upon a less evidence than would serve to hang a fellow for stealing a horse,” was committed to the Tower. Clarendon, ii. 282. See also the case of Trelawny, stated by him in the following page.

must not only consummate the destruction of the crown, the church, and the peerage, but expose all who had dissented from their proceedings, as it ultimately happened, to an oppression, less severe perhaps, but far more sweeping, than that which had rendered the star-chamber odious."

The further reflections of this judicious writer, almost the only one who evinces impartiality on this subject, and does not act the part of advocate to one side or the other, are most deserving of consideration. He thinks, as we do, that the parliament, relying on the justice of their cause and the favour of the people, should have accepted the offer of the king respecting the militia. We will add, that we cannot divest our mind of a suspicion that it was the secret design of Pym, Hampden, and some others to convert the monarchy into a republic, of which they hoped to be themselves the chiefs: for *they* were no religious zealots; their views were chiefly political.

To understand the question of the militia, it is necessary to recollect, that at this time there was no standing army in England. After the feudal army had gone out of use, the kings used to raise troops for their foreign wars by contracts with influential noblemen, and by giving very large pay. At the same time the old Saxon *Fyrd* continued under another form, and the men in each shire were required to keep arms and be ready to suppress insurrection and repel invasion. It was expressly provided by a statute of Edward I. that the militia should not be required to leave their own county except in these cases; but during the period of the Tudor despotism, this was little heeded; and a statute of Philip and Mary empowered the crown to levy men for service in war, and men were in consequence frequently pressed to serve in Ireland and elsewhere. When it was necessary to call out the forces of the counties, commissions of array were issued to particular persons for this purpose; but the sheriff was the person who usually disposed of the military force of his county. In Mary's reign a new officer named the lord-lieutenant was appointed, usually a peer or influential commoner in the county, whose office was altogether military. It was his office to muster and train, when necessary, the able-bodied men of the county, and he was the commander of the militia, or trained-bands as they were named. Each county had its magazine of arms and ammunition, to be issued to the trained-bands when called into service.

As the institution of lords-lieutenant was a Tudor measure, it is quite certain that they had been always named by the

crown; yet, it was the right of appointing to this office that the commons now demanded; and sooner than yield to the king on this point, they plunged the nation into a civil war. "No one," says Hallam again, "can pretend that this was not an encroachment on his prerogative. It can only find a justification in the precarious condition, as the commons asserted it to be, of those liberties they had so recently obtained, in their just persuasion of the king's insincerity, and in the demonstrations he had already made of an intention to win back his authority at the sword's point. But it is equitable on the other hand to observe, that the commons had by no means greater reason to distrust the faith of Charles than he had to anticipate fresh assaults from them on the power he had inherited, on the form of religion which alone he thought lawful, on the counsellors who had served him most faithfully, and on the nearest of his domestic ties. If the right of self-defence could be urged by parliament for this demand of the militia, must we not admit that a similar plea was equally valid for the king's refusal? However arbitrary and violent the previous government of Charles may have been, however disputable his sincerity at present, it is vain to deny that he had made the most valuable concessions, and such as had cost him very dear. It was not unreasonable for the king to pause at the critical moment which was to make all future denial nugatory, and inquire whether the prevailing majority designed to leave him what they had not taken away."

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1642-1644.

THE nobility and gentry of York and the adjoining counties now resorted to the king with ardent expressions of sympathy and attachment. He had in fact succeeded in putting the parliament in the wrong, and men were become indignant at beholding the continued efforts (the secret motives of which they were ignorant of) for stripping the sovereign of all his powers and prerogatives. Many of the peers now came to him from

London, and in the paper war of declarations and so forth carried on between him and the parliament, his manifestoes, prepared by Hyde, were as superior to theirs in argument as in eloquence. His tone now became more elevated; there was an end of concession, he insisted on his rights, and in the opinion of many he required nothing to which his claims were not as well-founded as any private man's right to his lands and tenements.

The pernicious influence of the queen, though absent, still operated. In his uxoriousness, Charles thought himself bound, regardless of consequences, to fulfil any unwary promise which she had drawn from him, and he now, in compliance with her will, and in opposition to the opinion of his best advisers, required the earls of Essex and Holland to resign the staff and key of their offices. By this he only gratified spleen, and he lost the advantage of the restraint which honour might have imposed on the subsequent conduct of these noblemen.

The earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, being delicate in health, the commons required that he should appoint the earl of Warwick to command for a year in his stead; the king, when this arrangement was notified to him, wrote expressing his desire that sir John Pennington should be appointed. The parliament persisted, and Warwick took the command of the fleet without the king's consent. A petition was then forwarded that the magazine might be removed from Hull to London. This was of course refused, for to obtain possession of it was a principal cause of the king's coming to the north. He sent (Apr. 8) a message to the houses, declaring his intention to go in person to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, for which purpose he would raise a guard of two thousand foot and two hundred horse in the counties about West Chester, to be armed from the magazine at Hull. The reply of the parliament to this message was a positive refusal of their consent, and orders were sent to Hotham to transmit the magazine to London. The king, who regarded the magazine as his private property, resolved to go forthwith and take possession of it. He therefore (22nd) sent the young duke of York with some attendants to Hull, where they were received with all due respect by Hotham, and the next morning he rode thither himself with two or three hundred of his servants and of the gentlemen of the county; and when he came near the town, he sent word to the governor that he was coming to dine with him. Hotham, an irresolute man, was in great perplexity, but the magistrates and

officers persuaded him not to admit the king. Charles therefore found the bridges up, the gates shut, and the walls manned. Hotham appeared on the walls, and on his knees with many professions of duty declined to admit him for fear of offending the parliament. The king, finding all his efforts vain, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, and retired deeply mortified to Beverley. The duke of York and his retinue were dismissed in safety. In reply to the complaints of the king, the parliament justified the conduct of Hotham, and the ordnance and ammunition in Hull were shortly afterwards removed to London.

The parliament now issued orders to the lords-lieutenant to put their ordinance* respecting the militia into execution; the king on the other hand forbade obedience to it, and issued commissions of array. While both sides were raising and disciplining men, the appeal to the people by means of declarations and manifestoes was kept up, and messages and answers were going and coming between York and London. On the 2nd of June the parliament sent their *ultimatum* in a petition containing nineteen articles, which, as Hallam well observes, "went to abrogate in spirit the whole existing constitution," for they required that the king should consent to all the changes in church and state which they had proposed; that all offices of every kind should be given to none but those of whom they approved, *i. e.* whom they should appoint; that the laws against recusants should be put in force, and their children be taken from them to be educated by protestants, etc. etc. If he consented to these demands, they promised to secure him an abundant revenue. The king made an indignant reply, "protesting that if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a king of England a duke of Venice†."

The majority of the peers and a great number of the commons were now with the king at York, for which nine of the former were impeached by the commons. The lord-keeper Littleton had likewise been induced to send the great seal to the king, and he also repaired himself to York. In the presence of the peers (June 13), the king then made a solemn declaration of his intention to maintain the laws and the protestant religion, and they in return subscribed a promise to

* An ordinance was a measure which had passed the two houses of parliament, but had not received the royal assent.

† May, p. 129.

defend the crown and the protestant religion, the liberties of the people and the just privileges of the king and parliament. Charles, moreover, made before them (15th) a solemn protestation that he had no intention of levying war against the parliament, and they subscribed a declaration of their belief in his assertions. Among the subscribers was the upright Falkland, we may therefore be certain that there was no fraud designed. As the parliament had made an order for bringing in money or plate for maintaining horsemen and arms, the king wrote to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London not to raise any forces for the parliament, and he invited men to bring him horses, arms, and money on the security of the royal parks and forests, with eight per cent. interest.

The king went to Nottingham and Lincolnshire, where his speeches and declarations had a good effect, and a vessel sent by the queen with arms and ammunition (of which he had hitherto had none) being arrived, he advanced with 3000 foot and 1000 horse to lay siege to Hull; but the earl of Warwick having secured the fleet, whose co-operation he had looked for, and the raw train-bands not standing their ground when the besieged made a sally, he found it expedient to retire. The parliament on their side were far advanced in their preparations; they had appointed (July 4) a Committee of Safety of fifteen persons as an executive; it was voted that an army (of twenty regiments of foot and seventy-five troops of horse) should be raised. Money was easily obtained by loans, and "by the endeavours of sundry ministers and others, a great quantity of money, plate, and ammunition was brought in, even by some poor women to their wedding-rings and bodkins*."

The balance of power seemed greatly on the side of the parliament. They were in possession of all the magazines and forts except Newcastle-on-Tyne; the people of London and all the great towns were mostly in their favour, as were the southern and eastern counties; those of the north and west and of Wales inclined more to the royal cause. The great body of

* Whitelock. "The seamstress brought in her silver thimble, the chamber-maid her bodkin, the cook her silver spoon; and some sort of females were free in their contributions so far as to part with their rings and earrings, as if some golden calf were to be set up and idolised."—Howel, *Philanglus*, p. 128.

"Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,
To purchase swords, carbines and pistols;
Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts
To take the saints' and churches' parts."—HUDIBRAS.

the nobility and gentry were on the side of the king; and the catholics, as was natural, were unanimous in his favour. But every county and every town and village, almost every family, was divided in sentiment, some being from principle or prejudice in favour of the ancient order of things, others desirous of change and ardent for revolution.

The parliament gave the command of their army to the earl of Essex. This nobleman, whom we have seen in his early youth disgraced by the infamy of his countess, had long served in the Low Countries, and acquired in that school a knowledge of military discipline and tactics*. He may have retained a painful recollection of the treatment which he had experienced from the father of the king, but he was a man of unblemished honour, and a foe neither to the monarchy nor the church. The earl of Bedford†, also a man of moderate character, was appointed his lieutenant-general. The soldiers of fortune who had been in the late Scottish army were invited and received commands. Such members of either houses as had influence enough to raise regiments of foot or troops of horse, held the command of them as colonels and captains. As there had been as yet no certain uniform in the English army, the leaders gave their own colours to their men. That of the general was "orange-tawny," and scarfs of this hue designated the parliamentary soldiers. We also meet with the green-coats of Hampden, the red-coats of Hollis, the blue-coats of lord Say, and the purple of lord Brook. Sir Arthur Haselrig's 'lobsters,' or cuirassiers, were also famous. The royal troops were raised in a similar manner‡, but as they consisted chiefly of the nobility, gentry, and their dependents, they were in general of a superior order to those of the parliament, who had enlisted all sorts of rabble§. The troop raised by Oliver Cromwell formed

* The favourite name for Essex among the soldiers was Old Robin.

† The husband of the beautiful, amiable and virtuous lady Anne Carr, the only child of Essex's profligate countess.

‡ The White-coats of the earl of Newcastle distinguished themselves on the day of Marston-moor.

§ "At my first going out into this engagement," said Cromwell, "I saw their men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed. . . . 'Your troops,' said I to Hampden, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them. . . . ? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say, I know you will not, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure

a noble exception. "Cromwell," says Whitelock,¹ "had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. And thus being well-armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately."

In the contest to be carried on between the two parties, we shall meet with little of scientific warfare; none of the skilful manœuvres to bring on or avoid engagements employed by a Condé or a Turenne; no encampments; the troops on each side quartered in towns and villages; continual beating up of quarters; battles fought wherever the hostile troops came in sight; every strong house a garrison; incessant besieging of towns, castles, and private houses. Finally, we shall discern a spirit of humanity, courtesy and honour, and an absence of atrocities on most occasions, such as have never occurred in any other civil war.

As is usual in civil commotions, each party gave specious names to its own side, and opprobrious to the contrary. The royalists called their opponents Rebels and Rogues, and were in return styled Malignants. By the term Honest Men each party meant its own adherents. The Godly, the Well-affected, were also designations of the adherents of the parliament.

The commencement of hostilities was as follows. Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, had been in high favour with the parliament since the affair of the army-plot. He had secretly, however, made his peace with the king, for whom he had engaged to hold that town; yet so well did he act his part, that the parliament appointed him lieutenant-general of their horse. He made various pretexts for still remaining at Portsmouth; at length, on receiving peremptory orders to join, he declared that he held that place from the king, and durst not quit it without his leave. Forthwith a part of the army under sir William Waller appeared before the town (Aug. 2). The king, on receiving intelligence, proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors, and called on all his good subjects to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the 25th of the month. This proclamation the parliament declared to be a scandalous and libellous paper, and all who advised or abetted it traitors.

On the evening of the 25th of August, a stormy day, the king, who was at Nottingham with a small train of horse, rode you will be beaten still. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one," etc. etc. •

out from theⁿ castle at their^e head. The royal standard, which was borne by sir Edmund Verney, was then set up amid the sound of drums and trumpets; but the whole scene was melancholy, and it was regarded as an ill omen that the standard was blown down during the night. From Nottingham the king moved westwards, collecting men and receiving voluntary contributions, and at Shrewsbury his army amounted to 18,000 men. Two disastrous events had meantime occurred. Goring had been obliged to surrender Portsmouth, and the marquess of Hertford, to whom the command of the western counties was committed, had been driven out of them by the earl of Bedford. Among the misfortunes attending the king may also be reckoned the arrival of his nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, two rude, impetuous, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, to whom, as the sacred blood flowed in their veins, he gave high and independent commands, in preference to those gallant men who were hazarding their fortunes and their lives in his cause.

Essex had been for some time with his forces at Northampton, whence he moved toward Worcester, near which place a body of 500 horse was fallen on and routed by prince Rupert. On the 10th of October the king left Shrewsbury, and proceeded by Bridgenorth and Birmingham to Kenilworth, whence, after making a halt of some days, he advanced toward the capital, and on Saturday (Oct. 22) he came to a village named Edgectot, within four miles of Banbury. Essex, who was following him, arrived about the same time at the village of Keinton, within seven or eight miles of Edgectot. It had been the design of the king to halt for a day, and to take Banbury; but, on learning the vicinity of Essex, it was resolved to turn back and give him battle, and early in the morning of Sunday (23rd) the cavalry of the royal army proceeded to take its position on the summit of Edgehill, which overlooks the valley named the Vale of the Red Horse, in which Keinton lies at about two miles' distance.

Essex, who had intended to halt that day and wait for his artillery and the rest of his forces, seeing that he must give battle, drew out his army in the vale. On the right wing he placed the greater part of his horse under sir William Balfour, the displaced lieutenant of the Tower, now lieutenant-general to the earl of Bedford; another body under sir Jamès Ramsey, the commissary-general, was on the left; the foot led by himself in person occupied the centre. It was not till after noon that the royal army began to descend the hill, for some

of the regiments had to march from a distance of seven or eight miles. The cavalry on the right was commanded by prince Rupert, that on the left by Wilmot the commissary-general; the foot were led by the earl of Lindsey the general; the royal standard was borne by sir Edmund Verney. The superiority of numbers was rather on the side of the king. The day was clear and fine; between two and three o'clock, the battle, the first in which Englishmen were opposed to each other since the war of the Roses, commenced by the discharge of cannon on both sides; the infantry then engaged with great resolution; Rupert, with the impetuosity which characterised him, charged the horse opposed to him and drove them off the field; he pursued them beyond Keinton, but instead of returning to support the royal infantry, he fell to plundering the baggage which was in that village. Meanwhile, though Wilmot was also successful on the left, the infantry was hard pressed, and a charge made by Balfour on their flank threw them into utter confusion; the earl of Lindsey was wounded and made a prisoner, and with him his son lord Willoughby of Eresby, sir Edmund Verney was slain and the standard taken*, and the king himself and his two sons ran the risk of being captured. When Rupert at length returned, the troops were so broken and scattered that they could not be brought again into action, and night now came to terminate the conflict. The royal army retired over the hill, that of the parliament remained the whole night on the ground, where next morning they were joined by Hampden's and other regiments to the number of 4000 men, but instead of following the king they fell back to Warwick. The number of the slain was said to be about 5000 men, the loss being probably nearly equal on both sides†. The brave earl of Lindsey died of his wounds; lord Aubigny, brother of the duke of Richmond, was killed, on the side of the king; on that of the parliament, lord St. John, and colonels Essex and Ramsey. Each side claimed the victory; the advantage was however clearly on that of the king, for he obliged Banbury to surrender, and marched unmolested to Oxford, whence parties of his horse advanced toward the capital.

* It was recovered however by Capt. Smith, who was knighted for the exploit.

† The duke of York says (*Life of James*, i. 17.), that "according to the best information, there were not above 1500 bodies of both parties remaining on the field of battle." Gough says, on the authority of the vicar of Keinton, not much above 1300, and Dugdale, not quite 1000.

The parliament in some consternation recalled Essex with his army to their defence, and they at the same time sent a petition for an accommodation to the king, who was now (Nov. 11) at Colnbrook. To this he gave a favourable reply, but urged by his evil genius, prince Rupert, instead of remaining where he was or retiring, as had been best, to Reading, he advanced to Brentford in which one of Essex's regiments lay. After a stout defence they were overcome, several were drowned in attempting to swim across the Thames, and many were made prisoners. Next day Essex drew out his whole force, which aided by the city train-bands amounted to 24,000 men, on Turnham-green. The king, greatly inferior in numbers, on learning that 3000 men who had been posted at Kingston were marching round by London to join the main army, led his troops over the bridge at that town, whence he proceeded to Reading, and having garrisoned that place and Wallingford, took up his quarters for the winter in Oxford. Though in the affair at Brentford there was nothing contrary to the known rules of war, no cessation of arms having been agreed on, the parliament in their usual manner made it an occasion of reproach for perfidy and ill-faith against the king, whose cause was certainly rather injured than advanced by it.

Still the desire of the people was for peace; they had already had a foretaste of the evils of war in the insolence and violence of the soldiery on both sides and in the heavy impositions laid on them; an ordinance of the parliament at this very time requiring every man to give a twentieth of his property to the public service. A deputation from the city therefore proceeded (Jan. 10, 1643) to Oxford, and presented a petition to the king, and shortly after (31st) four lords and eight commoners came to the same place with fourteen propositions from the parliament. These however were quite as unreasonable as the nineteen at York. The king made six proposals in return, which were nearly as unreasonable. The violent men in the commons were for returning no reply; but the more moderate party prevailing, the earl of Northumberland, with sir John Holland, sir William Armyn, and Whitelock and Pierpoint, came to Oxford (Mar. 20) and remained there in treaty till the 15th of April, when they were recalled by the parliament, on the king's refusal to disband his troops unless they engaged to restore the members of both houses and adjourn to some place twenty miles from London. As Whitelock observes, it was quite improbable that they would "leave the city of Lon-

don, their best friends and strengtl, and put a discontent upon them."

The candid Whitelock remarks on this occasion the considerable mental power displayed by the king, whose unhappiness, he says, was "that he had a better opinion of others' judgements than of his own." One material point he says they had nearly brought to a conclusion, but as it was past midnight the king deferred putting his answer into writing till morning. Next day his answer was the very contrary of what he had promised to give. Some of those, they heard, who wished the war to continue, had prevailed on him to change his mind. Clarendon's account however is less favourable to the king, who, he says, had made a promise to the queen, never to make peace but through her mediation.

That royal lady was now again in England. She had landed (Feb. 16) at Burlington in Yorkshire, having escaped Batten the parliamentary admiral. This officer coming into the road discharged several rounds of shot at the house in which the queen was lodged, and she was obliged to rise from her bed and seek shelter behind a bank in the open fields. The earl of Newcastle then came and escorted her to York, where she remained for four months. Pym and his party (May 23) forthwith impeached her for high-treason, an unmanly act, but one well-calculated to answer *their* purposes.

While the king and parliament were in treaty there had been no cessation of arms, and the balance of success had been clearly on the royal side. In the west, the Cornishmen, led by sir Ralph Hopton, sir Bevil Greenville and others, defeated Ruthin the governor of Plymouth at Braddock-down near Liskeard, and then took the town of Saltash, and advanced to Tavistock, where a treaty of peace was concluded between the counties of Devon and Cornwall. In Yorkshire a similar truce was concluded between the two parties; the same was done in Cheshire. But these pacific measures did not suit the designs of the grandees in parliament. They reprobated such engagements, and in the plenitude of their power absolved their partisans from keeping them. A further mode of strengthening the parliamentary cause was the association of several adjoining counties under the command of some leader appointed by the commander-in-chief. Of these associations the first-formed and the most powerful was that of the eastern counties under the earl of Manchester.

On the 15th of April the earl of Essex sat down before Read-

ing with an army of 15,000 men. The governor, sir Arthur Aston, a catholic and an able officer, having been wounded, the command fell to colonel Fielding. The king advanced to within a few miles of the town, but he found it advisable to allow a surrender to be made if good conditions were obtained, and on the 27th Fielding gave up the town, the garrison of between 3000 and 4000 men being allowed to march out with the honours of war, taking with them all their arms and ammunition. But he basely consented to abandon the deserters. On this account chiefly he was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be beheaded; the penalty however was remitted by the king. Essex remained at Reading, though urged by Hampden to advance against Oxford, for his soldiers were suffering from disease, and many of them deserted.

In the latter end of the month of May, the parliament got information of a plot against their authority in the city of London. The principal person engaged in it was Edmund Waller the celebrated poet, a man of good family and fortune, a member of the house of commons, and one of the late commissioners to Oxford. The object of it seems to have been to put in execution a commission of array given by the king for the city, and thus to give strength and union to the friends of peace and the royalists, and force the parliament to come to terms with the king. Many members of both houses, it is said, were acquainted with it, but a servant who overheard some of the discourse about it, having given information to Pym, Waller and some others were arrested, tried, and found guilty of treason by a court-martial. Two eminent citizens, namely, Tomkins (Waller's brother-in-law) and Chaloner, were hanged near their own houses. Waller, who acted like Lucan in a similar case, accusing his most intimate friends and making all the discoveries that were desired, also affecting the greatest remorse for his crime and seeking religious consolation from the leading divines, was after a year's confinement permitted to retire to the continent. He was obliged to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. A somewhat similar plot had been discovered at Bristol a little before, and Robert Yeomans (a late sheriff) and George Bourchier were hanged for their share in it. No men indeed were less disposed to endure opposition to their sovereign power than the professed champions of liberty. Waller's plot was made the pretext of imposing a new oath and covenant, never to lay down their arms "so long as the papists in open war against the parliament should be protected from the justice thereof."

An ordinance was made that every man should take this engagement in his parish church.

To return to military affairs. The brave Cornishmen having given their opponents a defeat at Stratton (May 16), the marquess of Hertford and prince Maurice were sent thither by the king to follow up the success. Devon was speedily reduced, and the royalists advanced into Somerset. The parliament sent their active general Waller to the west, and an indecisive action took place at Lansdown near Bath (July 5), in which the gallant sir Bevil Greenville was slain. The king sent Wilmot with a body of 1500 horse to the support of the Cornishmen, who were now closely besieged in the town of Devizes. Waller advanced with his troops to prevent their junction; the two forces encountered on Roundway-down near Devizes (13th), and the parliamentarians were routed with great slaughter. Waller fled to Bristol, whence he hastened up to London to justify himself. The parliament, in imitation of the senate of Rome, went forth to meet him, and the speaker returned him thanks for his services. Essex and he threw the blame on each other; but Waller never recovered the ground he had lost.

The very day of the defeat of Waller, the queen joined the king at Edgehill with a large reinforcement of troops, ammunition, and artillery. The royal cause was now rather prosperous in the north; for though sir Thomas Fairfax had defeated the royal troops at Wakefield (May 20), where colonel Goring who had returned was made a prisoner, and a plan of the Hothams to give up Hull to the king was discovered and they were sent prisoners to London, yet the defeat of Fairfax by Newcastle on Atherton-moor (June 30) had sunk the cause of the parliament.

After a long stay at Reading, Essex advanced to Thame within ten miles of Oxford. Here colonel Hurry, one of those Scottish soldiers of fortune who had joined the parliament, not being thought so much of as in his own opinion he deserved, went over to the king. As he knew exactly how Essex's army was disposed, he proposed to prince Rupert to beat up their quarters; the prince assented, and leaving Oxford in the evening (June 18), they advanced to Wycombe, where a regiment of horse and another of foot lay, and falling on them in the night killed or made prisoners of the whole, whence they went on to another village named Chinner, where they had the same success. They then prepared to return to Oxford with their prisoners and booty; but the alarm had been given; and as they were about to enter a lane from the plain called Chalgrove,

field, they were overtaken by a body of horse collected at random. They turned, and after a sharp rencounter, drove them off with the loss of colonel Gunter and some of their other officers, and then proceeded uninterrupted to Oxford, where Hurry was knighted by the king.

One of the prisoners taken on this occasion said, that "he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down and resting his hands on the neck of his horse." This proved to be the fact; Hampden, who had put himself at the head of a troop of horse, was struck by a brace of balls in the shoulder. He rode to Thame and had his wounds dressed, but they proved mortal, and after suffering for six days, he expired on the 25th of June. His private virtues and his eminent talents are generally acknowledged. He exhibited the greatest courtesy and temper in debate; his manner was modest and diffident as it were, and he gradually, as if seeking information, infused his opinions into others. While his valour in the field was undoubted, his moral courage in the council and senate was no less eminent; and as he was one of the root-and-branch party, he would allow no obstacles to impede his design of abolishing the church and the monarchy. That however he was actuated by pure motives is a point about which we think there can be little dispute. The one party naturally exulted at his death; the other as naturally regarded it as a great calamity.

Essex retired with his army, broken and dispirited, to Kingston, and Rupert soon after marched into the west, where being joined by the Cornishmen, he laid siege to Bristol, of which Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say, was governor, with a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot and two regiments of horse. As the fortifications were weak Rupert resolved to try a storm (July 25). The defence of the garrison was gallant, but the assailants, though with great loss, gained the suburbs. While they hesitated what further to do, the city beat a parley. A surrender was agreed on, the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and the inhabitants to be secured in their persons and properties. These conditions however were badly kept, both soldiers and people being plundered by the victors, in retaliation, as Clarendon pretends, for similar breach of treaty at Reading. "I wish," he adds, "I could excuse those swervings from justice and right which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion

that they with whom they were made were rebels and could not be too ill used*." The king himself came soon after and joined the army, and prince Maurice was sent into Devon, where he reduced most of the towns.

"The parliament," says May, their historian, "was now in a low ebb; they had no forces at all to keep the field, their main armies being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve awhile those forts and towns which they then possessed, nor could they long hope to preserve them, unless the fortune of the field should change." Under these circumstances, they resolved to invite the Scots to their aid, and (July 20) the earl of Rutland, sir Henry Vane, and three others, attended by the divines Marshall and Nye, set out for Edinburgh as commissioners. Measures were adopted to raise men to repair Essex's army, and as the city of London lay open and exposed, an entrenchment of twelve miles in circuit was commenced and speedily completed, "gentlemen of the best quality," says Whitelock, "knights, and ladies, resorting to the works daily, carrying spades, mattocks, and other suitable implements; so that it became a pleasant spectacle at London, to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums beating before them; which put life into the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen, that, in so low a condition, they yet seemed not to despair." The peace-party however was now strong in the houses, and on Saturday (Aug. 5) a proposal of the lords for a treaty with the king was carried in the commons. But next day the pulpits were all set at work, and Pennington the lord mayor held a court of common-council where a petition against the measure was prepared. On Monday such a multitude came down with the petition, that the lords voted it a breach of privilege and adjourned, and the commons, under this pressure from without, rejected the propositions by a small majority.

Had the king marched to London with all his forces it is possible that the war might have been ended and yet no despotism established, but his advisers feared the spirit of the city-militia, and it was resolved to lay siege to Gloucester, the only place of importance between Bristol and Lancashire held by the parliament. Its governor, colonel Massey, a soldier of for-

* Fiennes was brought to a court-martial for the surrender of Bristol. Prynne and Clement Walker, two bitter unrelenting persecutors, managed the case against him, and he was sentenced to death (Dec. 28). Essex however pardoned him, and he was allowed to retire to the continent.

tune, had intimated (Clarendon says) that if the king came in person he would not hold it out; and accordingly on the 10th of August the royal standard waved "on a fair hill in the clear view of the city;" and the king sent in a message, offering pardon without any exception. He gave them two hours to reply, and "within less than that time," proceeds the historian, "together with the trumpeter, returned two citizens from the town with lean pale sharp and bad visages, and in such garb and carriage that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad [serious]. The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert shrill undismayed accent, said they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king." The answer imported they held it for the king, and would only obey his commands, signified by both houses of parliament. Massey's defence was brave and skilful, but at last he was reduced to extremity; the parliament on learning his condition sent Essex with a well-appointed army of 14,000 men to his relief. Essex conducted his march with great prudence, repelling all the assaults of the royal cavalry. At his approach the besieging army withdrew, and he entered the town (Sept. 8), where he remained for two days.

As the royalists were greatly superior in cavalry, Essex wished to avoid an action on his return. He therefore halted for five days at Tewkesbury, intending, as it were, to proceed northwards; but in the night he made a forced march to Cirencester, where he surprised a convoy; and having thus got clear of the open country, he moved leisurely toward London. His army had nearly got over Auburn Chase on its way to Newbury, when his rear was suddenly assailed by prince Rupert at the head of 5000 or 6000 horse. Both sides fought gallantly, but this interruption obliged Essex to halt for the night at Hungerford; and when he thought to get into Newbury next day, he found that the king had arrived there two hours before.

As an action was now unavoidable, Essex halted for the night, and at six o'clock the following morning (Sept. 20), both armies engaged, and the conflict continued till it was terminated by night. The steadiness and intrepidity of the London trainbands excited the admiration of both friends and foes. According to the parliamentary writers, the king lost 2000 men, while on their own side there fell no more than 500; but this statement is hardly credible. The earls of Sunderland and

Carnarvon were slain, but the greatest loss to the royal party was the lord Falkland. This nobleman, in whose praises all are agreed, had been as earnest for the reformation of public abuses as any man; but when at last he began to discern the ulterior views of the leading reformers, he resolved to throw his influence on the side of the crown, now the weaker party. He did expect that a decided victory of the royal forces would have brought the adverse party to reason; but finding his hopes baffled, he lost all his cheerfulness, and often after sitting long silent among his friends he would utter *Peace, peace*, in a sad tone, and declare that the thoughts of the war "took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart." On the morning of the battle he called for a clean shirt, saying that if he was slain they should not find his body in foul linen, for he had a strong persuasion that he should not outlive the day. He placed himself in the first rank of lord Byron's horse, and he was shot in the lower part of the belly, and died of the wound. He was only thirty-four years of age.

The day after the battle, as the royal army did not appear, Essex, having left orders for the burial of the dead, directed his march to Reading. Rupert followed with his cavalry, and caused some confusion in the rear. Having halted a couple of days at Reading, Essex pursued his march to London, where he was received with the greatest honour. The king garrisoned Reading once more; he also placed a garrison in Donnington castle near Newbury, once the residence of Geoffrey Chaucer. He then retired to Oxford for the winter.

During the siege of Gloucester, two events occurred, of which the one showed the king's folly, the other his obstinate adherence to despotism.

In the course of the summer several more members of both houses had repaired to Oxford. There were others who had hitherto gone all lengths with the violent party, but who had no mind to destroy the constitution: of these the chief were the earls of Northumberland, Holland*, Bedford and Clare. Essex also agreed with them in sentiment, but his high sense of honour made him decline to comply with Holland's proposal of employing the army to make both parties submit to reasonable terms of peace. Northumberland retired to his house at Petworth in Sussex; Holland opened a correspond-

* Holland was brother to lord Warwick. He had been a creature of Buckingham's, and was always about the court, and had received much favour from the king and queen.

ence through Jermyn with the queen, and soon after he and Bedford and Clare went into the king's quarters (Aug. 20); Clare, who was least obnoxious, going on to Oxford, while the other two stopped at Wallingford.

Those who ascribe wisdom or even common sense to the king and his advisers, will suppose that these lords were received with all favour and courtesy. But quite the contrary. The king who was at Gloucester sent word to his council to debate about their reception; and Hyde and Saville, taking a rational view of the case, thought that they should be received graciously, as an encouragement to others to follow their example; but the more violent insisted they should be obliged to express on oath their abhorrence of the rebellious arms and counsels; while a third party were for having them treated with simple indifference. The king came to Oxford on account of this affair, and the last course was fixed on. Bedford and Holland were therefore permitted to come to court, but they found themselves generally shunned. They followed the king to Gloucester, and fought bravely on his side at Newbury; but all availed not to efface the memory of their imputed guilt; and after a stay of three months they stole back to Westminster, where they met with a cool reception, being committed for a short time to custody. Thus were lost all hopes of drawing away a portion of the supporters of the parliament. The truth is, there was a party at Oxford as adverse to accommodation as the war-party at Westminster; men who looked for titles, places, pensions, and perhaps confiscations, should the royal cause triumph—a thing at this time by no means unlikely,—and who wished to have as few sharers as possible in the spoil.

If the king was imprudent in this matter he was perhaps worse in the other—a *cessation* with the Irish rebels.

We have seen above reasons for suspecting him to have authorized the rising of the Irish catholics. These men had now settled down into a kind of independent state; Kilkenny was their seat of government, where a general assembly was held, and a supreme council appointed to act as an executive. Ambassadors were to be sent to the pope and to the great catholic princes. The English and Scottish forces had, however, meantime been reinforced, and they had frequently beaten the rebels in the field, and recovered several towns and forts. Charles had under various pretexts detained the earl of Leicester in England, that the earl (now marquess) of Ormond, who was a zealous royalist, might have the authority in Ireland.

The parliament, always jealous of the king's proceedings in that country, had sent over two of their members to watch matters there; but Ormond after some time sent them back, and he removed Parsons, and even committed him, sir John Temple, and two other officers of state, to prison. The parliament, now with the tide of war rather running against them, viewed Ireland as of minor importance, and the catholics had a fair prospect of becoming complete masters of the island; but they were composed of two parties, differing in origin though agreeing in religion, and those of the English, blood did not wish to cast off their allegiance. Moreover, they knew the power of England, and saw clearly that if the parliament should conquer the king, a fearful vengeance would be taken for the atrocities that had been committed. The proposals of Ormond for a cessation of arms during a twelvemonth, though opposed by the mere Irish, were therefore readily listened to, and on the 15th of September (just four days before the battle of Newbury) the cessation was signed, the Irish agreeing to give the king 30,000*l.*, half in money, half in cattle. In the following November Charles appointed Ormond lord-lieutenant, and directed him to send over the regiments that were serving in Ireland. The intelligence of the cessation did injury to the cause of the king in England, for many deserted his party on account of it. In the king's defence it may be said, that he only followed the example of the parliament, who had sent to invite the Scots. But there was a wide difference between the Scots and the sanguinary bands whom Charles was willing to bring over from Ireland to aid in restoring his despotism.

Meantime Vane and his associates had negotiated a treaty with the Scots, who though the king had granted them all they had required, agreed to aid on condition of a Solemn League and Covenant being taken by the parliament and people of England. On the 29th of November the treaty was finally concluded, the Scots engaging to furnish an army of twenty-one thousand men, to be paid by the English parliament*. It was also arranged that a Committee of both Kingdoms, to which

* In this alliance, the Scots engaged to support the church, and nothing would satisfy them but the reformation of the English church with their own kirk. The article, however, was worded to this effect, that the church of England should "be reformed according to the word of God, and after the example of the best reformed churches," by which they of course thought nothing but the kirk could be meant. They were afterwards taught that the words would bear a different sense.

each were to send commissioners, should sit at London for the management of the war and transaction of all affairs between the two kingdoms.

One of the measures of the parliament this year had been to form a new Great Seal. When this was proposed the lords refused their assent, but, as usual, they could only interpose a delay. The seal was made, and commissioners were appointed to hold it (Oct. 11); and in one day not less than five hundred writs were sealed. It bore on one side the arms of England and Ireland, on the other, "the picture of the house of commons, the members sitting"—a clear indication of where the real power of the state was supposed to lie.

On the 8th of December died, at Derby-house, which the parliament had assigned him for a residence, the celebrated John Pym. His disease was an imposthume in the mesentery. He was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, the body being carried by ten of the principal members of the house of commons, and followed by the remaining members of both houses, and by the assembly of divines. The parliament voted a sum of 10,000*l.* for the payment of his debts, and settled a pension on his son.

The character of this eminent man has been presented under various lights by the writers of the different parties. It must be allowed that no man was ever better qualified to be a parliamentary leader than he was. To an extensive knowledge of the laws and constitution, he joined a manly and impressive elocation; his delivery was grave and dignified; his person tall and portly. He was also a statesman; he knew how to select his measures, and was never at a loss for expedients to carry them into effect. Clarendon says that he was "the most popular man that ever lived," and that no man better understood "the temper and affections of the kingdom." He was no fanatic in religion; he does not appear to have had any particular ill-feeling toward the episcopal church. What his original views were in politics it is difficult to ascertain; we find him of late the determined enemy of accommodation with the king (in whom he had evidently lost all confidence), and it is probable that he aimed at the establishment of a republic. Like all politicians, he had occasionally recourse to arts not strictly justifiable for the accomplishment of his objects.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year 1643. The next year opens with an attempt of the king to turn to his side the magic of the name of parliament. It was the advice

The hopes of the king from the cessation in Ireland were disappointed. In the last November, a body of the troops which he had proposed to draw to his aid from that country had landed at Mostyn in Flintshire, where being joined to lord Byron who commanded at Chester, they gained sundry advantages over the adherents of the parliament. Early in January they laid siege to the town of Nantwich, which was gallantly defended, and sir Thomas Fairfax, who was then at Manchester, having joined his forces with those of sir William Brereton, advanced to its relief. The Anglo-Irish army, though said to be inferior in number, drew out (Jan. 25) to give them battle; but after an obstinate conflict of two hours, being assailed by the garrison in their rear, they broke and fled, leaving 500 slain and 1500 prisoners; among these last were several of their officers, one of whom was colonel Monk, afterwards so famous.

In the south, the royal forces under Hopton had advanced as far as Arundel. Waller, who had about 10,000 men, was at Farnham, whence marching by night he surprised and cut to pieces a royal regiment at Alton, and then reduced Arundel (Jan. 6). The king having sent his general, the earl of Brentford, to reinforce Hopton, the two armies, about equal in number, engaged at Alresford (Mar. 29); the royalists were defeated with the loss of 500 men, and Waller then took and plundered Winchester.

Newark-on-Trent, one of the strongest holds of the royalists, had been for some time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert, who was in Cheshire, having drawn together a good body of horse, prepared to relieve it. He marched with his usual rapidity, and came so unexpectedly on the besiegers (Mar. 22), that after a brief resistance they were glad to be allowed to depart, leaving their arms, ordnance, and ammunition.

The Scots were now in England. On the 19th of January, the earl of Leven had crossed the Tweed and advanced to attack the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne; but the earl of Newcastle had thrown himself into it the day before, and Leven, ordering six regiments to block it up, proceeded southwards, followed by the royal army of 14,000 men. Leven took his post at Sunderland, where he remained for five weeks. Meantime lord Fairfax, being joined by his son sir Thomas, engaged (Apr. 11) at Selby colonel Bellasis who commanded the royalists in Yorkshire, and routed him; Newcastle, who was at Durham, immediately fell back to York, where he was besieged by the

Scots and the troops of Fairfax, to whose aid, some time after (June 3), came the troops of the eastern counties (14,000 in number) under lord Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell.

Essex and Waller were at this time both gradually approaching Oxford with the intention of confining the king's forces to that city. But one night (June 3) the king, to deceive Waller, having sent a body of foot out at the south gate as if for Abingdon, left the town by the north gate with 2500 foot and all his horse, and proceeded to Worcester, and thence to Bewdley. Waller, thinking it was his object to effect a junction with prince Rupert, who was now at Liverpool, threw himself between him and Shrewsbury. Essex, as their plan had been defeated, marched away to the west; the king then made a rapid return to Oxford, and taking thence his artillery and the rest of his forces, advanced to give battle to Waller. The two armies came in sight near Banbury, the river Charwell dividing them. In the manœuvres to bring on an action, Waller perceiving (29th) the rear of the king's army to be separated from the main body, passed over Cropredy-bridge with a body of his troops to get between them, and at the same time sent a party of horse to cross a ford, about a mile lower down. He was however routed and driven back over the bridge with some loss by the earl of Cleveland, who commanded the king's rear-guard, and his army having gradually dwindled down to 4000 men, he was recalled by the parliament. There was a party among the officers of the royal army, headed by Wilmot, who for various reasons were anxious for peace, and they now renewed a project which they had devised before the king last left Oxford, which was for the royal forces to advance to St. Albans, and for the king to send thence a gracious message to the two houses and the city. But Charles had the utmost aversion to any measure of the kind, and he determined to follow Essex to the west, where the queen was residing at Exeter, having just been delivered of a daughter in that town.

York meantime was hard-pressed; Newcastle had sent to the king to say, that if not relieved he must surrender, and Charles had written (June 14) to Rupert, directing him to lay every other project aside and think only on the relief of York. The active prince made no delay, and on the last day of June he appeared within view of that city, at the head of 20,000 men. Next day the allied army drew up to receive him on Hessey-moor, about five miles from the town; Rupert however passed the Ouse, and entered the city. Newcastle wished him to be

content with having raised the siege, intimating that there were differences between the English and Scottish commanders, which might ripen into discord. But Rupert, beside his own inclination to it, had positive orders from the king to fight. Accordingly next day (July 2) the royal army pursued the enemy, who were retiring to Tadcaster, and came up with them on a moor named Marston-moor. The numbers were about equal, 25,000 on each side; the right wing of the royalists was commanded by Newcastle, the left by Rupert, the centre by Goring, Lucas, and Porter; on the other side, sir Thomas Fairfax commanded on the right, Cromwell on the left, the centre was under lord Fairfax and the earls of Manchester and Leven.

At five in the evening both sides stood ready to engage, but the action did not commence till seven. The prince with his usual impetuosity charged the enemy's right wing and drove them off the field; the royal centre was equally successful, and Leven and his Scots fled to a considerable distance; but Cromwell was victorious on the left, and sir Thomas Fairfax having rallied his own regiment, he and Cromwell fell on the troops of Rupert and Goring, and night closed on a decisive victory on the side of the parliamentarians. The number of the slain was said to be upwards of 4000, of whom the far greater portion were royalists; 1500 were made prisoners; all the ordnance, ammunition, and baggage were taken. Next day Rupert retired to the western counties, and Newcastle in disgust or despair departed with the lords Widdrington and Falconberg, and retired to the continent, where he remained for sixteen years. York surrendered; the victorious armies separated; the Scots moved toward their own country, and closed the campaign by the storm of Newcastle.

The royal cause was now hopeless in the north, but fortune proved more propitious in the west. Prince Maurice having retired on the approach of Essex, Weymouth surrendered to him; but as he was in pursuit of the prince, he got tidings of the defeat of Waller and the approach of the king. His first thought was to give the royal army battle at once, but lord Roberts, who had large estates in Cornwall, prevailed on him to enter that county, where he assured him of every advantage. Essex therefore crossed the Tamar about the middle of July, and marched by Liskeard and Bodmin to Lestwithiel, followed by the royal army. Charles thinking this a good time for negotiation, wrote (Aug. 6) with his own hand a letter to Essex, proposing that the two armies should join and oblige

the enemies of peace to submit to terms. Another letter came to Essex (9th) from the principal officers in the royal army to the same effect. His reply was, that he was trusted to fight, not to treat, and that the best advice he could give the king was to go to his parliament. Charles then directed all his forces to draw closer, and thus surround Essex's army and cut off their supplies. By the end of the month, therefore, Essex found his condition desperate; his cavalry under sir William Balfour having taken advantage of the darkness of the night (30th) to pass between two of the divisions of the royal army and get off, he himself and some of his chief officers went in a boat to Plymouth, leaving the infantry and some horse under Skippon. This brave officer proposed to them to follow the example of the cavalry and force their way, but the attempt appeared too hazardous, and (Sept. 2) a surrender was proposed and accepted. The arms, ordnance, and ammunition were given up, and the men were conveyed to Poole and Wareham.

Essex proceeded to Portsmouth, where his army was re-assembled; Waller and Manchester were directed to join, and the combined army was ordered to give battle to the king on his return from Cornwall. On a Sunday (Oct. 27) they attacked him at Newbury; the action commenced at three in the afternoon and lasted till ten at night. Essex was absent from indisposition. Though the king's forces were inferior in number, the result was dubious, and they marched that night by moonlight in view of the enemy to Wallingford. A few days after (Nov. 9), the king being joined by Rupert, returned for his artillery and ammunition, which he had left at Donnington castle, and carried them away without opposition. The parliamentarians kept within their lines, and refused battle when offered. This event terminated the campaign.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1644-1647.

THE late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliamentary generals. Waller had been from the first a rival of Essex, and Manchester and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The

religious differences of presbyterian and independent had now extended to the army also ; Cromwell was the head of the latter party, Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the episcopalian church. Further, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen was inclined to weaken the king too much.

The affair of Donnington castle brought the parties who had been for some time menacing each other to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of an averseness to ending the war by the sword, and of thinking that the king was now low enough for a peace to be made. Next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and at his desire a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave *his* account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also stated some speeches of Cromwell's, proving him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the amity between England and Scotland ; such as his saying that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montague, that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish presbytery, and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king. He added, that it was Cromwell's design to form an army of sectaries who might dictate to both king and parliament.

The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. Meantime some of the presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex-house, and sending for the two lawyers Whitelock and Maynard, took their opinion on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom with regard to the war. After a long silence Cromwell rose and recommended that instead of an inquiry they should devise some general remedy of the evils. The next speaker said that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military command during the war. This was supported by Vane, and opposed by Whitelock, Hollis, and others. An ordinance

to this effect, however, passed the commons (21st); a vain attempt having been made to have the earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition; for as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honour. They accordingly rejected it (Jan. 13, 1645).

Another project, which was going on at the same time, was the New Model of the army. On the 21st the names of the principal officers of it were put to the vote in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named commander-in-chief, Skippon major-general; twenty-four colonels were appointed, but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The lords passed the ordinance for the new model (Feb. 15); and an ordinance similar to the one they had rejected, but only requiring members to lay down the offices which they held, and being silent as to their re-appointment, was sent up to them. This Self-denying Ordinance, as it was termed, was passed on the 3rd of April, Essex and Manchester and Denbigh having laid down their commands the day before.

At this time the trial of Archbishop Laud, which had been going on for nearly a year, was brought to its close. In twenty-four articles of impeachment the commons accused him of attempting to subvert the rights of parliament and laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary power, and also "to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome." The trial commenced on the 12th of March, 1644; the managers on the part of the commons were sergeant Wild, and Messrs. Maynard, Brown, Nicholas, and Hill. The primate's inveterate foe, Prynne, was their solicitor, and he certainly showed none of the magnanimity of a generous enemy. He seized all the papers of the accused, even his diary and his written defence; he hunted out witnesses in all quarters, and if Laud was not misinformed, he drilled them in the parts which they were to enact.

The archbishop, though refused the aid of council, defended himself with spirit and ability. He either justified what he was charged with doing or impeached the character of the witnesses, or in case of there being but one to any fact, denied the legality of his evidence, the law, in cases of treason, requiring two witnesses. When charged with any of the acts of the council, the star-chamber, or the high commission, his defence was that he was only one of many, and that the act of

the majority was ascribed to the whole. Prynne himself allows that "he made as full, as gallant and pithy a defence, and spoke as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent." During twenty-one days in the space of six months the trial proceeded with the advantage evidently on the side of the prisoner, and when (Oct. 11) Mr. Hearne his counsel was allowed to speak to the question of whether the matters charged against him amounted to treason according to the known laws of the land, the lords were staggered and the reply of the managers failed to satisfy them. The party in the commons however, who sought the primate's blood, were resolved not to be balked; the old tactics were repeated, a petition of the citizens numerously signed was presented (28th) by a great number of people praying for speedy justice against delinquents, and particularly against the archbishop. Forthwith a bill of attainder was introduced; when it had been twice read, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the house of commons to hear the evidence, and nine days were given him to prepare his defence. The very day of his defence (Nov. 11) the bill was passed with but one dissentient voice. The lords pronounced him guilty of certain acts, but left it to the judges to determine their quality. Their reply was, that by the statute-law they did not amount to treason, but that the house alone was judge of the law of parliament. On Christmas-day, which was now a day of "fasting and public humiliation," the pulpits were set at work, and next morning a committee was appointed to confer with the lords; and on the 4th of January (1645) the archbishop was pronounced guilty of treason by a majority consisting it is said of only six members. The only favour the prelate could obtain was to have his sentence changed from hanging to beheading. On the 10th the primate, now in the seventy-second year of his age, appeared on the scaffold on Tower-hill with a serene and cheerful air. Taking Heb. xii. 2 for his text, he made a speech in form of a sermon to the people, explaining and justifying his conduct. It was noted, that the sun, which had hitherto been hidden, shone out and irradiated his calm and serene countenance as he spoke, and that it disappeared for the rest of the day, when his head had been stricken off. Laud died with all the constancy of a martyr.

The primate was a narrow-minded, superstitious, hot and intemperate man—a pigmy Gregory VII. Of his sincerity we think there can be little doubt, but his measures were childish and mischievous, and he may justly be regarded as one of the

principal causes of the evils with which the kingdom was then afflicted. Still his execution was a piece of gratuitous malignity, for he now was utterly powerless, and he had not offended against the known laws of the land. It is gratifying to add, that no respectable advocate of the Long Parliament attempts to justify this piece of wanton barbarity*.

Exactly a week before they shed the blood of the primate (Jan. 3) the parliament had by an ordinance abolished the liturgy of the church and set in its place a Directory for Public Worship, drawn up by the Assembly of Divines and approved of by the general assembly of Scotland. Of the Assembly of Divines we will now give some account.

By an ordinance of the 12th of June, 1643, when they were looking for aid from the Scots, the parliament had nominated one hundred and twenty-one divines, who with ten peers and twenty commoners, and three of the Scottish commissioners, were to examine the liturgy, discipline and government of the church of England, and give their opinions thereon to one or both houses. The object of the parliament is there declared to be the abolition of the present mode of church-government and the formation of one of "nearer agreement with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad," that is the establishment of presbytery. Among those nominated were some prelates and other episcopalians, but they never gave attendance. There were about half a dozen members of the party named Independents in the assembly, and among the lay-assessors a few Erastians. These terms require to be explained.

The presbyterian system, which is that of the church of Scotland, is based on the principle of a parity in rank among its ministers and a participation of the laity in the government of the church. It rejects all peculiar habits for the clergy and has no liturgy. It gives the power of the keys, that is of excommunication, censure, etc., to its synods and assemblies, and it has always aimed at a clerical despotism similar to that of Rome. At this time the presbyterians were the determined enemies of toleration. *They* could not be wrong, and it were sinful to rend the seamless coat of Jesus by permitting error to prevail. *They*

* "It was done," says Hobbes, "for the entertainment of the Scots." "Pour donner *curée* aux Ecossois," said the French resident Sabran. About this time also the parliament executed the two Hothams (Jan. 1 and 2), sir Alexander Carew (Dec. 23), who had engaged to surrender Plymouth to the king, and the Irish rebels MacMahon (Nov. 22) and MacGuire (Feb. 20).

formed the great majority in the parliament, the assembly, and the city.

The Independents were few in number in the assembly, but they excelled in energy and skill in debate. They held that every congregation of Christians should be *independent* of all others, but with an entire power over its own members. They were therefore the strenuous advocates of toleration, and all the minor sects, such as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians, etc., gladly sheltered themselves under their shadow. Their leading divines were Nye, Goodwin and Burgess. The lords Say and Wharton, and sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell, were of their party in the parliament.

While the church of Rome claimed the universal power of the keys, the church of England and the Presbyterians demanded it over the whole national church, and the Independents required it for every particular congregation. A small party named Erastians from Erastus, a theologian of the sixteenth century, denied this power altogether. They held that the pastoral office was only persuasive, that all the ordinances of religion should be free and open to all; the minister might dissuade the openly vicious from coming to the Lord's-supper, for example, and warn them of their danger, but he might not refuse it. To the state alone they said belonged the punishment of all offences. The advocates of this system in the assembly were Lightfoot, Selden and Whitelock, and St. John and other eminent men upheld it in the parliament.

The Scots, after their usual manner, took advantage of their present position to dictate, and they would fain have forced on the English nation their own system of presbytery, pure and unaltered; but the spirit of the English revolted at this, and some modifications were made. The Liturgy was ordered to be laid aside, and a Directory for Public Worship, as we have seen, was substituted for it. It being found however that many parishes persisted in using the Book of Common Prayer, an ordinance was passed (Aug. 23, 1645) imposing a fine of 5*l.* for the first offence, 10*l.* for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third, on any one who in a church, chapel, or even private family, should use the prayer-book, and all prayer-books remaining in churches and chapels were ordered to be given up to the committees of counties. Such were the tolerant principles of these abhorrrers of the despotism of Laud.

The parliament also appointed a committee for scandalous ministers, with subordinate committees in the several counties.

These were empowered to inquire into the lives and doctrine of the clergy, and to eject from their livings such as were proved guilty of immorality, of false doctrine, *i. e.* Arminianism and such like, or what perhaps was a greater offence in the eyes of their judges, malignancy or attachment to the cause of the king; those who should refuse to take the covenant were also to be deprived. The number of the ejected clergy was nearly 2000; the greater part however we are assured were put out for immorality, in whose places were substituted men recommended by the parishes and approved of by the assembly of divines. A fifth of the income was appropriated to the support of the families of the ejected ministers. The University of Cambridge was also visited by the earl of Manchester, and more than one-half of the heads and fellows of colleges were expelled for malignancy, and others put in their places.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace had been going on. The king having, on his return to Oxford, sent two messages proposing a treaty, the parliament appointed commissioners to repair thither (Nov. 20), but only as bearers of propositions. After a stay of a few days they returned (29th) with the king's reply. This was a demand of a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton to come with his answer to their propositions. After some debate this was agreed to; the two noblemen came, and after the usual delays it was arranged that commissioners from both sides should meet at Uxbridge, and during a space of twenty days discuss the principal subjects of dispute, namely, religion, the militia, and Ireland, each to be debated for three days in rotation.

On the 30th of January, 1645, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, together with four Scottish commissioners; both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of presbytery; the king would not abandon the former, which he regarded as of divine institution, but he was willing to limit it, to reform abuses in it, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of ceremonies. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that it should be entirely vested in them and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed so far as to demand it only for seven years,

after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, provided it should then return fully to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required the Cessation to be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and government of that country to be committed to them; the royal commissioners justified the king in making the cessation, and asserted that he was in honour bound to maintain it. These matters were debated over and over till the 22nd of February, when the parliament having refused to prolong the treaty, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This treaty, the inutility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these the king himself cannot be included, for he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even in the commencement; for when he had been induced to style in his answer the two houses the parliament of England, he writes to the queen, "If there had been but two beside myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament," and he adds that it is so registered in the council-book. He was besides negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for a peace and an army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, that he was in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plenitude of his despotism.

Their adoption of the covenant and presbytery to gratify their selfish and self-sufficient allies, made accommodation more difficult on the side of the parliament, as they could not now recede, and every person of candour must, we think, allow that they could not with safety resign the power of the sword to their unforgiving sovereign. "He who was reasonable among them (the commissioners)," says Clarendon, "thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security, and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion"—an inference, the truth of which he does not deny. In effect, when the situations and tempers of the parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation, that one or other

must be subdued, and despotism of one kind or other be the result.

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim* had come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyle, who had now the chief power in Scotland, and Montrose asserted that if Antrim could raise 1500 or 2000 men in Ireland and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king and enemies of Argyle, as would make such a diversion, as would, if not recover the kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim forthwith passed over to Ireland, and raising about 1800 men among his clan there, sent them over under his kinsman sir Alistair M'Donnel named Colkitto. Montrose having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He directed them to join him in Athol, where at their head he unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call; he poured down on the Lowlands; at Tippermuir (Sept. 1) he defeated the lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He then moved northwards; the bridge of Dee was defended by lord Burley, but his men fled at the first shock, and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days. The Irish displayed a thriftiness in their barbarity such as one might rather have looked for in the Scots, for they stripped their victims naked before they murdered them, lest their clothes should be spoilt.

The approach of Argyle with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved toward the Spey, and finding its opposite bank guarded, he buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strathspey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athol and Angus, still followed by Argyle, and suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northwards in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie castle he was nearly surrounded, but after sustaining the

* Randal M'Donnel, an Irish catholic nobleman.

repeated attacks of a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyle, wearied out, as it was now far in the winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose amidst the snows of December (13th), penetrated by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer into Argyleshire. The savage Irish, and no less savage clansmen, let all their fury loose on the devoted district; the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the houses and corn burnt. Argyle himself only escaped by putting to sea in an open boat. After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved towards Inverness. Argyle, who had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now with 3000 men at Inverloch, at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night. The moon giving her light, the troops skirmished till day. In the morning (Feb. 2, 1645) the fight began: Argyle, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half their number. Montrose, elate with his victory, wrote to the king, promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army; and this letter arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north; the Grants and Gordons joined him; he spread his ravages as before; Dundee was stormed and partly burnt (April 4). But the approach of a superior force under Baillie and that soldier of fortune Hurry, now again against the king, obliged him to return to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athol, while Hurry moved northwards after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, and was defeated with the loss of 2000 men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford on the Don.

The English parliament had now completed their New Model. It consisted of 6000 horse divided into ten regiments, 1000 dragoons, and 14,000 foot in twelve regiments of ten companies each*. These regiments were composed of men from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast and inclined to the party of the Independents. A more rigorous discipline

* It would seem that red was now adopted as the colour of the uniform of the infantry.

was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity.

The king had given the nominal command of his forces to the prince of Wales, but the real power to prince Rupert as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he himself used to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom." Goring, Wilmot, and Greenvil had all separate commands in the west, and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country-people in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named from their principal weapon, Clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and as the royalists were the greater plunderers, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry however countenanced them in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause.

About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king; his army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralised. He was, however, the first to take the field, and leaving Oxford (May 7) at the head of 10,000 men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The enemy retired at the rumour of his approach. He then advanced against the town of Leicester, which was taken by storm (31st) and plundered. Fairfax, who had been on his way to the relief of Taunton, which was hard pressed by the royalists under Greenvil, was ordered to return, and being baffled in his expectations of gaining Oxford by means of a party within the walls, he proceeded in pursuit of the king. Near the village of Naseby, between Daventry and Harborough, his van overtook the rear of the royalists (June 13), and next morning the two armies stood prepared for action, the advantage in numbers being on the side of Fairfax. Sir Jacob (now lord Astley) commanded the royalist infantry in the centre, prince Rupert the horse on the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale that on the left wing. In the other army Fairfax

himself led the centre, Cromwell* the right, and Ireton the left wing. Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, bore down all before him; Ireton was wounded, and for some time a prisoner; but Rupert never knew when to stop, and instead of returning to support his friends, he wasted his time in summoning the enemy's artillery. Cromwell, who had been equally successful on his side, knew better how to use his victory; leaving four squadrons to watch the fugitives, he fell on the rear of the royal centre, who had hitherto maintained the fight with advantage against those opposed to them. Dismayed at finding themselves assailed in front and rear, they threw down their arms and sued for quarter. One regiment, however, though twice charged, remained unbroken. Fairfax then making Doyley, the captain of his guard, attack it in front, while himself took it in the rear, it at length was broken: Fairfax with his own hand killed the ensign, and seized the colours. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax said, "Let him retain that honour, I have to-day acquired enough beside." The king showed equal heroism; when he saw his infantry broken, he cried to his guard and to such of the horse as had gathered about him, "One charge more and we recover the day!" but they had no heart to renew the combat, and he was obliged to quit the field. The victory of the parliament-army was complete. They took 4500 prisoners, and all the artillery and ammunition. It is remarkable, that in this decisive defeat the slain on the side of the royalists did not exceed 300 or 400 men*.

Among the spoils at Naseby was the king's cabinet, containing his correspondence with the queen, and other important documents. A selection of these was made by the parliament, and published with remarks, under the title of *The King's Cabinet Unclosed*. Charles himself acknowledged that the collection was genuine, but complained that some papers were kept back which would have explained dubious passages. The royalists censured this act as base and barbarous; but it was hardly to be expected that men would forego so fair an occasion of vindicating themselves in the eyes of the world as these letters presented.

They proved, in fact, but too well the king's insincerity in

* Accident or design had continued to exempt Cromwell from the operation of the self-denying ordinance introduced by himself. Lingard is decidedly of opinion that he had no hope or design of being exempted.

† Ludlow, i. 132. May *ap.* Maseres, *Select Tracts*, p. 77.

the late treaty. Thus he writes to the queen (Jan. 2): "As to my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general. If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did noways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." Again he says (Jan. 9), "The settlement of religion and the militia are the first to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy nor that sword which God hath given into my hands." On the 15th of February he writes, "Thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers;" and, "Be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends*, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament." After the breaking off of the treaty he writes (Mar. 13), somewhat elated at getting rid of his Oxford parliament; "And now," says he, "if I do anything unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, it will be merely my own fault." He then notices his fears that he should have been pressed "to make some overtures to renew the treaty," but now, if renewed, it shall be to his honour and advantage; "I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say our mongrel parliament here), as of the chief causers." These were Wilmot, Sussex, and Percy, whom he had sent away to the queen in France, which he thought "would rather prove a change than an end of their villainies;" *i. e.* their desire for peace.

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of 10,000 men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5), "I

* The queen had written (Dec. 16), "that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need;" and, "for if you do agree upon strictness against the catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours from Ireland or any other catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you had served yourself;" and (Jan. 17), "above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics."

give thee power^q to promise, in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormond (Feb. 27), commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved;" he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland. In short, Charles' maxim for regaining his despotism seems to have been the usual one of *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*.

We now return to our narrative. After the fatal rout at Naseby the king directed his steps to Leicester, whence he retired to Hereford. He then enjoyed for some days the festivities of Raglan castle, the seat of the venerable marquess of Worcester, and thence proceeded to Cardiff. In a letter which he wrote from this place to prince Rupert, who now commanded at Bristol, and who joined in the common desire for peace, we may discern the still unbending character of this "incomparable king," as Clarendon styles him. "Speaking either," says he, "as to mere soldiers or statesmen, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christians, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown." His only hopes for himself were to end his days with honour and a good conscience; his friends, if they stayed with him, must expect to die or to live miserably; yet he will not "go less" than what he offered at Uxbridge, though he confesses it would be as great a miracle if they consented to it, as if in a month hence he should be as he was just before the battle of Naseby.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered when Fairfax appeared. He then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport in Somerset (July 10), and defeated him. Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered (23rd). Bath and Sherborne submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pomfret, and Carlisle had yielded; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of this last, came and sat down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark, and finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit

of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length (Aug. 28) reached Oxford in safety. Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of 6000 men, spread devastation over the country to the Forth. Baillie was advantageously posted at Kilsyth, near Stirling, and he wished to act on the defensive, but, like Pompeius at Pharsalia, he was overruled by the committee of estates, and obliged to move from his strong position and prepare for battle. Ere his men were drawn up (Aug. 15) his horse were driven back on the foot, and the Irish and clansmen rushed on with wild yells and savage gestures. His troops broke and fled; they were pursued for a space of fourteen miles, and 5000 men, it is said, were slain. All Scotland was now open to Montrose. Glasgow and other towns submitted; the citizens of Edinburgh sent him their royalist prisoners; the marquess of Douglas and other nobles joined him, and a parliament was summoned to meet at Glasgow.

At this news, the Scottish horse under David Lesley, who were now (Aug. 26) at Nottingham, hastened back to their own country; and the king, leaving Oxford with 5000 men, came and raised the siege of Hereford. He was then proceeding to the relief of Bristol; but at Raglan castle he learned, to his utter dismay, that it had surrendered. Prince Rupert, who, with a good garrison, had engaged to maintain it for four months, had given it up as soon as Fairfax forced his lines (Sept. 10). The king in his anger revoked the commission he should never have given him, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. He then led his forces to the relief of Chester, which colonel Jones was besieging. He was followed by the parliamentary general Poyntz, who fell on his rear while he was attacking Jones (23rd); and the king was obliged to retire in disorder with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners. He hastened to Bridgenorth and thence to Newark (Oct. 4). Here he remained for the remainder of the month, when finding that his enemies were increasing around it, and that the Scots were returning, he stole away in the night (Nov. 3), with a party of 500 horse, and contrived to reach Oxford on the second day, where he remained for the winter.

The brilliant hopes excited by Montrose were now at an end; his highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself with the remainder at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk, in

Ettrick forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Lesley, and after doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced to fly once more to the mountains. Digby and Langdale, who were coming to join him with 1500 English horse, after routing a party of the enemy at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries; but getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

The negotiation with the duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only hopes lay in Ireland, where he had been carrying on a mysterious treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the Cessation into a permanent peace; but the bigotry of the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormond, as a protestant, neither could nor would consent; Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquess of Worcester, a catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, received in the month of January (1645) various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet and blanks left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting-hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland (Apr. 30), where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected; to whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king. Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormond, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there (Aug. 25) concluded a secret treaty, by which the catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the protestant clergy; they in return, were to supply the king with a body of 10,000 armed men, and to devote two-thirds of the church revenues to his service, during the war. A public treaty was, meantime, going on with Or-

mond, who scrupled on the subject of religion. But while he hesitated, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty; for the titular archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish (Oct. 17), copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London. When Ormond got information of this, which was not till Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high-treason; and Digby wrote in very strong and indignant terms to the king. Charles, in a message to the parliament (Jan. 29, 1646), solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers. To Ormond, who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. He hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty (Jan. 22); and obtained an immediate aid of 6000 men; but while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England. He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland.

After the surrender of Bristol the whole south and west of England were speedily reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties Cromwell took Winchester (Oct. 5) and Basing-house, the fortified mansion of the marquess of Winchester (14th); and in the north, Latham-house, which the intrepid countess of Derby* had defended for two years, lord Scroop's castle of Bolton and other places surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth by Fairfax (Jan. 18), who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington (Feb. 16) he totally routed lord Hopton and his Cornish troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty (Mar. 14) Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The prince of Wales had gone to Scilly, whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places surrendered, and the lord-general came back to Exeter, which at length was yielded on articles

* A French protestant of the noble house of La Tremouille.

(Apr. 13). The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of 3000 men whom he was leading to Oxford, was attacked (Mar. 22) and totally defeated at Stow in the Woods, on the borders of Gloucestershire, by colonel Morgan and sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said sir Jacob to those who had made him a prisoner.

The king's only hopes in fact lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgement, he might have recovered a sufficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day: the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating one the other that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where the peace party was now strong. For this purpose he was urgent for a personal treaty, but to this the parliament, suspecting his object, would only consent on condition of his giving a previous assent to bills which they were preparing; the three first of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote (Mar. 31), that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend those who came with him or resorted to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i. e.* confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

At length the parliamentary troops began to close in Oxford, and the king must either resolve to sustain a siege and finally surrender himself a prisoner, or to fly from the town. He chose the latter, and on the night of the 27th of April he quitted Oxford, having cut his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham; one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman, who knew the country well, being their guide. They took the road to London. They passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-Hill, where the king

finally determined to give up all thoughts of London, and repair to the Scots. He proceeded by St. Alban's, and finding that his escape in the disguise of a servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length (30th) he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating on the part of the king with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair is, like most Scottish transactions, involved in obscurity; but it would appear that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was arranged that they should receive the monarch in their quarters; a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages, but at the same time they required it to be done in such a manner as not to implicate them with the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally on his way to Scotland, and he was to command their attendance on him. This plan, however, had been given up, and Charles on arriving at that place had found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, thought when Hudson came to him that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore came (May 5) to Montreuil's abode at Southwell, and after dinner the envy took him to Kelham, Leven's head-quarters. Leven raised his hands in real or affected surprise; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; he assigned him Kelham-house for his residence; but when Charles, to try if he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army, which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bellasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out (9th) on their march homewards, for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by both houses, and that he should be sent to Warwick castle. Poyntz, with a body of 5000 horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army; but their march was so rapid that on the 18th the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Next day they voted that they "had no further need of the army of their brethren the Scots in this kingdom," and voted them 100,000*l.*

half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them; the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with suitable respect, but none of his friends were given access to him. As the establishment of presbytery was a *sine quâ non* with the bigoted Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson, and candour must allow that the advantage was on the side of the king; for most certainly no universal form of church government is laid down in the New Testament, and if antiquity is to decide the matter the cause is won for episcopacy. The error of all sides at that time was supposing any form to be enjoined in Scripture. From the general insincerity of his character it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of protestantism in Ireland; and as his attachment to the protestant faith cannot be questioned, we fear he meant to deceive the catholics also. Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan (July 20) he says, "Tell the nuncio that if once I can come into *his and your hands*, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest as I see despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea, but whether he intended to go to France or Ireland is uncertain. At this very time too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepepper, and others, at Paris, and the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church; the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he refused. Yet he stood firm. In truth he saw that he should gain nothing by it, for nothing short of the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to part with.

There were two points now under debate between the English and the Scots; the one the disposal of the royal person, the other the settlement of the arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots declared (July 4) "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they will be as willing to return home, and want of pay shall be no hindrance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had

no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots (Aug. 12) then proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc.; it was voted (14th) to give them 100,000*l.* and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelock, "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The Scots (19th) stated their demands at 500,000*l.*, but agreed (Sept. 1) to take 400,000*l.*, which sum the parliament consented to give; and so far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the end of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king; they were in substance the same with the Uxbridge articles, but the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for twenty years. To these the king gave a positive refusal, veiled indeed under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted, the moderate party were dejected at this event*. The arrangements having been effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted (Sept. 18) that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses should think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scots' army. In November the Scottish parliament met, and Hamilton, who was now at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favour of the king; all parties were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immoveable on the subject of the church. A vote was obtained notwithstanding (Dec. 16) to maintain his personal freedom and right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament, being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and advised by Hollis and the leading presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace; they finally gave him up to commissioners sent to receive him (Feb. 1, 1647). Charles gladly left the Scots†, and he was conducted to one of his mansions, named Holdenby- or Holmby-house near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

* When thanks were voted to the commissioners, one said more thanks were due to the king. "What will become of us," whispered a member, "since the king refuses the propositions?" "Nay, what would have become of us," replied an independent, "had he granted them?"

† Whitelock (Dec. 15, 1646) gives the following affecting notice: "A

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been down to the present day reiterated against the Scots*. There are doubtless many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have gotten so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that or war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person: nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated; but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king. Still every friend to Scotland must wish that the event had not occurred.

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old marquess of Worcester defended Raglan castle against Fairfax and 5000 men, but he was obliged at last to open his gates (Aug. 19); and two days later Pendennis castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech castle in North Wales was the last to submit (Mar. 30, 1647). Favourable terms were granted in all cases, and the articles were honourably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, we may look back with pride to this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by details of butcheries and other savage atrocities; all was open and honourable war-

Scotch minister preached boldly before the king at Newcastle, and after his sermon called for the 52nd psalm, which begins

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked works to praise?

His majesty thereupon stood up and called for the 56th psalm, which begins
Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.

The people waved the minister's psalm, and sung that which the king called for."

* "If it be not admitted that they sold him," says sir Philip Warwick, "it must be confessed that they parted with him for a good price."

fare; a generous humanity for the most part was displayed on both sides; and those who were finally victorious, to their honour, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold*.

While awarding praise we cannot in justice pass over the catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily; in the royal cause they wasted their estates, and shed their blood; and dead must he be to generous feeling who honours not the names of the marquesses of Worcester and Winchester, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other catholic nobles and knights who fought on the side of royalty in the civil contest.

Montrose on receiving orders from the king laid down his arms and retired to the continent. Ormond had by the royal command concluded a peace with the Irish catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy having assembled at Waterford declared it void (Aug. 6). The nuncio then assumed the supreme power, and at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neal† advanced against Dublin. As Ormond had wasted the country they were obliged to retire, but he was well-aware that it must fall into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless; the Irish catholics were entirely ruled by their tyrannic priesthood, and nothing short of the extirpation of protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this calamity Ormond entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed (Feb. 22, 1647) to put Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken off from his own estate,

* On the breaking out of the war sir William Waller wrote to his "noble friend," sir Ralph Hopton, in the following terms: "My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve.....The great God who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace in his good time send us peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities."

† Preston was the general of the catholics of the English blood, O'Neal of the Ulster Irish.

and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form a classis with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province with its assembly; and finally, a national assembly over all. But the system never came into full operation except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow of the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and they allowed of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. In their zeal for uniformity, hatred of toleration, lust of power, and tyrannic exercise of it, the presbyterian clergy fell nothing short of the prelatist party who had been their persecutors.

The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the earl of Essex (Sept. 14). He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor-forest. He was buried with great state in Westminster-abbey (Oct. 22); the members of both houses, the civil and military officers and all the troops in London attending the funeral.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1647-1649.

THE presbyterians were still the more numerous party in parliament, though their rivals had acquired an accession of strength in the elections which had lately been held; for, says Ludlow, "honest men (i. e. his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," that is, the establishment of a republic. But the main strength of the other party lay in the army, in which, since the New Model, the spirit of fanaticism had under the auspices of Cromwell greatly increased. For the English presbyterian clergy, less zealous or less prudent than their Scottish brethren, had pre-

ferred the enjoyment of good livings to the toils of a military life; the regiments were therefore without chaplains; the officers, and soon the privates, took on them the offices of praying and preaching; goodness of memory and volubility of speech were regarded as inspiration; spiritual pride soon followed, and they regarded themselves alone as the *godly*, the *saints* who were to possess the earth.

The parliament saw the danger likely to result from the continuance in arms of a body of men animated with fanaticism and formidable by discipline. To reduce their number was therefore the first object. As the royalists were utterly crushed and the Scots withdrawn, they proposed that a moderate force should be retained to preserve the peace in England, a sufficient army be sent to reduce Ireland, and the remainder be disbanded. To this arrangement the army had an invincible repugnance. The service in Ireland, however flattering to their fanatic spirit, promised only toil, privation and danger, and they looked forward in preference to the quiet enjoyment of their pay in England. The habits of a military life had rendered their former plodding pursuits distasteful to them, particularly to the officers, many of whom had risen from very humble stations in society*. Cromwell too, now their actuating spirit, seems to have even then formed his plans for governing parliament by the army. The commons meantime voted (Mar. 8), that excepting the general there should be no further any officer of higher rank than colonel; that no member of the house should have a command, that all the officers should take the covenant and conform to the new form of church-government. It is quite evident that Cromwell was the person chiefly aimed at. But the parliament had unwisely suffered the pay of the army to fall into arrears and thus furnished them with a plausible ground of complaint. The army on hearing of this vote suddenly broke up from their quarters about Nottingham and came to Saffron-Waldon in Essex. Commissioners from the parliament met them there (22nd) on the subject of the service in Ireland; but the officers required to be previously satisfied on certain points, and a petition was meantime circulated for signatures through the army requiring an act of indemnity for

* Colonel Pride for instance is said to have been a drayman, colonel Hewson a cobbler. We must not however on all occasions give implicit credit to the royalist writers in these matters. Thus they always say that Harrison had been a butcher, whereas the truth is that his father was a respectable grazier, and himself a member of one of the inns of court.

all past actions, payment of arrears, exemption from impressment, pensions for the maimed and for widows, and pay till they should be disbanded. The parliament (30th) voted this petition to be mutinous, and forbade any further proceeding in it; but of this the soldiers took little heed. The army had in fact at this time a parliament of its own; the superior officers formed a supreme council, while two *adjutors**, or, as they were soon named, *agitators*, being chosen from each regiment by the common soldiers, formed a lower house. It seems probable that Cromwell and his able son-in-law Ireton were the founders of this institution.

Throughout the months of April and May the parliament vainly sought to rid themselves of their refractory servants. At length, urged by the impetuosity of Hollis, Stapylton and Glynn, they sent (May 25) instructions to the general to disband the various regiments without delay. This measure produced results which they had by no means anticipated.

The king had been all this time at Holmby. The commissioners sent by the parliament to take charge of him treated him with respect, and he enjoyed the recreations of riding about the country and playing at bowls in the bowling-green at Althorpe. But his servants were selected by the parliament: he was refused the attendance of any of his chaplains, and even the people who resorted to be touched for the king's evil were not allowed to approach him. On the 12th of May he wrote to the parliament offering to establish prebtery for three years, to resign the command of the army for ten years, and to give full satisfaction respecting the war in Ireland. He had received no answer, when, on the 2nd of June, as he was at bowls, an officer in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment was observed among the spectators. The answers of the stranger to the inquiries of colonel Greaves, who commanded the guards at Holmby, exciting suspicion, the king was hurried home and the guards were doubled. About two in the morning (3rd) the stranger (who proved to be cornet Joice, formerly a tailor) appeared with a party of four hundred horse before the gates, where they were received by the guards as brethren: they said they were come to prevent their enemies from carrying away the king. They set guards and passed the day in consultation. At ten at night Joice having placed guards on the commissioners' apartments proceeded to that of the king, which he

* The proper Latin word is *adjutor*, which Drayton (*Barons' Wars*, iv. 10) had already used.

entered with his hat in one hand and his pistol in the other. He behaved with civility, and he seems to have satisfied the king on the subject of his removal; Charles only required that he should repeat next day in public what he then said in private; Joice then withdrew.

At six next morning (4th) Joice drew up his men before the door. The king standing on the steps asked him what authority he had for conveying him away. He replied, that of the army. The king then demanded if he had a written commission from the general, and on his repeating the question, Joice, pointing to his men, said, "There is my commission." Charles smiled and said, "I never before read such a commission; but it is written in characters fair and legible enough; a company of as handsome, proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while." He then demanded to be treated with respect if he went with them, and not to have his conscience forced. The troopers acclaimed their assent, and Joice replied that it was not their principle to force any man's conscience, much less their king's. He offered him his choice of residences; Charles fixed on Newmarket, and he was allowed the attendance of his own servants. The commissioners protested in vain against this act; the king when ready mounted his horse with a cheerful air and set out with the troopers, whom the commissioners also accompanied.

Fairfax, on hearing what had taken place, sent colonel Whalley with two regiments of horse to reconduct the king to Holmby, but he refused to return. Next day Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, waited on him. In a private interview Fairfax made a proffer of his services. "Sir," said the king, "I have as good an interest in the army as you." On this Fairfax remarks, "By this I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on; the agitators had brought him into an opinion that the army was for him." Fairfax tried in vain to bring Joice to a court-martial. Hollis asserts, and probably with truth, that the whole matter had been planned by Cromwell and Ireton, and that Joice was only their agent.

When the parliament heard of this bold proceeding of the army they recalled their precipitate vote of the 25th of May. But this was of no avail; the army mustered (10th) on Trip-low-heath near Cambridge, and prepared to march for London, and two days after they were at St. Alban's, whence (16th) they sent a charge against eleven of the leading presbyterians, requiring them to be sequestered from parliament and thrown

into prison. The head-quarters of the army were then moved to Berkhamstead (25th) and next day to Uxbridge. Addresses from the counties round London, who now saw where the power really lay, were presented to the general and the army. Messages passed and repassed between the houses and the army, at length (July 20) the eleven members desired and obtained leave to go into the country or beyond sea for six months. And "here," says Hallam, "may be said to have fallen the legislative power and civil government of England, which, from this hour to that of the restoration, had never more than a momentary and precarious gleam of existence, perpetually interrupted by the sword."

The king meantime was treated with unusual indulgence. He moved with the army, but things were so arranged as to enable him to stop at his own houses or the mansions of the nobility, by whom he was splendidly entertained. He was allowed the attendance of his episcopal chaplains; his friends were freely admitted to him. The parliament had always rudely refused to gratify him by the sight of his children, whom they had committed to the charge of the earl of Northumberland; but now, by a letter from Fairfax, the earl was directed to take them down to Caversham-house near Reading, where they remained for two days with their father. Cromwell, who wanted not for natural feelings, and who was present at their first interview, declared to Berkeley that it was "the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld," and wept plenteously when describing it.

Fairfax, brave and skilful in the camp and field, guileless and simple as a child in civil affairs, was but the puppet of Cromwell and Ireton. These two able men also ruled the council of officers and the agitators. Sir John Berkeley, who had returned from France, was the principal agent between them and the king. They expressed, and probably with sincerity, every inclination to restore him to his dignity, Cromwell himself declaring that "he thought no man could enjoy his estate quietly unless the king had his rights." But Charles, sanguine and imprudent, thought that by playing the army, the parliament, and the Scots, against each other, he could recover his despotic power; he had also a firm persuasion that nothing could be finally arranged without him, and that whatever party he joined must have the superiority. They saw this. "Sir," said Ireton to him on one occasion, "you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to

be so between the parliament and you." When the king was at Woburn in the latter end of July, proposals, far more moderate than any he had yet seen, drawn up by Ireton, were laid before him by Berkeley; but his reply was, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms." Lord Lauderdale, one of the Scottish commissioners, had just at this time come down to inform him that a new covenant was receiving numerous signatures in the city, by which the subscribers bound themselves to bring him up to Westminster to confirm the concessions he had made at Holmby. Charles was as usual unduly elated, and when the council of officers waited on him with their completed proposals (Aug. 1), they met with a decided refusal. "You cannot do without me," said he; "you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." On a whisper from Berkeley the king attempted to soften the terms he had used; but colonel Rainsborough, a decided foe to accommodation, had already conveyed them to the army.

At this very time an event of great importance was on the eve of happening. The citizens had petitioned against the demands of the army, but the houses rejected their prayer and also voted (July 24) the new covenant to be an act of treason. Two days after the citizens petitioned again, and on their being refused, a great crowd of apprentices and of the disbanded soldiers of Essex's army besieged the doors of the houses, and never ceased from clamour and threats till they had forced the parliament to rescind the obnoxious ordinances. The houses then adjourned to the 30th, on which day, when they met, they learned that the two speakers and several of the Independent members had fled to the army, which was now on its march for London. They therefore appointed new speakers, revived the committee of safety, and prepared to raise a force to oppose the army. Waller, Massey and Poyntz were appointed to command the new levies.

On the 3rd of August the army mustered 20,000 strong on Hounslow Heath. About fourteen of the lords and one hundred of the commons appeared among them. The aspect of things in the city in the mean time was various; when word came that the army had made a halt, the cry was "One and all!" if they heard that it was advancing, the word was "Treat! treat!" A letter was finally sent to the general, "beseeching him that there might be a way of composure." His demands of having the fortifications on the west side of the city given up to him being complied with, he moved on the morning of the 6th from

his head-quarters at Hammersmith, one regiment of foot and two of horse preceding him, the members following in coaches ; a regiment of horse bringing up the rear. All the soldiers wore laurel-sprigs in their hats. In this state he re-conducted the members to their seats. He received in return the thanks of both the houses and the lieutenancy of the Tower. Next day the whole army marched through the city, and then proceeded to take up their quarters in Kent and Essex, the general fixing himself at Croydon.

The eleven members, who had lately come forward again, now sought safety in flight. After many debates, enforced at length by a letter from the general, an ordinance was passed (Aug. 26), making null and void all votes, etc. from the 26th of July to the 6th of August. Soon after (Sept. 7th) Clement Walker, Glyn, the recorder, and sir John Maynard were expelled the house ; the seven lords also, who had continued to sit, were impeached (8th), and the lord-mayor and four of the aldermen were committed to the Tower.

While matters were proceeding thus in London, the king remained in tranquillity. He removed to Oatlands on the 14th, whither numbers resorted to him from London, and ten days after (24th) having dined with his children at Sion-house, he took up his abode at Hampton-court : the head quarters of the general were now at Putney.

At Hampton-court the king enjoyed great liberty, having given his promise not to attempt an escape ; he saw his children whenever he pleased ; his friends had ready access to him ; he corresponded freely with the queen ; the officers treated him with the utmost respect. Frequent conversations took place between him and Cromwell as they walked in the gardens and galleries of the palace. Huntingdon, the major of Cromwell's regiment, and Berkeley and Ashburnham communicated frequently between them. On the 8th of September, the parliament, at the desire of the Scottish commissioners, sent the Propositions once more to the king. Charles, secretly advised by Ireton, rejected them ; his answer was shown privately to Cromwell and Ireton, and was in some parts amended by them. Cromwell gave repeated assurances that no worse conditions than the Proposals of the army should ever be imposed on him, and Ireton said that "they would purge and purge, and never leave purging the houses till they had made them of such a temper as should do his majesty's business." In his reply to the houses, Charles declared his preference of the pro-

posals of the army, and offered to treat respecting that plan with commissioners of the parliament and army. "Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house," says Ludlow, "pressed the king's desires with great earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew so strong that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament." He adds, that the army was no less dissatisfied with their conduct. There was in effect a new party sprung up in the army styled by themselves Rationalists, as they affected to possess no knowledge or talents, but simply the *reason* which God had given them to be their guide. They soon, however, acquired the more expressive title of Levellers, as their reason showed them that all distinctions between man and man should be *levelled*. These were the men to whom all plans for the restoration of the king were so distasteful.

On taking a calm view of the whole of the dealings of Cromwell and Ireton at this time with the king, as they are variously reported, we see no reason whatever to doubt of their sincerity*. Cromwell, it is said, was to be made earl of Essex, captain of the king's guard, and a knight of the garter, and Ireton lord-lieutenant of Ireland†. But fear of the levellers and the discovery of the king's insincerity, caused them afterwards to change and to become his enemies; for at this very time, Charles, with his incurable passion for intrigue, was in secret treaty with the Scots. He told lord Capel, that "he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves a universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England; and that in such a conjuncture he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other." Ormond was also at Hampton-court, and it was arranged that he should at the same time resume the lieutenancy of Ireland, and act for the royal interest. Of this intrigue Cromwell got information, and he expostulated with Ashburnham, complaining "that the king could not be trusted," and adding, that "he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."

* Baron Maseres and Dr. Lingard agree with us in this opinion.

† See Berkeley in Maseres' Tracts, p. 371. Hollis, *ib.* p. 264.

Cromwell is said to have discovered this by intercepting a letter from Charles to the queen. There is a curious story to the following effect: Cromwell and Ireton riding out with lord Broghill one day in Ireland, told him that while they were in treaty with the king, they learned from one of their spies of the bed-chamber, that their doom was fixed in a letter to the queen, which was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, that was to be taken to the Blue Boar in Holborn, to be sent to Dover. Cromwell and Ireton then, disguised as common troopers, went to the inn, and sat drinking there till the man they expected came, when they ripped up the saddle and found what they wanted. The king in it said that he thought he should close with the Scots, and they then having no hopes of him, resolved to ruin him. According to another account, the words of the letter were, "that he should know how, in due time to deal with the rogues, who instead of a silken garter should be fitted in due time with a hempen cord."

Be this account true or false, Cromwell and Ireton kept up their communications with the king, but the levellers were now growing too strong for them. The agitators for sixteen regiments presented to parliament (Nov. 1) a plan for new-modelling the constitution. There was no mention in it of either king or lords: parliaments were to be biennial; all persons but servants were to have votes, etc. Cromwell and Ireton opposed these measures firmly, but the former was menaced with impeachment, and the latter had found it expedient to quit the council of officers, on its being intimated that the army would have no more addresses made to the king. It is said that there was a plot of the levellers to seize the person of the king, and Cromwell, who had pledged his word to give him warning if there was any danger, wrote to inform colonel Whalley, by whom the letter was instantly shown to him (Nov. 11). That very night Charles, who had already withdrawn his parole, secretly quitted Hampton-court, accompanied by Legge, and crossing the river to Thames Ditton, where Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses, proceeded to Titchfield-house in Sussex, the residence of the countess-dowager of Southampton. On his table at Hampton-court were found various letters, among which was an anonymous one warning him of assassination, and one from himself to the parliament, assuring them he would be always ready to leave the asylum which he had chosen, "whenever he might be heard with honour, freedom, and safety."

There is great mystery in this escape of the king, which could hardly have taken place without the connivance of Whalley, and even of Cromwell. The enemies of the latter see in it a deep stratagem to get the king more completely into his power. We confess that we do not think so ill of Cromwell, and viewing him as a statesman and a man of humanity, we are inclined to give the preference to the opinion of Hobbes, that he wished to afford the king an opportunity of escaping to the continent. It would also seem that Charles' original plan had been to make his escape by sea, and that he had arranged with the Scottish commissioners to go to Berwick, but that they had repelled him by talking again of their covenant. He then appears to have thought of Jersey, but no vessel had been provided, and there seemed little chance of being able to procure one speedily. He also thought of the Isle of Wight, of which colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains, and a man of honour, had lately been made governor. While he and Legge therefore remained at Titchfield, he sent Berkeley and Ashburnham to Hammond with copies of Cromwell's and the anonymous letter, to tell him that the king designed to seek protection from him. They met Hammond as he was on his way from Carisbrooke-castle to Newport, and Berkeley abruptly began by informing him that the king was at hand. Hammond turned pale, and trembled excessively, and was near falling from his horse. "Oh, gentlemen!" he cried, "you have undone me by bringing the king into the island, if you have brought him; if you have not, pray let him not come: for what between my duty to his majesty and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of his confidence on the one hand, and the observance of my trust to the army on the other, I shall be confounded." When he came to himself the affair was considered. Hammond would only pledge himself to do what might be expected from "a person of honour and honesty," with which Ashburnham declared himself satisfied. Hammond then proposed that one should remain while the other returned to the king, but he afterwards decided to go with them himself. When they were taking boat at Cowes, he made captain Baskett, the commandant there, enter it with them. On their arrival at Titchfield, the others remained below while Ashburnham went up to apprise the king. "What!" cried Charles, striking his breast in agony, "have you brought Hammond with you? Oh, Jack! you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring. The governor will keep me prisoner." He then told

him that he had sent to Southampton for a vessel. Ashburnham proposed what he called an "expedient," which was "to secure," i. e. murder both Hammond and Baskett. Charles walked up and down the room, weighing the proposal. "I understand you well enough," said he, "but the world would not excuse me. Should I follow that counsel, it would be believed that Hammond had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is too late to think of any thing but going through the way you have forced upon me, and so leave the issue to God." Ashburnham burst into tears*. We could wish that the king had rejected the nefarious project in stronger terms.

Hammond and Baskett were now called up; they kissed the king's hand, and Hammond renewed his protestations. Charles then passed over to the island, where he was lodged in Carisbrooke-castle. He found the people of the place loyal, and he was allowed to ride about as he pleased.

The projects of the levellers meantime appeared so dangerous to the superior officers, that it was determined to make a bold effort to suppress them, and this was effected by the resolution of Cromwell, whose very life was at stake. Fairfax having ordered the troops to muster in three brigades on three different days, had a remonstrance prepared, to be read at the head of each regiment. The first rendezvous took place at Ware (Nov. 15), where two regiments, not of the brigade, appeared on the ground, with seditious papers round their hats; one of these, on being reasoned with, submitted; the other proving refractory, Cromwell caused some of the most turbulent and forward to be seized. A court-martial was held; three were condemned to death, and being made to draw lots, he on whom the lot fell was shot at the head of the regiment, and the mutinous spirit was thus checked for the present. Cromwell however, it would seem, soon saw that it was too dangerous to oppose the violent party; two-thirds of the army, it is said, had apprised him and Ireton, that they were resolved, come what might, to go on with their enterprise of destroying the king, and that fearing the effect of a schism in the army, they "concluded that if they could not bring the army to their sense it was best to comply with them." Of this Berkeley was

* Berkeley: Ashburnham however does not give any reply of the king. He probably told it to Berkeley at the time, for it is more likely that he should have forgotten or suppressed it than that Berkeley should have invented it.

expressly stipulated that it should cause no difference in his treatment, Hammond instantly dismissed his servants, and doubled the guards. Charles had in fact intended to escape that very night to a ship sent by the queen, which lay off the island, but he was thus prevented. A royalist officer named Burley then endeavoured to raise the people and storm the castle, and liberate the king; but the project failed, and Burley was soon after tried and executed as a traitor.

Shortly after the return of their commissioners (Jan. 3, 1648), the parliament, after a long debate, voted to make no more addresses to the king, and to receive no more messages from him; that if any person communicated with him without leave he should be guilty of high-treason, and that the committee of public safety should be renewed, and have no foreign (*i. e.* Scottish) coadjutors. This was in effect dethroning the king. Cromwell is said to have declared in the debate, that "the king was a man of great parts and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." A declaration was presented from the army (11th) expressing their resolution "to stand by the parliament in the things then voted." The houses also put forth a declaration, in which all the charges ever made against the king, including the odious one of being accessory to the murder of his father, were reiterated*.

Yet, though Charles was a close prisoner, his cause was far from being hopeless. The great body of the people were in favour of retaining the original constitution; they saw how they had been illuded; they were oppressed with heavier taxation than ever they had known before, and subjected to the insolence and tyranny of local committees, though the war had long been ended. They beheld before them every prospect of a military despotism. The general wish, therefore, was for a personal treaty with the king. The commonwealth's men in the parliament and the army were at the same time resolved on the abolition of monarchy, as they had found in Scripture that it was a thing bad in itself and condemned of God. Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell procured a conference between them and the grandees of the house and army, in which the

* "Mr. Selden told the house that he was one of the committee to examine the business of poisoning king James, in the duke of Buckingham's time, but could find nothing at all reflecting on the king, and therefore moved the house that that article might be deserted." Clarendon State Papers, ii. App. 45.

latter "kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgements either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of these might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us." The former exposed all their reasons, and Cromwell, whose only object had been to learn the state of feeling and opinion among them, declared he was unresolved; and flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head ran down stairs pursued by him with another cushion.

The friends of the monarchy in Scotland, headed by Hamilton, were meantime exerting themselves to have the treaty carried into effect, and an army raised for the aid of the royal cause. But if ever there was a priest-ridden people, it was the Scots at this time; and the clergy, finding that presbytery was to be established only for three years in England, with liberty of dissent for the king himself and all others, thundered from their pulpits against the Engagement, as it was named, and pronounced a curse on all who should share in the war. The levies, therefore, went on slowly; and the English royalists, who were to have risen when the Scots appeared, lost patience, and took to arms in various parts.

The first person who raised the royal standard in the second civil war which now commenced (Mar. 3) was colonel Poyer, governor of Pembroke for the parliament. He was joined by Laugharne and Powel, two colonels whose men had been disbanded, but now returned to their standards. They took Chepstow, besieged Carnarvon, and defeated colonel Fleming. Cromwell however appeared (May 8) and speedily reduced them. The royalists next rose in Kent (May 23), and some ships of war in the river declared for the king and went over to the Hague to put themselves under the command of the prince. Fairfax however routed the royalists at Maidstone (June 1), and Goring, earl of Norwich, who the next day had appeared at Blackheath, hoping to be admitted by the discontented citizens, found his hopes baffled by the prudence of the parliamentary leaders, who had released the aldermen, discharged the impeachment against the six lords, and allowed the excluded members to resume their seats. He therefore crossed the river and threw himself into Colchester, where he was soon after besieged by Fairfax.

At length the Scottish army, led by Hamilton, entered England (July 8). Owing to the opposition of the clergy it did not exceed 14,000 men, and these indifferently armed and

ill-supplied with artillery. It was followed, however, by 3000 veterans from the army in Ireland under Munro, and a body of 4000 gallant royalists, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, preceded it. But Hamilton, though brave, was no general. Instead of pursuing Lambert, the parliamentary general, who retired from the siege of Carlisle at his approach, he wasted forty days in a march of eighty miles into Lancashire, and thus gave time for Cromwell, who had reduced Pembroke, to come and join Lambert. Hamilton's army was also scattered over such an extent of country as almost rendered it ineffective. The English royalists were attacked (Aug. 18) at Preston by the parliamentary army of 9000 men; they fought with such heroism, that had they been supported by the Scots in the slightest degree they would have probably gained a victory; but the irresolute duke knew not how to act, and when the royalists retired into the town they found that their Scottish allies had abandoned their artillery and baggage, and were in full retreat. Langdale then directed his infantry to disperse, and with his cavalry swam over the Ribble, Hamilton accompanying his flight. Baillie surrendered with the Scottish infantry at Warrington (20th), the duke gave himself up to Lambert at Uttoxeter (25th), Langdale, travelling in disguise, was taken near Nottingham. Such was the termination of this ill-managed expedition.

While the Scots were on their way to England, a feeble attempt to rouse the people of London was made by the earl of Holland, who had once more veered round to the side of royalty. Leaving his house in the city at the head of 500 horse, he marched (July 5) to Kingston, whence he sent messages to the parliament and common-council, calling on them to join him in putting an end to the calamities of the nation. But he was attacked and routed (7th), and flying to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, was there obliged to surrender (10th).

Colchester, though defended only by a low rampart of earth, had been gallantly maintained for nearly three months. The distress in the town was extreme, all the horses and even the dogs and cats had been consumed for food, when at length (the officers having vainly urged their men to follow them in an attempt to break through the besiegers' lines) they were obliged to surrender at discretion (Aug. 28), quarter being secured to the privates. The earl of Norwich, and the lords Capel and Loughborough were among those who surrendered. Fairfax held a council of war, which condemned sir Charles

Lucas, sir George Lisle and sir Bernard Gascoigne, to instant death. Lucas was first shot; when he fell, Lisle ran up and kissed his dead body; he desired the soldiers to draw nearer. "I'll warrant you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you." "Friends," he replied, with a smile, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." They fired, and he fell dead. Gascoigne, who it appeared was a Tuscan by birth, was respited. This execution is certainly a stain on the character of Fairfax; it was said that Ireton urged him to it.

The prince of Wales, who had taken the command of the revolted fleet, sailed over with nineteen ships to the Downs (July 20). Here he lay for six weeks soliciting the city by letters. The king wished that they should come and liberate him, but the sailors insisted on fighting; the parliamentary commanders, however, cautiously avoided an engagement, and want of provisions at length obliged the prince's fleet to return to Holland.

The presbyterian party, as we have seen, had recovered their preponderance in parliament; the vote of non-address was therefore repealed (July 28), and a personal treaty was agreed on. But nothing was done till the intelligence of Cromwell's success in the north warned them that the army party might soon regain their influence. They then (Sept. 1) appointed five lords and ten commoners to conduct the negotiation, which was to continue for forty days. The king, on giving his word not to attempt to escape during that time, or for twenty days after, was allowed to reside at a private house in the town of Newport. He was also permitted to have his servants, his chaplains, and such of his councillors as had not shared in the war, but none of them were suffered to take any part in the deliberations, though the king might retire to consult with them. The terms proposed were in substance those offered to him at Hampton-court, from which the parliament would not, perhaps could not, make any abatement. "Consider, Mr. Buckley," said the king to one of them, "if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray;' and being asked how that could be, 'Why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I have had them all.'" The mental powers which the king displayed in this treaty astonished the commissioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," said lord Salisbury to sir Philip Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordship who has too late discerned what he

always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane told Sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had considered as a weak man; "but now," says he, "that we find him to be a person of great parts and abilities we must the more consider our own security, for he is only the more dangerous."

As the commissioners had no power to concede any point, all the king's objections and proposals had to be transmitted to London, which of course caused considerable delay. Charles himself also was too fond of discussion, in which he knew he excelled. After long debates, he however yielded most of their demands. He consented to recall all his proclamations against the parliament, and allow that it had taken up arms in its just defence; he surrendered the militia, the chief offices of state, and the government of Ireland for twenty years; he agreed to accept 100,000*l.* a year for the court of wards, to recognise the parliament's great seal, and to make no peers without consulting the two houses. But on two points he was firm; he would not abandon the seven persons whom they selected as victims to their vengeance; he would not abolish episcopacy, though he would suspend it for three years, and cut off all dignities above or below that of bishop, whose powers he would limit to ordination, with the advice of presbyters. The church-lands he would not consent to alienate, but he would let the present possessors have leases of them for lives or ninety-nine years.

While matters were thus protracted the army was advancing, and the real views of the independents were every day made more manifest. Early in September (11th), a petition from "thousands well-affected persons in and near London" had informed the parliament of what they expected. This was to make good the supremacy of the people from all pretences of negative voices in king or lords; to have elections yearly, and of course without writ or summons; the parliament not to sit longer than forty or fifty days; and to have no compulsive power in matters of religion; kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, and all persons to be alike liable to every law of the land; the proceedings in law to be shortened, and the charges made certain; all late enclosures to be opened, or to be only for the benefit of the poor; all monopolies to be abolished, and all taxes but subsidies to be taken off; the many thousands that are ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt to be considered, and provision made for their enlargement; tithes to be abolished, etc. This petition did not go the

length of calling for the abolition of monarchy and nobility, but it concluded with stating that the petitioners had expected the parliament "to have laid to heart the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilt, and the infinite spoil and havock that hath been made of peaceable harmless people by express commission from the king, and to have seriously considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet remaining wrath to be appeased by an act of oblivion." The meaning of this last hint was plain enough. Some time after (Oct. 18) Ireton's regiment petitioned the general that justice might be done on the contrivers and encouragers of the late rebellion and second war, and "that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of king or lord as in the person of the poorest commoner;" and that whoever should act or speak in the king's behalf till he had been acquitted of the guilt of shedding innocent blood, should be a traitor. The petition of Ingoldsby's regiment (30th) spoke of "an immediate care that justice be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the king and his party," and required the re-establishment of the general council of the army to consider of some effectual remedies. Finally (Nov. 20) came the Large Remonstrance of the Army, demanding a present reading, and insisting that the treaty should be broken off, and the king be brought to justice "as the capital cause of all." The remonstrants desired that a period should be set to this parliament, and a new one be elected according to rules which they laid down; this to be the supreme power, and future kings to be *elected* by it. "These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants and trustees for the kingdom." A long debate ensued on this insolent petition; it was adjourned, and when resumed (30th) the question of taking the petition into speedy consideration was resolved in the negative by a majority of sixty-seven voices.

The commissioners were still with the king, for the period of the treaty had been extended. Both they and his friends were urgent with him to concede more, in order to save himself from the army. Hammond being summoned at this time to head-quarters (26th), and colonel Ewers sent to secure the person of the king, he could no longer be blind to the ulterior designs of the army. His firmness therefore gave way, and he

consented (27th) to abandon his friends provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws, and to suspend the functions of the bishops, and vest their lands in the crown till religion should be settled by the king and parliament. Next morning, when the commissioners were taking leave of him, Charles is said to have addressed them in these words: "My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot against me and mine, but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." Hammond departed with the commissioners, and the king was again confined in Carisbrooke-castle, under the charge of one Boreman, an officer of militia.

It is to be feared that even in this treaty Charles was not sincere. In a letter to Ormond, who was now in Ireland negotiating with the catholics, he tells him not to be startled at his concessions, which would come to nothing, and directs him to follow not his but the queen's directions. Four days after, when pressed to disavow Ormond's powers, he assured the commissioners that since the first votes for the treaty, he had transacted no business relating to Ireland with any but themselves. He was also all the time meditating an escape, and corresponded anxiously on this matter with sir William Hopkins, who commanded a ship opposite Newport. In one letter (Oct. 9) he says, "To deal freely with you, the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hopes, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my strait prison without reluctance; but now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape would justify." It has been hence inferred, that his intention was to get over to Ireland and renew the war at the head of the catholic insurgents. But this is not a necessary consequence: he might have only designed to go to the continent, and there wait to see the turn events might take. As to his parole, he seems to have considered himself

released from it, as the conditions on which he gave it, he maintained, were not kept*.

We have seen from the king's words, to the commissioners, that he had apprehensions for his life. We are told, in fact that some days before sir Philip Killebrew had come privately from Windsor, at the risk, as he said, of going "to prison or to pot," and informed him of the design of the army to seize him, bring him to trial, and put him to death. But Charles could hardly credit the intelligence. The evening after the departure of the commissioners however a person in disguise told one of his servants that the army would seize on him that night. Charles consulted with his friends; they urged an immediate escape as the night was dark and colonel Coke knew the watchword; but Charles had been induced to renew his parole. "They have promised me," said he, "and I will not break first." He retired to rest about midnight, and soon after colonel Cobbett arrived with a troop of horse and a company of foot. At five the king was awakened by a summons to depart. He was placed in a coach and conveyed to the coast, and thence to a block-house named Hurst castle, which stood on a rock in the sea, joined by a causeway two miles in length to the coast of Hampshire.

The proceedings of the army at this time were as follows: The officers, having spent a day (26th) wholly in prayer, entered into consultation on the best mode of bringing to effect the contents of their Remonstrance; a petition at the same time reached them from the army of the north, calling for justice on delinquents. This petition was forwarded and recommended by Cromwell. The very day that the king was seized and their Remonstrance rejected (30th), they published a Declaration against the house of commons, in which, charging the majority with "apostasy from the public trust reposed in them," they appealed from them "unto the extraordinary judgement of God and good people." They called on "so many of them as God is to keep upright" to withdraw from the others, and added, that the army was drawing up to London, "there to follow Providence as God shall clear their way." Two days after (Dec. 2) they came and took up their headquarters in St. James's, the Mews, Whitehall, and York-house, and other houses, and in the suburban villages.

* He made an attempt one time to escape by the window, but his shoulders stuck between the bars, and he was forced to give it up. It would appear from Clarendon (vi. 192, 196) that it was before the treaty.

The commons, led by the intrepid Hollis, showed no want of spirit on this occasion, and after a violent debate of three days, in which Pierrepont, Fiennes and Prynne distinguished themselves as the able advocates of monarchy against Vane and the republicans, it was carried (Dec. 5) by a majority of forty-six that the king's concessions were "sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom." But their triumph was short. Ludlow and his party went and consulted with the officers, and next day (6th) their guard of trained-bands was dismissed, and the colonels Rich and Pride, the one with a regiment of horse, the other with one of foot, took their place. Pride stood in the lobby with a list of names in his hand, and when the members in it were pointed out to him as they passed by one of the door-keepers, or by lord Grey of Groby, he seized them and sent them off prisoners to various places. About forty members were thus *secured*, as it was termed, on this day, and on the following days several members were *secluded*, or forbidden to enter the house; and these imprisonments and seclusions, joined with the absence of those who retired to the country, reduced the house to about fifty members, afterwards named the Rump, as the process itself was termed Pride's Purge.

During all this time Cromwell was absent, but his place was well supplied by Ireton. After the victory at Preston, he had advanced and besieged Berwick, whence, on the invitation of Argyle and his party*, he proceeded to Edinburgh (Sept. 30). Leaving Lambert there with two regiments to support his friends, he returned to England, where he engaged in the siege of Pontefract, which was held by the royalists, and he did not return to London till the day after the seizure of the members, when, on the motion of Henry Marten, the thanks of the house were voted to him for his late services in the north. "He declared," says Ludlow, "that he had not been acquainted with this design, yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would maintain it."

The miserable remnant who presumed to call themselves the commons of England, voted everything that their military masters prescribed†. They rescinded their late votes, and

* The people of the western counties, each parish headed by its minister, had marched to Edinburgh and expelled the committee of estates. This was called the *Whigamores' Raid*, for so the western peasantry were named from the word *Whig*, it is said, which they used in driving their horses.

† The caustic Walker calls the parliament "a mere free-school, where

renewed that of non-address, and when (11th) the secluded members drew up a protest against the late violence on their persons, and declared all acts, votes, &c. made or to be made during their absence void, they (the lords pusillanimously joining them) voted it (15th) to be "false, scandalous and seditious, and tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of this kingdom." How different their conduct had been with respect to the votes passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August! Yet these are the men whom we are called on to admire as models of pure virtue and disinterested patriotism.

The very same day (11th) a piece called *The Agreement of the People*, drawn up as usual by Ireton, was presented to the general by the council of officers. It was a plan of government the same in substance with their late Remonstrance. On the 22nd both houses kept the usual solemn fast, and "Hugh Peters, the pulpit-buffoon," says Walker, "acted a sermon before them." His subject was Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt, which he applied in the usual manner to the present times; the grandees being Moses, etc. "But how," cries he, "is this to be done? That is not yet revealed unto me." He then, according to the same authority, laid his head on the cushion, covering his eyes with his hands. At length he started up. "Now I have it," cried he, "by revelation; now I shall tell you. This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about; this army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces." The objection, of the deed which he recommended being without precedent, he obviated by referring to the case of the birth of our Lord. "This," said he, "is an age to make examples and precedents in." Next day (23rd) there was a debate about bringing the great delinquents to a speedy punishment. "And now," says Whitelock, "was set on foot and begun their great design of taking away the king, whom divers in the debate did not stick to name for the greatest delinquent." There were some who justly maintained that a king could not be brought to justice by his subjects; but they saw, from the fierceness of their ad-Cromwell is head-schoolmaster, Ireton usher, and that cypher Fairfax a proposer." "Surely," he adds, "these men are either the supreme judges, or the supreme rebels and tyrants of the kingdom." It should be recorded to the honour of sir Henry Vane, that he had no share in the subsequent iniquitous proceedings. He retired to his castle of Raby when the house was purged.

versaries, that if they opposed they would only be secluded, and their constancy gave way. It was then attempted to throw the business on the army. "But they were subtle enough," says the same author, "to see and avoid that, and to make those whom they left sitting in the parliament to be their *stales* and do their dirty work for them." A committee of thirty-eight was voted to consider how to proceed in a way of justice against the king. In the debate, Cromwell is said to have expressed himself as follows: "If any man moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I shall pray to God to bless your councils, though I am not provided on the sudden to give you counsel."

On the 1st of January, 1649, the commons voted that it is treason in a king of England to levy war against the parliament and people; and the next day an ordinance which they had passed for the trial of the king was sent to the upper house. The lords, who, in anticipation of what was to come, had ordered the attendance of all the members of their house, and who therefore now mustered sixteen, rejected the ordinance unanimously*. The commons then (4th) voted themselves to be the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them is law without the concurrence of king or lords; and (6th) they passed the ordinance for the trial of their sovereign.

This unhappy prince was now at Windsor. On the 18th of December, at midnight, the sound of the fall of the drawbridge and the trampling of horses awoke him from his sleep; on inquiring the cause, he learned that colonel Harrison had arrived. The king was troubled. "Do you not know," said he to Herbert, who waited on him, "that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? This is a place fit for such a purpose." Charles, however, had been misinformed; Harrison was a fanatic, but not an assassin. He was come to conduct him to Windsor, which he did with all due respect. When there the royal captive felt

* "The parliament of England, by the fundamental laws," said the earl of Manchester, "consists of three estates, king, lords and commons. The king is the first and chief estate; he calls and dissolves parliaments, and without him there can be no parliament; therefore it is absurd to say the king can be a traitor against the parliament." "*The greatest part* (at least twenty to one, adds Walker) *of the people of England*," said the earl of Northumberland, "*are not yet satisfied whether the king levied war first against the houses, or the houses against him.*"

his condition sadly altered ; the usual ceremony no longer surrounded him ; even his meat was brought to table, uncovered, by the hands of the rude soldiers. This treatment mortified him greatly. He had various hints too of the meditated proceedings against him, yet still so sanguine was his temper that he was actually cheerful ; he had hopes on Ireland and Scotland, and on foreign princes, and he could not believe it possible that his subjects would bring him to a public trial. Of this, however, he soon had the certainty ; for on the 19th of January he was conducted to St. James's, preparatory to his trial the next day.

The individuals at Westminster who presumed to act in the name of the people of England, had in their ordinance of the 4th of January nominated one hundred and thirty-five persons, members of the house, officers of the army, lawyers and citizens, to form a High Court of Justice, for the trial of the king : John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, was appointed president ; Dr. Dorislaus, Steele, Aske and Cooke, counsellors to the court ; sergeant Dandy, sergeant-at-arms ; and Mr. Phelps, clerk.

On Saturday the 20th, the solemn mockery of justice was opened in Westminster-hall, which was prepared for the occasion. At the upper end, in a chair of crimson velvet, sat the president Bradshaw, his broad-brimmed beaver, lined with plates of iron for security, covering his head ; a desk and velvet cushion were placed before him. At a table below him, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which lay the sword and mace, sat the two clerks of the court. The members of the court, about seventy in number, sat in "their best habits" and with their hats on their heads, on side benches covered with scarlet. A seat of crimson velvet was placed within the bar, opposite that of the president, for the illustrious prisoner ; the galleries and the lower part of the hall were filled with spectators.

Charles was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, and thence by water to Westminster-hall, and it is worthy of notice that the watermen insisted on rowing him bareheaded. He was conducted into the hall by the colonels Tomlinson and Hacker and a guard bearing partisans ; the sergeant-at-arms advanced to receive him, and led him to his seat. Charles looked steadily round on the court and the spectators, and then sat down ; he rose again, looked over the hall, and resumed his seat. Bradshaw addressed his sovereign, informing him that "the commons of England assembled in parliament" had, in pursuance of their duty and in consequence of the bloodshed

and calamities brought on the kingdom, of which he was regarded as the author, constituted this court for his trial. Cooke then, in the name of the commons of England, accused Charles Stuart of high-treason and misdemeanours, and desired the charge to be read to him. The king was about to reply, but the president stopped him; the clerk then read the charge. After stating, that having been "trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of the land and not otherwise," he had attempted "to rule according to his will," and with this design "had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented," it enumerated all the battles in which the king had been present, charging him with all the blood shed in them, etc. etc. "And the said John Cooke," it proceeded, "doth for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." The king smiled often (as well he might) during the reading of the charge, especially at the words "tyrant, traitor," etc. Bradshaw then informed him that the court expected him to reply to the charge. Charles asked by what power he was called thither. "I would know," said he, "by what lawful authority—there are many unlawful authorities, thieves and robbers on the highway—I was brought from the Isle of Wight and carried from place to place?" He reminded them that he was their lawful king, and declared that he would not betray the trust "committed to him by God, and old and lawful descent," by answering to "a new unlawful authority." Bradshaw told him the authority was that of the people of England, "of whom he was *elected* king." "I deny that," replied the king; "England never was an elective kingdom." "I see no house of lords here," said he; "that should constitute a parliament, and the king too should have been here." Bradshaw replied, "We are satisfied with our authority that are your judges, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's." He then adjourned the court till Monday.

On that day (22nd) the court again sat. The king was required to answer the charge; he denied the authority of the court, and asserted that, as a king, he could not be tried. "But," said he, "it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberties of the people of England, and do *you* pretend what you will, *I* stand more for their liberties: for if power without law may make laws, nay, alter the fundamental laws of the

kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing he calls his own." To all the reasons and arguments of the king Bradshaw's reply was, that prisoners were not to dispute the authority of the court. The court was adjourned to the next day. The proceedings on that day were of a similar nature. On Saturday (27th) the court held its final sitting, the intermediate days having been occupied in hearing witnesses in proof of the king's having been in arms; sixty-seven commissioners were present. As the king passed up the hall, a cry of "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" was raised by some soldiers and a part of the rabble. When addressed by the president, he said he should now wave all debate as he saw it was useless, and "an ugly sentence" he believed would pass on him; but as he had something to say which concerned the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, he desired before sentence was given to be heard in the Painted Chamber before the lords and commons. They retired to consult; in about an hour they returned with a negative; the king declared that he had nothing more to say, and Bradshaw then, as was his usual practice, made a long speech in proof of the king's misgovernment and of kings being accountable to their people. When he had concluded, the clerk read the sentence, adjudging the monarch to death as a traitor, murderer, etc. All the commissioners present stood up in proof of their assent. "Will you hear me a word, sir?" said the king.—"Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence."—"No, sir!"—"No, sir, by your favour, sir! Guards, withdraw your prisoner."—"I may speak after the sentence, by your favour, sir! I may speak after sentence is over! By your favour, hold! The sentence, sir! I say, sir! I do, I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have." As he passed out, the cry of "Justice! execution!" again assailed his ears, and various insults were offered him. One soldier cried out, "God bless you, sir!" for which his officer struck him with his cane. "The punishment methinks," said Charles, "exceeds the offence." He afterwards asked Herbert if he had remarked the cry for "justice." He replied that he had, and wondered at it. "So did not I," said the king, "for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion."

The following events which occurred during the trial are deserving of note. When the name of Fairfax, as one of the

commissioners, was called, a female voice from one of the galleries replied, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was made in the name of the commons and people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "It is a lie! not a quarter of the people! Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." The speaker was masked; Col. Axtell desired his men to fire on the gallery; there was a confusion, and the lady withdrew. It was lady Fairfax, a rigid presbyterian. As the king was leaning on his cane or staff, as it was then called, the silver head fell off and rolled on the ground. The circumstance seemed ominous, and Charles was evidently disturbed. He afterwards owned to bishop Juxon that "it really made a great impression on him."

When the king returned to Whitehall, he sent to the house, desiring, as the time of his execution might be nigh, that he might have leave to see his children and have Dr. Juxon to be private with him and to give him the sacrament. His request was acceded to (Hugh Peters, to his honour, exerting his influence in his favour), and Juxon preached before him that night. Next day being Sunday (28th), the commissioners kept their fast in the chapel at Whitehall; the king employed himself in private devotion with Dr. Juxon. In the course of the day a book of proposals from the grandees of the army and parliament was tendered to him, on his signing which they promised him his life and regal state. By this he was to put the militia into their hands, with power to keep it at its present amount, and to lay a tax on the kingdom for its pay to be levied by the army itself. Charles, it is said, threw it indignantly aside, declaring that he would rather become a sacrifice for his people than thus betray their laws and liberties, lives and estates, to the bondage of an armed faction.

On Monday (29th) the king was removed to St. James's, whither his two children the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester were brought to him from Sion-house. As was to be expected from the strength of Charles' domestic affections, the meeting was a most tender one. He gave them a few presents, charged the princess to assure her mother of his unceasing affection, and told her that "his death was glorious, for he should die for the laws and liberties of the land; he should die a martyr." His nephew the elector palatine, the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford and other noblemen came to the chamber-door, requesting admission to take their last farewell of their sovereign, but Charles declined seeing them, wish-

ing to devote the little time that remained to him to his children and his devotions.

Ambassadors sent from Holland to intercede for the king had an audience, but no answer from the houses this day. They had been accompanied by sir John Seymour, the bearer of letters from the prince to the king and the lord-general; with the last was sent a blank paper, signed and sealed, on which the grandees might set their own terms. This, however, produced no effect; the warrant was signed by fifty-nine commissioners, and directed to the colonels Hacker, Hunks and Phayer. It is said, that as Cromwell was advancing to the table with the pen in his hand to sign it, he drew the pen across Marten's face and marked him with the ink, and that Marten returned the compliment.

During the last night of his life Charles slept soundly for four hours. About two hours before dawn (Tuesday, 30th) he opened his curtains, and by the light of a "great cake of wax set in a silver basin," he saw that Herbert's rest was disturbed. He awoke him; Herbert said he had been dreaming that Laud had entered the room and knelt before the king, that they conversed, the king looked pensive, Laud sighed, and as he retired fell prostrate on the ground. "It is very remarkable," said Charles; "but he is dead; had we now conferred together, 't is very likely—albeit I loved him well—I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh." He then said he would rise, "for he had a great work to do that day." Herbert trembled as he combed his hair. "Though it be not long to stand on my shoulders," said the king, "take the same pains with it as you were wont to do. Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim as may be." He put on a second shirt; "For," said he, "the season is sharp, and probably may make me shake, which some will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death, death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared; let the rogues come." When dressed, he spent an hour in private with the bishop.

At ten o'clock colonel Hacker announced that it was time to proceed to Whitehall. Charles went on foot at his usual quick pace through the park, calling to the guard, "March on apace!" He was conducted to his own bed-chamber at Whitehall; sir John Seymour was there admitted to present him the prince's letter. A repast had been prepared; but as he had received the Eucharist he declined taking any other

food in this world ; at the suggestion, however, of the bishop he ate about noon half a manchet and drank a glass of claret. Soon after Hacker came with the warrant and called for the king. Charles rose, and with Hacker, Tomlinson (whom he had entreated not to quit him) and the bishop, proceeded through the long gallery, which was lined with soldiers, whose faces testified their respect and sorrow. Through the central window of the banqueting-house he stepped out on the scaffold, which was hung with black ; two executioners in masks stood on it ; regiments of horse and foot were stationed beneath ; the streets were thronged with anxious spectators. Charles looked toward St. James's with a smile ; he then regarded earnestly the block, and asked "if there were no place higher?"

He addressed himself to those about him on the scaffold, justifying himself, and referring to dates of commissions and declarations to prove that it was the parliament began the war ; yet he hoped that they too might be guiltless, as there had been ill instruments between him and them. He owned, however, that he suffered justly, as an unjust sentence which he had allowed to take effect was now punished by an unjust sentence on himself. He proceeded to show them how they were "out of the way" in what they were doing, and exhorted them to give God, the king and the people their due. The liberty of the last, he said, consisted not in having a share in the government, but "in laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own." "Sirs," said he, "it was for this that I am now come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you that *I am the martyr of the people*." At the desire of the bishop he declared that he died a member of the church of England.

Though Charles did not fear death, he disliked pain. He interrupted his speech when one touched the axe, and said, "Hurt not the axe that may hurt me ;" when another approached it, he cried, "Take heed of the axe ! take heed of the axe !" and turning to Hacker, he said, "Take care that they do not put me to pain." To the executioner he said, "I shall say but very short prayers and then thrust out my hands."

Having taken a white satin cap from the bishop and put his hair up under it, he said, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "There is but one stage more," said the prelate ; "this stage is turbulent and troublesome ; it is a short

one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way ; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort."—"I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be."—"You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange." The king gave his cloak and George to the prelate, saying, *Remember*. He knelt down, gave the sign, and one blow of the axe terminated his mortal existence. A deep groan arose from the multitude, and many ran to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, but two troops of horse were set in motion to clear the streets. The royal corpse, after being embalmed, was deposited at Windsor, in the vault which contained the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour.

In this manner perished Charles Stuart, in the forty-ninth year of his age, by a sentence hitherto unexampled in the annals of the world. In his person Charles was vigorous and handsome ; his health was robust, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His aspect was pensive, he had a slight hesitation in his speech, and his general manner was cold and ungracious. When we consider the profligacy of the court in which he was brought up, we may well wonder at the general purity of his morals, and admire in him the force of nature. At the same time, we must not, with his idolaters, pretend that he had escaped all pollution. He was not, for example, free from the common vice of profane swearing, and his language was at times very indelicate*. Like all of his race, Charles bore adversity better than prosperity. Affliction gave a lustre to his character ; he gained the respect and sincere attachment of those who like Herbert were set about him by the parliament, and certainly the man who could do so could not have been originally unamiable. Charles was also sincerely religious, but his religion was of too ceremonial a cast, and akin to superstition. Had he been born in a private station, it is probable that he would have been respected by every one, though loved perhaps by few. He had, however, greater defects than any yet alluded to. He was uxorious, and scandalously subservient to a worthless, selfish woman ; he was by nature a despot,

* See lady Sunderland's letter in the Sydney Papers. Lilly, however, says, "He was never obscene in his speech or affected it in others." He also says, "I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had or left behind him." Bishop Jeremy Taylor, it is said, was married to a daughter of the king's.

though not a tyrant. In his despotism, however, both in church and state, he conceived himself to be only exercising the just authority with which God had invested him; and it will be difficult to point out any of his acts which had not the sanction either of positive law, or of the practice of former kings and the ancient prerogative of the crown. But the great blemish in the character of this unhappy prince was his insincerity. When his fancied rights and prerogative were in question, neither his word nor his oath could be trusted; he had an unfortunate system of casuistry which released him from the most solemn obligations; in his eyes truth and honour were as nothing compared with the duty of ruling uncontrolled as a vicegerent of the Deity. It was this blemish, beyond doubt, which mainly caused his untimely fate. How strange is the course of human affairs! the despot Charles actually died, as he said, the martyr of the constitution!

If murder be the deliberate taking away of human life without the sentence of a previously recognised law, then was the execution of king Charles a murder in the fullest sense of the term. The solemn mockery of the forms of justice used on the occasion only adds to its atrocity; for surely none of his judges could have contemplated the giving him a fair trial. Such supposes the possibility of the prisoner's proving his innocence; but had Charles' self-constituted judges acquitted him, they must at the same time have condemned themselves; for if *he* was innocent, what were *they* but rebels and traitors? * To call themselves the representatives of the people of England, and to act in their name, was the very summit of audacity. The people of England were guiltless of the blood of their sovereign, which was shed by a knot of military men, anxious to secure their own power or safety. Many of the so-called judges acted under the influence of fear, and secretly abhorred the deed which was forced on them. There were some, no doubt, whose motives were pure; such was Hutchinson, who sought counsel of the Lord in prayer, and finding no check (as none such we believe ever do) conceived what he did to be approved by Heaven. Others, like Ludlow, bent on having a commonwealth, would see no excuse for the king, assumed his guilt, and took the municipal law of the Israelites for their guide

* "I tell you," said Cromwell to Algernon Sidney, "we will cut off his head with the crown on it." This was early in the month of January; so the faction had already determined what they would do.

and justification. It may even be true that Cromwell himself was in this number, and that he believed himself to be acting rightly*.

Shortly after the execution of the king, there appeared a work named *Ikon Basiliké*, or a 'Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and his Sufferings,' said to be written by the king himself. It passed through fifty editions in the course of a twelvemonth, and is held to have been of essential service to the royal cause. It is, however, but a poor performance, and is not the composition of the king. Its author is known to have been Dr. Gauden, who obtained a bishoprick on account of it after the Restoration. The illustrious Milton was employed by the parliament to answer it; his reply is named *Iconoclastes*, or *Image-breaker*.

CHAPTER X.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

1649-1653.

THE very day of the execution of the king, the commons passed an act making it treason to proclaim the prince of Wales or any other to be king of England or Ireland. On the 6th of February they voted by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine that "the house of peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished†;" and the following day it was resolved that the office of a king is "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, etc. of the nation, and ought to be abolished." The next day (8th) the great seal was broken to pieces by order of the house and in their presence, and a new one substituted, of which Whitelock, Lisle and sergeant Keble

* We would recommend those among our Dissenters who wish to express their approbation of the deed, to choose some less disgusting mode of doing so than that of dining on a calf's head on the anniversary of the day on which the king's head was cut off.

† The peers were allowed to retain their titles, but they lost their privileges; in return they became eligible to be elected into the house of commons, of which Pembroke, Salisbury, and Howard of Escrick took advantage.

were appointed lord-commissioners, to hold their office *quamdium se bene gesserint*. Of the judges six resigned, the others consented to remain provided the parliament engaged not to alter the fundamental laws. The king's-bench was henceforth to be styled the Upper-bench; writs were to run in the name of the "Keepers of the liberty of England by the authority of parliament;" an engagement to be true to the commonwealth of England took the place of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In order to form an executive, five members of the house were directed to select a certain number of persons to be a Council of State.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a High Court of Justice was sitting in judgement on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor, but he was recognised and arrested by some troopers next day as he was knocking in disguise at an inn-gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower, but he was discovered and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. These two noblemen with lord Norwich and sir John Owen were some days after (10th) brought before a High Court of Justice, presided over by Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. The duke, who was arraigned as earl of Cambridge, pleaded that he was of another nation, under an order of whose parliament he had acted; but to this it was replied, that he had sat and voted and otherwise acted as an English peer. Lord Norwich and Owen simply pleaded not guilty. Capel pleaded the articles of Colchester, but Fairfax, Ireton and colonel Berksted asserted that these were only "to free him from immediate power of the sword to take his life." The court sat on several days. Lord Holland, who had been brought up from Warwick, was also put on his trial (27th); he pleaded that quarter had been given him. None of their pleas however availed; and they were all sentenced to lose their heads (Mar. 6). A petition was presented to the parliament the next day by the lady Holland and other ladies, which only procured a respite of two days; the following day new petitions were presented. The house then proceeded to vote on their several cases; it was determined that the duke and lord Capel should not be reprieved; the votes for and against were equal in the cases of lords Holland and Norwich, and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel

Hutchinson seeing sir John Owen without any one to make an exertion in his favour, took pity on him and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest, and by their joint influence he was saved by a majority of five. Hamilton, Holland and Capel were beheaded the next day (9th) in Palace-yard; they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved, we are told, "like a stout Roman."

The new Council of State when completed consisted of forty-one members, of whom five were peers, Bradshaw was chosen to be president, and the office of Latin secretary was given to his kinsman John Milton. The members were appointed for a year; the army, navy and ordnance were placed under their authority; they had power to regulate trade and to negotiate with foreign states. They were required to take an oath expressing their approval of all the late proceedings, but only nineteen (among whom fourteen were regicides) would subscribe it; the remainder, headed by Fairfax and Vane, positively refused. A new form was therefore devised (Feb. 22); they were only required "to approve of what *shall be done* by the commons in parliament, the supreme authority of this nation."

The supreme authority was such a miserable remnant of the parliament of England, that they could not but feel ashamed and uneasy as they gazed on their sunken dimensions. To increase their number, they consented to re-admit such members as had not voted in the affirmative on the 5th of December, and who would record their dissent from that vote on the journals; they also from time to time issued writs for new elections in places where their interest was strong, and their number thus gradually rose to about one hundred and fifty.

"Never," says Godwin, the panegyrist of the heads of the republican party, "never did any governors enter upon their functions under more formidable difficulties than the men who now undertook to steer and direct the vessel of the new commonwealth. They were, in a certain sense, a handful of men with the whole people of England against them." In these words he has, we think, pronounced their condemnation; for a handful of men had no right to take upon them to decide what form of government was best for the people of England, and to force it on them by the swords of a fanatic soldiery. Against them were the royalists, who though depressed were numerous and wealthy, and the presbyterians, whose hostility had been to the church, not to the crown. On their side were

their great personal qualities, the arms of upwards of 40,000 soldiers and the greater part of the independents and the other minor religious sects.

The new government was in fact that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy, and, like all other tyrannies, depending for its existence on the power of the sword. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay; the fanatic principles of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long ere they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way by a petition against the Agreement of the People; petitions from officers and soldiers, and from the 'well-affected' in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the self-denying ordinance; the abolition of the Council of State and the High Court of Justice; requiring legal proceedings to be in English, and the fees of lawyers to be reduced; the excise and customs to be abolished, and the estates of delinquents to be sold; liberty of conscience, abolition of tithes, and fixed salaries of 100*l.* a year for the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from several regiments, were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets, was, with his associates Walwyn, Prince and Overton, committed to the Tower (Mar. 29). Numerous petitions, especially from the women*, were presented in their favour, but without effect. Mutinies broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland; the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized the colours and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot, but with the exception of one named Lockier, they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier (Apr. 30), the corpse, adorned with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by 100 men in files: six trumpeters sounding a soldier's knell went on each side of it; his horse covered with mourn-

* "They were bid," says Walker, "to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, They had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive, "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols."

ing was led after it; then came thousands of people with sea-green and black ribbons at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave. This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was spreading fast. A captain Thompson, at the head of 200 men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto named England's Standard Advanced. They were, however, surprised by colonel Reynolds (May 13); Thompson fled and his men surrendered. A body of more than 1000 men moved from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town and made 400 of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial (19th); the rest were pardoned. Thompson was slain shortly after at Wellingborough (21st), and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house (26th), a general day of thanksgiving for that great mercy was ordered*.

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this conjuncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyle, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king; but it was evident that Argyle feared to offend, and the men who drove on that measure were not to be diverted from their purpose. No notice, therefore, was taken of the Scottish protest. When tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, the parliament forthwith (Feb. 5) proclaimed Charles II. provided he would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms. Afterwards, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague to treat with the king. These on arriving (Mar. 26), found Lanark (now duke of Hamilton), Lauderdale and Callendar, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoul and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and con-

* There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the Diggers, whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's-hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

fusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormond and the catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for him to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival (May 3), as he was at supper in an inn, six gentlemen entered the room with drawn swords, and dragging him from his chair, murdered him on the ground. The assassins escaped, but it was known that they were Scotsmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague and proceeded to Paris, whence, after a delay of three months, he went to Jersey in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots. Many months passed without anything being done; but early in the following year (Mar. 15, 1650) he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the prince of Orange's town of Breda. But though urged by his mother, the prince of Orange and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose having obtained some supplies of arms and money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburgh with about 600 men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney isles, where by a forced levy he raised his troops to about 1400, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast; but as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbinsdale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered (Apr. 17) by a party of 300 horse, under Strachan; the main army of 4000 men under David Lesley not being yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered. Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river; but he was betrayed (May 8) by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and was conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates, and by their directions he was placed bare-

headed and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common gaol, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Argyle, it is said, and his other enemies feasted their eyes with the sight from a balcony. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor in a bitter tone enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command. He was then sentenced to be hung on a gallows thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Sterling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow-muir. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy then came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain: he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls than his picture in the king's bed-chamber, and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold (20th) in a splendid dress, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unabsolved by the church; the executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck; he smiled at the impotent malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the garter. His behaviour at his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve. He never displayed the talents of a great commander, but as a partisan or *guerilla* he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandisement or the gratification of personal enmity was the impelling cause of most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he had committed.

Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, colonel Sibbald and colonel Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend lord Fren-daught balked the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles, he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for what had befallen him. He then submitted without reserve to the demands of the commissioners. Beside taking the covenant and the so-

lemn league and covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate popery in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked (June 2) on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring-fisheries, and after a tedious voyage of three weeks reached the mouth of the Spey (23rd). A court was arranged for him with all the proper officers, but none of the Engagers were permitted to approach it, and none of his English followers but the duke of Buckingham, lord Wilmot, and a few servants, were suffered to remain with him. He soon found that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty, and the insolence of the despotic fanatic clergy made his life wearisome. Evermore he was compelled to listen to their invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connexion with malignants. Long prayers, tedious sermons, rigid fasts, and Judaical sabbaths were inflicted on him, and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these sour religionists could have agreed is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief, for Charles had been but one short month in Scotland when (July 22) Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

In Ireland, when the nuncio and the clergy had gotten the supreme power into their hands, they exercised it, as churchmen always exercise temporal power, weakly, passionately and injudiciously. But the marquess of Clanricarde and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neal. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormond to return and resume the lieutenantancy; and on his arrival, the insolent turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom in which his presence had been only productive of evil. The news of the danger of the king at this time made Ormond and the confederates recede a little from the rigour of their mutual demands. *They* engaged to maintain an army of 17,000 men for the royal cause; *he* promised the free exercise of the catholic religion, the repeal of Poynings' law, and other graces. This treaty was concluded on the 17th of January, 1649; the account of the execution of the king caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause; but Owen O'Neal, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in the treaty, and formed an alliance with the

parliamentary commanders. Ormond, being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of 11,000 men, protestants and catholics, before the walls of Dublin (June 19), and Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neal a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neal's troops who were conveying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford, Trim, and other towns, and then rejoined Ormond before Dublin. Owen O'Neal meantime advanced toward Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and he obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland (Mar. 15); but he hesitated to accept it; the council of officers then directed two from each regiment to meet and seek God as to what advice to offer him, and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority both civil and military for three years. He demanded a force of 12,000 men with all needful supplies, and 100,000*l.* in money. These preparations caused so much delay, that he did not leave London till the 10th of July; on which day, when three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and he himself, Goff and Harrison, "did," says Whitelock, "expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Ere their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc. might be restrained; legal proceedings be in English, cheap, certain, etc.; lands and houses with their encumbrances be registered in each parish; tithes be abolished, and two shillings in the pound be levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor, etc. etc.

The troops for Ireland were appointed to rendezvous at Milford-haven; the regiments of Reynolds and Venables were embarked at once for the relief of Dublin. Mutinies and desertion among his troops however delayed the departure of the lord-lieutenant, and meantime the siege of Dublin was raised; for Ormond, who had hitherto lain at Finglass on the north side of the city, had crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rath-

mines on the south side. To prevent the garrison from grazing their horses and to cut off the communication with Ring's-end, where the reinforcements from England would land, he sent a party to take and secure the castle of Baggotrath, near the walls (Aug. 1). Jones the governor, who had been reinforced by the regiments of Reynolds and Venables, sallied out and drove them off, and then following up his success attacked and totally routed the besieging army with a loss of 1000 killed, 2000 taken, and all their ammunition, baggage, and stores. Cromwell and Ireton soon after (18th) landed in Dublin, and having given their troops about a fortnight's rest led them (Sept. 3) against Drogheda, in which Ormond had left a garrison of between 2000 and 3000 men*, under the command of sir Arthur Aston, an English catholic. Having effected a breach in the walls (11th), about 1000 of the besiegers entered at it, but they were driven out again; they renewed the attempt and succeeded; orders were issued to give no quarter, and the whole garrison was massacred. About 1000 of the catholic inhabitants who had taken refuge in the great church in which they had set up the mass, were slaughtered in it; "their friars and priests," says Cromwell in his despatch, "were knocked on the head promiscuously with the others."

From Drogheda Cromwell advanced to Wexford, all the towns and castles on his way submitting. When his guns had played for a day on the castle and effected a small breach, the governor sent in the evening to treat for a surrender, but neglecting to demand a cessation, the firing continued, and the breach being enlarged, a part of the English soldiers entered, and opening the gates admitted the rest, and a promiscuous slaughter, as at Drogheda, took place. Shortly after, Cork and some other great towns in Munster declared for the parliament, and on lord Broghill's coming back from England most of Inchiquin's troops went over to him. Cromwell, whose men suffered greatly from disease and want of provisions, found it necessary to retire from before Waterford, to which he had laid siege. He then put his troops into winter-quarters.

Early in February (1650), Cromwell, having been reinforced, again took the field. No place was able to resist him. Kilkenny opened its gates (Mar. 28), and its example was followed by Clonmel (May 10), after a gallant defence. He was preparing to renew the siege of Waterford when he was summoned

* Mostly English, according to Ludlow, i. 260.

to England on account of the Scottish affairs. He left the chief command in Ireland to Ireton, by whom the war was prosecuted with vigour.

On his approach to London (May 31) Cromwell was met at Hounslow by many members of parliament and officers of the army and conducted to Whitehall. The affairs of Scotland being taken into consideration, it was decided that an army under Fairfax and Cromwell should be marched into that country without delay. Fairfax at first made no objection, but afterwards being influenced by his lady and the ministers, he felt scruples as to the justice of invading a country with which they were in alliance. The council of state appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock; as a committee to confer with him in order to remove his scruples. They met in a room at Whitehall (25th), and after prayer (as was the custom) proceeded to the discussion. They endeavoured to prove that the Scots, by their late invasion of England under duke Hamilton, had already broken the covenant, and that their present levies of men proved a hostile intention. He declared himself unconvinced, and expressed his determination to lay down his commission. They all conjured him not to think of doing so, in which Whitelock says, "none were so earnest as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it." Fairfax, however, persisted, and the parliament passed an act next day constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq., to be captain-general of all the forces raised and to be raised within the commonwealth of England. Three days after (29th) the new general set out for the north.

On the 22nd of July Cromwell crossed the Tweed at the head of a veteran army of 16,000 men. The whole country thence to Edinburgh presented a scene of desolation; for orders had been given to remove the cattle and provisions, and by disseminating monstrous falsehoods of Cromwell's cruelties in Ireland, and by threats of infamy and death, the government had caused the people to abandon their dwellings. The Scottish army under David Lesley was posted behind a strong entrenchment running from Edinburgh to Leith, and as, though more numerous than the enemy, the troops were mostly raw levies, it was the prudent plan of their general to give the invaders no opportunity of fighting, and thus to starve them out of the country. This plan would doubtless have succeeded, for sickness had already begun to prevail in the English army;

but the invaders had a good ally in the ignorance, bigotry, and presumption of the Scottish clergy, who were evermore meddling in both civil and military affairs. They commenced by obliging the king to remove to Stirling, his presence in the army they asserted giving occasion to riot and neglect of discipline. They next required that the camp should be purged of malignants; and about eighty officers and some of the men being dismissed, the army was held to be entirely composed of saints, of whose success there could be no doubt, the Lord being always supposed to espouse the cause of the righteous in those days. But one dark cloud still shed its gloom over the prospect; though they were holy themselves they were engaged in the cause of him who was immersed in sin. To remove this offence a declaration was drawn up which the king was required to subscribe; in this he was to deplore the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother; to declare that he took the covenant in truth and sincerity, and had no enemies but those of it; to pronounce all treaties with the bloody Irish rebels null and void; to detest popery, prelacy, etc. etc. Little scrupulous as Charles was, he refused to commit an act so repugnant to natural duty. But it soon appeared that he would be supported on no other terms. He therefore affixed his signature to the instrument (Aug. 16), an act in which no one could believe him to be sincere; yet the zealots were filled with joy, and the cloud of guilt being thus dispelled, the ministers assured their hearers of a certain victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."

Cromwell finding that he could not bring the Scots to action retired to Musselburg (30th), where he put the sick on board his ships. He then moved to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar, followed by Lesley, who occupied the heights of Lammermuir. But the civilians and the clergy, the committees of the estates and the kirk, would no longer be advised by the prudent general: fearing now that the enemy might escape, they insisted on his giving battle. Cromwell and his officers had been seeking the Lord, on which occasion, as he afterwards declared, he felt "such an enlargement of heart in prayer and such quiet upon it," that he assured those about him that God would certainly appear for them. As they were walking after this exercise in lord Roxburgh's gardens, and viewing the Scottish camp with glasses, Cromwell observing a great motion in it, cried, "God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us." He was right; during the night, which

was rainy and stormy, the Scots descended from their elevated station, and in the morning (Sept. 3) while they were wet and weary they were fallen on by the English troops. The Scottish horse after a gallant but brief resistance were broken and routed; the foot then threw away their arms and fled, two regiments only resisting, who bravely perished where they stood. The fugitives were pursued for eight miles; 3000 were slain, and 10,000, with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were taken. Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country south of the Forth submitted to the English general, a few castles only holding out.

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government, but this could hardly be effected if the religious test were retained in all its rigour. The commissioners of the kirk, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: those who had made defection or had been hitherto backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profession of repentance, and on doing so might be allowed to serve and to defend their country. Mock penitents now appeared in abundance; royalists, engagers, and all the excluded crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose, for the more rigid and fanatic portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause. The kirk was now split into Resolutioners and Protesters, or Remonstrants, for the five most fanatic counties of the west, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government.

Charles, meantime, weary of the state of pupilage in which he was held, had concerted with the royalists in the Highlands to make his escape to them. One afternoon (Oct. 4) having gotten out of Perth, where the parliament now sat, under pretence of hawking, he rode forty-two miles to a hovel named Clova in the Highlands, where his friends had promised to meet him. A few only appeared, and colonel Montgomery, who had been sent in pursuit of him by Argyle, to whom his plan had been betrayed (by Buckingham it is said), persuaded him to return. This *Start*, as it was named, was however of some service to the king, as it caused him to be treated henceforth with a little more consideration.

On the first day of the new year (1651) Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone. When he had sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe the two covenants, to maintain pres-

bytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the marquess of Argyle, and the nobility and people swore allegiance to him. His friends were now admitted to parliament, and to gain Argyle more entirely to his side he hinted at a marriage with his daughter; but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer in which he knew he was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of 20,000 men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Lesley for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of summer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected at Queen's-ferry, Overton passed over and fortified a hill at Inverkething; he was followed by Lambert; the Scottish force sent to oppose them was driven off (21st); Cromwell lost no time in transporting over the remainder of the army; the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates. The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off, and if it remained in its present position it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England; Argyle alone opposed it in the council, and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then at the head of 14,000 men left Stirling (31st) on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert with a body of 3000 horse to hang on his rear, and he ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; he himself, leaving Monk with 5000 men to complete the conquest of Scotland, moved rapidly (Aug. 7) in the direction of York.

Charles entered England at Carlisle; at Warrington (16th) Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge, and he passed them by, and marching rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire came to Worcester (22nd), where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of his affairs was, however, by no

means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade any one to be employed who did not take the covenant; and the attempts of Massey the defender of Gloucester, who was now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed in consequence of it.

At the first intelligence of the king's march into England the council of state were in great alarm, for they supposed that it must have been concerted with the presbyterians, and they expected the royalists everywhere to rise; they even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon however resumed their courage; they caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high-treason; they put suspected persons into prison*, and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march toward Worcester. Cromwell himself soon arrived (28th), and found himself at the head of 30,000 men, while the royalists were not half the number and but a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3rd of September (the day of the victory at Dunbar) Fleetwood advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn to come to his aid. The Scots, having the advantage of the numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly; but Cromwell having passed over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city. Meantime the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town and attacked the troops on the east side. At first their efforts were successful, but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve and forced into the city. Cromwell stormed the Fort named Fort Royal, put its garrison of 1500 men to the sword, and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle had lasted five hours: the Scots had fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen." Of the vanquished 3000 men were slain, of the victors only 200; but as the whole

* The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a presbyterian clergyman named Love and a layman named Gibbons were beheaded on Tower-hill for their share in a conspiracy in favour of royalty.

country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to 10,000. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the duke of Hamilton (who was mortally wounded), the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmuir, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Lesley, Middleton, and Massey. The earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court martial at Chester and put to death; the others were kept in prison, from which Massey and Middleton escaped. "It is certain," says Godwin, "there was on the whole a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations [as slaves], and 1500 were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa." Not one word of reprehension has the prejudiced historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! The republicans seemed resolved, we may see, to tread faithfully in the foot-prints of the Greeks and Romans.

The parliament voted Cromwell an estate of 4000*l.* a year, in addition to that of 2500*l.* a year already given him. It was also voted that Hampton-court should be fitted up for his residence. Lambert, Whalley, Monk, and others had also estates granted to them.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves and serve so much to display the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail.

Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse; but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and directed his course for Boscobel-house in Staffordshire, the seat of a catholic lady named Cotton. He was, however, conducted instead to Whiteladies, another of Mrs. Cotton's houses, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and putting on the coarse threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand, as a woodcutter, in the company of four brothers, labouring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy and Charles was weary with his pre-

vious exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates' wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen *her* sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood and proceeded to Madeley, the house of a catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn, it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not reach it till midnight; all the next day (5th) they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn while Wolf sent to examine the river. But all the bridges were guarded and all the boats secured, and they found it necessary to abandon their design, and when night set in to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met colonel Careless, a catholic loyalist, and as the soldiers were very numerous about there, they both concealed themselves all the next day (6th) in the dense foliage of an oak-free which grew close to the foot-path in a meadow in the centre of the wood; whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed through the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, which was Sunday. On Monday (8th) he received a message from lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed. Here a new plan of escape was devised for him; the daughter of Mr. Lane of Bentley, a protestant gentleman in that neighbourhood, had obtained a pass to go visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol, and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this he readily consented, and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. Next day (9th) a party of troopers came; the king was shut up in the Priest's Hole, but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley, and on the second day (11th) equipped in a suit of gray he mounted before Miss Lane; her cousin, Mr. Lassells, rode beside them, and on the fourth day (14th) they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly ridden with a hawk on his fist and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery, and he took up his abode at sir John Winter's in the neighbourhood.

Miss Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him; but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognised him as soon as he saw him. He told his suspicions to Lassells, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to confide in him. His confidence was not deceived; the man was faithful and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meeting with the king (17th); and as the butler had inquired without success for a ship to take them to France or Spain, it was arranged that they should go to colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherburn in Dorset, and that a letter, as if her father was dangerously ill, should be given to Miss Lane to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning (18th), and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassells then returned home.

A ship was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down in the evening (23rd), Charles riding before a young lady, to a little inn at Charmouth where they were to be taken on board; but no bark came, for when the master was leaving his house for the purpose his wife had stopped him and would not suffer him to stir. At dawn (24th) Wilmot went to Lyme to learn the cause of the disappointment: the others meantime rode to Bridport, which was full of soldiers; Charles led the horses through them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them out of the way. But the hostler here claimed acquaintance with him, saying that he had known him in the service of a Mr. Potter at Exeter (in whose house Charles really had lodged). Taking advantage of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king replied, "True, I did live with him, but I have no time now; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot came to say that the master would not put to sea, they rode back to Trent, where the king stayed till the 8th of October, when he removed to Heale near Salisbury, the residence of a widow-lady named Hyde, where he remained concealed for five days, during which colonel Gunter, through one Mansell a merchant, engaged the master of a collier which was lying at Shoreham in Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing village of Brightford (15th), where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philipps and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall the captain of the vessel. This last recognised the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648.

to form an incorporating union of the two countries, for which purpose delegates were summoned to meet the commissioners at Dalkeith. To this project both the national and the religious feelings of the Scottish people were adverse; but they were of little avail against superior power. Ere, however, the terms of union could be adjusted, the parliament of England had ceased to exist and Scotland remained a conquered country; a chain of new forts which extended to its remotest parts securing its tranquillity and reminding the people of their subjection.

The total conquest of Ireland also was achieved at this time. After the departure of Cromwell, Ireton had reduced Waterford and Carlow, while sir Charles Coote was equally successful in Ulster, and lord Broghill in Munster. Connaught and the city of Limerick only remained to the Irish. Ormond, thwarted and impeded in every possible manner by the priesthood, quitted the kingdom (Dec. 7), leaving his uneasy seat to be filled by the marquess of Clanricarde, a catholic nobleman of high honour and unsullied loyalty*. A negotiation was meantime going on with that princely *condottiere* the duke of Lorraine for the service of himself and his army; but he required for himself, his heirs, and successors the title of Protector-royal, with the chief civil and military authority, to be retained until Charles Stuart should repay him his expenses. To these extravagant demands the agents sent to Brussels subscribed (July 27, 1651); but Clanricarde rejected them with indignation, and the arrest of the duke by the Spanish government soon put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with the siege of Limerick (June 11). It had a garrison of 3000 men under Hugh O'Neal, the gallant defender of Clonmel, but the keys of the gates and the government of the city remained with the mayor. Coote advanced from the north, and in spite of Clanricarde pushed on to Portumna and Athunree; Broghill defeated lord Muskerry, the catholic commander in Munster; Ireton himself forced the passage of the Shannon at Killaloe, and transported a part of his army to the Clare side of that river; and Limerick was thus shut in on all sides. The defence was gallant, and it was not till after a siege of four months and a wide breach having been effected in the walls, that the people and the garrison consented to treat (Oct. 27). Twenty-two persons were excepted from mercy, of whom five,

* Half-brother to the late earl of Essex.

namely, the popish bishop of Emly, Wolf a turbulent friar, Stretch the mayor, Barrow one of the town-council, and general Purcel, were executed. The intercession of the members of the court-martial which tried him saved the life of the brave O'Neal. Ireton did not long outlive his conquest; he fell a victim to the plague, which was then raging in that part of the kingdom (Nov. 25). His remains were transmitted to England and honoured with a magnificent funeral in Westminster-abbey, and an estate of 2000*l.* a year was settled on his family. Lieutenant-general Ludlow, who succeeded to the command, completed the subjugation of the country in the following year.

The parliament appointed Lambert to the office of lord-deputy in Ireland (Jan. 30, 1652). Lambert, who was a vain ostentatious man, went immediately to great expense, laying out not less than 5000*l.* on his coach and equipage; but a simple accident came to terminate his visions of glory. His wife and Ireton's widow happened to meet in the park; the former, as the lady of the actual deputy, claimed precedence. The mortified relict complained to her father; about the same time she gave her hand to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who was now a widower; and to complete her triumph over her rival, it only remained that her husband and not Lambert should be the deputy, and this was easily effected. Cromwell's commission of lord-lieutenant was on the point of expiring, and a deputy without a lord-lieutenant was a solecism. Some, indeed, objected to these titles altogether as savouring too much of monarchy; but it was proposed to renew Cromwell's commission. This however he declined. It was then proposed to limit Lambert's commission to six months, but he took huff and sent in his resignation. Cromwell was then empowered to appoint the commander of the forces for Ireland, and he nominated Fleetwood (July 9); he however reimbursed Lambert the expenses he had been at.

Commissioners, as in the case of Scotland, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Ireland. The people of that most unhappy country were treated as we shall now proceed to relate.

Each chief, as he submitted, was allowed to levy a certain number of men for the service of the catholic princes of the continent, and take them out of the country. A great number of young women and boys were at various times carried

away to America and the West Indies*. By the Act for the Settlement of Ireland (Aug. 12, 1652), a general pardon was extended to all the inferior people. Of the persons of property the following classes were excepted from pardon of life and estate. 1. All those who before the 10th of November, 1642, had had any share in the rebellion, massacres, etc. 2. All who sat or voted in the general assembly at Kilkenny before the 1st of May, 1643. 3. All jesuits and other popish priests who had in any manner aided or abetted the aforesaid rebellion, massacres, etc. 4. The earls of Ormond, Castlehaven, Clancarde and nineteen other noblemen, with Bramhall the protestant bishop of Derry, and eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen, all mentioned by name. 5. All who since the 1st of October, 1641, had slain any persons in the English interest, soldiers or others, except in war. 6. All who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days. All other persons not included in those exceptions, who had borne command, of exercised office in the war against the parliament, were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and to retain the remaining third, or to receive lands to the same value in another part of the kingdom. All persons who had resided in Ireland from October 1641 to March 1650, and had not been in the service of the parliament from August 1649 to March 1650, or otherwise manifested their good affection to the commonwealth, were to forfeit one-third of their estates.

It was the intention of the parliament to transport as many as possible of the original Irish beyond the Shannon, and this seems to have been effected in a great part of Leinster and of Munster, in which at the present day very few of the original Irish have any landed property but what is of late acquisition. The land assigned in Connaught in lieu of their thirds exceeded 800,000 acres, which would seem to indicate that a good number had migrated, while the paucity of names belonging to the sept of Leinster and Munster in that province would appear to give a different result. At all events, the great prevalence of Irish names among the peasantry of Leinster and Munster, and their retention of the Irish language, prove that *they* at least were undisturbed. The forfeited lands were divided among the adventurers who had advanced money on the faith of parliament in the beginning of the war, and the

* Sir William Petty says, that 6000 boys and women were sent away (in all of course); one catholic writer said 60,000, and another, 100,000!! See Lingard, x. 366.

soldiers who had served in Ireland from the time that Cromwell took the command. Europe had not witnessed such a transfer of landed property by conquest since the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, and that of Granada by the Spaniards. Catholic writers naturally exclaim against the treatment experienced by the native Irish on this occasion, and we are far from giving it unqualified approbation; we would, however, remind them of the expulsion of the Moriscos, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes by the catholic sovereigns of Spain and France.

We must not suppose that the aforesaid act was rigorously carried into effect. It was not so by any means. Many even of those who were excepted by name retained or afterwards recovered their estates. In like manner, though a court was established for the trial of those who had been concerned in the murders and massacres of the protestants, but few were executed, and those only persons of some rank, such as lord Mayo in Connaught, sir Phelim O'Neal in Ulster, and in Leinster Luke Toole, the head of one of the septs of Wicklow, colonel Lewis Moore, Lewis Demley, and some others. The mother of colonel Fitzgerald was burnt for the murders she had committed, "with this aggravation," says Ludlow, "that she said she would make candles of their fat." The whole number executed is said to have been about two hundred, which makes it probable that the inferior agents were not rigorously sought after. Indeed, as they massacred their victims by wholesale, it must have been a matter of difficulty to procure evidence.

This conquest strongly resembles that of England by the Normans, and as this last gave origin to the bands of outlaws, so that of Ireland produced the Rapparees or Tories, who harboured in the woods and bogs, whence they issued to commit their ravages in the open country. They proved so formidable, that rewards were set on their heads, 100*l.* for that of the captain, 40*l.* for that of a common Tory*.

* Rapparee is apparently a corruption of *robber*. Tory comes from the Irish verb "tornigáim," *i. e.* *rob*. The barbarism of the Irish at this time is almost incredible. "Near this place," says Ludlow (i. 365), "lay the *creaght* of Lt.-gen. O'Neal, son to that O'Neal who after several years' imprisonment in the Tower of London died there. He came over from the service of the king of Spain to be lieutenant-general to the army of Owen Roe O'Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside. This man with his wife (who he said was niece to the duchess of Artois) and some children, removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with

We are now to view the foreign relations of the commonwealth. Amity prevailed between it and the courts of France and Spain, and with the eccentric Christina of Sweden. The first dispute was with the king of Portugal, on the following account.

We have seen that a part of the English fleet went over to the prince of Wales. This was put under the command of prince Rupert, to co-operate with Ormond in Ireland. The parliament on the other hand, on the formation of the commonwealth, turned their attention to the navy; the earl of Warwick, as a presbyterian, was deprived of his office of lord-admiral, and (as the naval did not as yet form a distinct profession) the colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham, were appointed to command at sea, and a board of three, with sir Henry Vane at its head, was to manage the affairs of the admiralty. Chiefly through the exertions of Vane, a formidable fleet was got to sea, and Rupert was blockaded in the harbour of Kinsale. After some months he broke through the blockading squadron with the loss of three ships, and sailed for the coast of Spain, and he wintered in the Tagus. In the spring (1650), Blake appeared at the mouth of that river, and required to be allowed to enter it and attack the pirate, as he styled the prince. This was refused, and as he attempted to force his way he was fired on by the guns of the castle of Belem. He then stationed himself at the mouth of the river and captured the Portuguese merchantmen; the king in return threw the English merchants at Lisbon into prison and seized their goods. Fearful, however, of the effects of a war with the new republic, he forced Rupert to quit the Tagus, and he sent an envoy to London to explain his conduct. It was long before matters could be accommodated, but the affair terminated at last (Jan. 1653) in very valuable privileges being conceded to the English traders. Rupert when driven from the Tagus sailed to the Mediterranean, where he supported himself by piracy, capturing English, Spanish, and Genoese vessels; he thence went to the West Indies and pursued a similar course, till having lost one of his ships with his brother prince Maurice in a hurricane, he sailed to the port of Nantes in France, where he sold his two remaining vessels to the French government (Mar. 1652).

their tenants and cattle, from one place to another where there is convenience of grass, water, and wood; and there having built a house, which they do commonly in an hour or two, they stay till they want grass, and then dislodge to another station." One might think he was describing an *ordoo* of Turkmans. The Gipsies are the only parallel Europe affords.

The war with the United Provinces which succeeded was of much more importance. During the lives of the princes of Orange, who were connected with the royal family of England, the States were favourable to their cause; but on the death of William of Orange (Nov. 6, 1650), the republican party got the ascendancy. The English parliament forthwith joined St. John with Strickland their ambassador at the Hague in an embassy, of which the object was to propose a strict alliance and union between the two countries; but owing to various causes (one of which was said to be St. John's haughtiness) the envoys returned without having effected their purpose. The States are also said to have delayed till they should have seen the result of the contest between the parliament and the king of Scots. After the battle of Worcester they sent envoys to London, but the parliament was now elate with triumph, and St. John had already commenced his plan of vengeance. At his instigation Whitelock had introduced (Aug. 5) the celebrated Navigation Act, which was calculated to give such a blow to the Dutch commercial prosperity. Letters of marque had also been issued to sundry merchants and many prizes had been made.

The Dutch early in the following year (1651) equipped a fleet of 150 sail, in order, as they asserted, to protect their commerce. Their admiral, Van Tromp, came (May 19) with forty ships into the Downs where Blake was lying with twenty sail, and on being required to strike his flag, his reply, it is said, was a broadside. An action ensued, and the Dutch admiral retired with the loss of two ships. Who was the aggressor is uncertain: the English said Tromp had no right to come off their coast and to fire without provocation; Tromp asserted that he had been driven thither by stress of weather, and that he was preparing to salute the English admiral when the latter fired on him. The States sent over Pauw the grand-pensionary of Holland to explain and apologise, but the parliament would not abate of their haughtiness. They insisted on a large sum of money as compensation for their losses and the charges they had been at, and finally (July 9) issued a declaration of war.

While sir George Ayscue, who was just returned from the West Indies, commanded a squadron in the channel, Blake sailed to the north where the Dutch were engaged in the herring-fishery. He captured the ships which guarded the fishing-busses, made these last pay the duty of every tenth

herring, and sent them home with orders not to fish again without licence. Van Tromp had put to sea with 70 sail, but as he was preparing to engage Ayscue a calm came on, and when he went in search of Blake a storm scattered his fleet and five of his ships were captured. On his return home he was received with murmurs and reproaches, and he laid down his commission in disgust.

De Ruyter succeeded Tromp in the command. As he was convoying a fleet of merchantmen he was attacked by Ayscue off Plymouth (Aug. 16). The forces were about equal, but the advantage was rather on the side of the Dutch, and Ayscue, who was suspected of royalism, was removed from his command, with, however, a grant of land in Ireland to console him. The pensionary De Witt having joined De Ruyter, and taken the chief command, an indecisive action was fought with Blake off the coast of Kent (Sept. 28); night separated the combatants, but in the morning the Dutch retired to their own coast. Van Tromp was then restored to the command, and with a fleet of upwards of 70 ships he sailed over to the Downs, where Blake was lying with about half the number. The English admiral accepted his challenge (Nov. 30); the combat lasted all through the day. In the night Blake, who had lost five ships, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Tromp sought him at Harwich and Yarmouth, and then kept cruising along the coast from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight, with a broom at his mast-head, to indicate that he could sweep the English off the sea.

Every effort was made to wipe away this disgrace. The ships were refitted, two regiments of foot were embarked as marines, the wages of the seamen were raised, Dean and Monk were joined in command with Blake, and with 70 sail they stationed themselves across the channel from the Isle of Portland to intercept Tromp, who was convoying a fleet of merchantmen. Blake met him (Feb. 18, 1653) off Cape La Hogue; the action which ensued was obstinate; the Dutch lost five, the English one ship, and Blake himself was severely wounded. The engagement was continued through the two following days, and the Dutch owed to the loss of nine ships of war and twenty-four of the merchantmen.

This was the last triumph of the remnant of the Long Parliament. Their reign, which had lasted for twelve years, had now reached its close; they were doomed to fall by the hands of their own servants.

It is uncertain when the idea of sole dominion first entered the mind of Cromwell. In his despatch after the battle of Worcester, he called it a "*crowning victory*," a very simple and natural expression as appears to us, but one to which his enemies gave an invidious sense. After that victory he became so elevated, that Hugh Peters, as they were on their return to London, remarked to a friend, "that Cromwell would make himself a king*." In the parliament Cromwell was very urgent to have the Act of Oblivion passed, which his enemies ascribed to his desire to conciliate the royalists. On the 10th of the following December he invited some of the principal lawyers and officers of the army to meet him at the speaker's house, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation. At this conference the military men were for a republic, the lawyers for a limited monarchy.* With these last Cromwell agreed; but on their recommending one of the sons of the late king as the person to be chosen, he said it would be a business of more than ordinary difficulty, but gave it as his opinion that "a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." They came to no result, but Cromwell had gained all that perhaps he wanted, a knowledge of the sentiments of all these different persons.

Beside the Act of Oblivion, Cromwell had forced on the parliament another measure which had long slumbered in committee, namely, the setting a term to their own duration. They fixed on Nov. 4, 1654, thus giving themselves three years longer of power certain, and the chapter of accidents for the time to come. In return they proposed to reduce the army. They first (Dec. 19) disbanded a fourth of the forces. They were proceeding to follow up the blow, when (Aug. 13, 1652) a petition was presented from the army, calling for reform in the law, attention to the subject of religion, etc., tacitly charging them with neglect of their duty in various ways: they took the hint, and desisted.

In the following month of November Cromwell held a long and confidential discourse with Whitelock, in which he asserted that without "some authority so full and high," as to be able to restrain them both, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the good cause by the collision between the parliament and the army. Whitelock told him that *he* could restrain the army, but that the parliament being the supreme authority could only be controlled by its own good sense and virtue.

* Ludlow, ii. 12.

"What if a man should take upon him to be king?" cried Cromwell. Whitelock replied, that the remedy would be worse than the disease; that Cromwell had already the power of a king without the odium; that he would lose many of his friends, and convert the national quarrel into a contest between the houses of Cromwell and Stuart. His final advice was, that Cromwell should make a private treaty with the king of Scots, and place him on the throne with such conditions as should secure the liberties of the nation, and have the command of the army assured to himself. Cromwell said they would discourse of it another time, and they separated. Whitelock observed after this that his carriage toward him was much altered.

It is remarkable that very soon after, through Cromwell's influence, permission was given to the duke of Gloucester to go to reside with his sister the princess of Orange*. This looks as if Cromwell regarded him as a rival.

During the winter various meetings were held by the officers, at which Cromwell took care to aggravate their discontent against the statesmen, whom he represented as only anxious to reserve all the benefits and emoluments of the state to themselves. An immediate dissolution of the parliament was his great object, and he had already proposed that in the interval between that and the meeting of a new one, the government should be exercised by a council of forty, composed of members of parliament and officers of the army. The affair, however, dragged on slowly through the house, which was reluctant to lose its present hold on power, and the impatience of Cromwell was no longer to be restrained. He summoned (Apr. 19, 1653) a meeting of parliament-men and officers to his lodgings at Whitehall, to devise some mode of putting a speedy end to the present parliament. The army party declared that "it was necessary the same should be done one way or the other," for which Cromwell rebuked them. The meeting broke up late at night, but the subject was resumed in the morning. During the discussion word was brought that the house was engaged on the matter of the dissolution, and it was hoped would do as was required. Those who were members went to the house; but it soon appeared that it was their own original bill, not that of the army, they were engaged on, and that they were about to pass it at once that it might obtain the

* The princess Elizabeth had died. What Hume tells us of the intention of the parliament to put these children to mechanical trades is totally undeserving of credit. They were always treated with humanity and respect.

force of law. Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" urged them to pause; Ingoldsby meantime sped away to Whitehall. Cromwell instantly ordered a party of soldiers to follow him. He proceeded to the house, and leaving the soldiers in the lobby, went in, and taking his seat on one of the outer benches sat listening to the debate. His dress, we are told, was a plain suit of black, with gray worsted stockings. The speaker was about to put the question; Cromwell whispered to Harrison, "This is the time. I must do it." He rose, put off his hat, and addressed the house. His language at first was moderate; but as he warmed his tone altered, and "he told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults." "But," said he, "the Lord has done with you, and has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work that are more worthy." Sir Peter Wentworth declared that he never had heard such unparliamentary language, and that too from their own servant. "Come, come, sir," cried Cromwell, putting on his hat and springing forward, "I will put an end to your prating." He paced up and down the floor, apparently in great agitation, and then stamping with his foot cried, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament. Bring them in, bring them in." The door was opened and colonel Worsley entered at the head of more than twenty soldiers. "This is not honest," cried sir Henry Vane; "yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane, O sir Harry Vane," said Cromwell, "the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane! He might have prevented this; but he is a juggler and has not so much as common honesty." Then without naming him he abused White-lock; pointing to Challoner, he said, "There sits a drunkard;" to Marten and Wentworth, "There are two whore-masters." He charged others with their vices and ill lives, and then suddenly turning to the guard directed them to clear the house. Harrison advanced to the speaker, and on his declining to rise took him by the hand and led him down. As the members were retiring, Cromwell resumed, "It is you," he cried, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work." Alderman Allen observed that it was not too late to undo all that had been done; Cromwell charged him with peculation in his office of treasurer of the army and gave him into custody. Then looking at the mace, he said, "What shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, carry it away." He took the act of dissolution from the clerk, and

putting it under his cloak went to Whitehall, having ordered the doors to be locked.

In the afternoon Cromwell went with Lambert and Harrison to the council of state. He told the members that if they sat as private individuals they should not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, they should take notice, as they could not be ignorant of what had occurred that morning, that the parliament was dissolved. "Sir," replied Bradshaw with real or assumed dignity, "we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take *you* notice of that." Cromwell made no reply, and they retired.

Thus was terminated the Long Parliament, of which it has been said, with we fear as much truth as severity, that "scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell*." They fell unlamented by the nation†, though a few republican enthusiasts have chanted dirges to their memory. The praises of their panegyrists, we may observe, are almost confined to their successes in war; but these are surely the praises of Cromwell, Blake, and such men, and not of them. Their financial system was as simple as that of an eastern despot: they laid on enormous taxes and levied them by the swords of the soldiery; if they wanted money on any occasion, they ordered the sale of delinquents' estates; if timber was required for the navy, they directed the woods of some delinquent to be felled. In these cases justice was not to be had from them. Lord Craven, for example, had been out of England all the time of the war; one might therefore expect that no charge of delinquency could be made against him; but some one having sworn that he had seen the king in Holland, the parliament voted that his lands should be sold, though it is said he convicted the informer of perjury. Many other acts of oppression of a similar nature will be found. At the same time they were most liberal in providing for themselves; they of course monopolized all lu-

* Hallam, ii. 209.

† Godwin (iii. 467) acknowledges and Mrs. Macauley indignantly bewails it. Godwin ascribes it to the smallness of their number and the arbitrary continuation of their power, and the consequent large number of their enemies.

crative offices; and in perusing Whitelock and the Journals the ignorant admirers of these stern republicans will be surprised at the sums which they voted themselves under the name of arrears, compensation for losses, etc. Neither should their High Court of Justice and their abolition of trial by jury be forgotten; at the same time it should be recorded to their credit that they always inflicted the penalty of death in a mild form, and never butchered their victims by quartering and emboweling, as was done under the monarchy.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTORATE.

1653-1658.

THE first step taken by Cromwell and the council of officers (Apr. 22) was to put forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons of their dissolving the parliament. They then proceeded to the formation of a new council of state. Lambert proposed that it should consist of ten or twelve members; but the fanatic Harrison was greatly in favour of seventy, that being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Thirteen (the number of Christ and his apostles) was that fixed on, and the council consisted of nine officers (Cromwell included) and four civilians.

The government continued for some time to be exercised in the most anomalous manner, some measures emanating from the council of state, some from that of the officers, others from the lord-general. A ready obedience however was everywhere given; the army and navy never hesitated in their fidelity; the courts of law all proceeded in their usual course. This state of things however was felt not to be secure; for a government without a parliament was a monster in the eyes of the people of England. Cromwell was also aware that the time for his assumption of the sole power was not yet arrived. It was requisite therefore to have a parliament of some kind; but as he feared to make the experiment of a general election in the ancient manner, the following expedient was devised after he and his officers had spent a week in close consultation. The ministers were directed to take the sense of the congregational churches in the different counties, respecting persons

“faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness,” and to transmit their names to the council. Out of these the council, in the presence of the lord-general, selected 139 members for England; to whom, with six for Wales, six for Ireland, and four for Scotland, writs were issued signed by Cromwell (June 8), summoning them to appear at Whitehall on the 4th of July as members for the places named in the writs, to take on them the trust of government.

On the appointed day the new members to the number of 120 appeared at Whitehall. They seated themselves round the council-table, and Cromwell standing by the middle window with his officers on each side, addressed them in a strain of great piety, the inspiration as it was thought of the Holy Spirit. They had been called to their high office, he told them, by God himself, he therefore would give them no charge; he would only pray that they might exercise the judgement of mercy and truth, and be faithful with the Saints, however they might differ in their forms of worship. He anticipated, he said, the commencement from this day of the reign of Christ. Having finished his “grave, Christian, and reasonable” speech, he placed on the table an instrument under his hand and seal, giving them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months, at the end of which they were to transmit it to another assembly chosen by themselves for an equal period.

The following day the convention met at the parliament-house. They devoted the entire day to pious exercises, and many declared that “they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did on that day.” They were, taken altogether, an honest conscientious set of men, occupying respectable stations in life, and possessing, if not large, independent estates. But many of them had adopted wild notions in religion and politics, which they held with obstinacy, because they had no doubt of their truth, and they knew themselves to be single-minded. A leather-seller in London named Praise-God Barebone being one of the members, the assembly was called in derision Barebone’s Parliament; its other popular appellation was The Little Parliament. They invited Cromwell and four of the principal officers to sit among them, but they had no thought of submitting to his dictation; he had styled them the supreme authority, and they were determined to act as such and without control.

Being resolved to lose no time in the correction of abuses and the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments, they formed (20th) eleven committees for various objects ; one of which was the advancement of learning ; another the state of prisons and prisoners ; a third, provision for the poor. Economy and reform were (as in our own days) the great objects professed to be in view. In pursuit of the former they regulated the excise and the treasury ; they abolished useless offices and cut down the salaries in others ; and the public accounts were strictly audited. This was all very praiseworthy : but religion and the law were regarded by them as matters of far greater importance, and here their proceedings were quite of the root-and-branch description.

The condition of the law was in itself certainly bad enough, but they regarded it as a perfect Augæan stable. There were said to be not less than 23,000 causes pending in the court of chancery, some of which had been there twenty, others thirty years ; the expenses were enormous ; the justice of the decisions was suspicious. Their remedy was a very simple one—to abolish the whole system. But then came the question, what to do with the pending causes ? Bills to answer this purpose were introduced and rejected, but one was on the eve of being passed when the parliament was dissolved. The whole body of the law itself being in their eyes a mere chaos of confusion, made up of traditions, statutes and decisions, often obscure, often contradictory, it was deemed the wisest course to do away with it altogether, and form out of it a reasonable code which might be comprised in a pocket-volume and be accessible to all men, and not a mystery confined to a few*. A committee was appointed to effect this, and a commencement was made with the articles Treason and Murder.

In matters of religion one of the first points which presented itself was that of advowsons. Nothing seemed to be (perhaps nothing is) more adverse to the spirit of true religion, than that a layman, merely as the owner of land, should have the right of imposing a religious teacher on a parish, and could even sell that right like any other species of property. It was therefore resolved that the right of presentation should be taken away, and that the parishioners should be empowered to choose their own pastors. The subject of tithes had been the very first to which they had directed their attention. The members of the

* If the evil was so great then, what is it now ? Some time or other a code must be formed, as in France and other countries.

committee of religion, however, were of Cromwell's party and not of that of the fanatics; they therefore delayed for five months making a report, and when they did make it they gave it as their opinion that incumbents and impropiators had a property in the tithes. In the debate which ensued, the committee and their friends were defeated, and it was generally rumoured and expected that the parliament would proceed to the abolition of tithes.

This fearless, honest, but ill-judging assembly had thus raised themselves a host of enemies of the most formidable description—the whole body of the lawyers, the clergy, the aristocracy. Cromwell saw that he might now dismiss the parliament, and, being regarded by these classes as the only security for their rights and property against the inroads of fanaticism, assume the sole power for which he thirsted.

The vote on the report of the committee of religion had passed on Saturday the 10th of December. Sunday was spent by Cromwell and his friends in secret deliberation, and early on Monday they appeared in the house, and colonel Sydenham rising made a speech in which he went over all that had been done, and showed how injurious their measures were to every order in the state. He said he could no longer think of sitting in such an assembly, and moved that they should go in a body and resign their power into the hands of the lord-general. The motion was seconded and opposed; but it was not by argument that Sydenham and his party proposed to succeed. Rous, the speaker, who was one of them, left the chair and went out followed by the sergeant and the clerk and by nearly fifty of the members. There remained thirty-five, and while they were consulting on what were best to be done, colonel Goffe and major White came with some soldiers and requested them to withdraw; seeing that resistance was vain, they complied, and the doors were locked.

When the speaker and his train came to Whitehall they retired into one of the rooms, and drew up and signed an instrument of resignation. They then obtained an audience of the general, who affected the utmost surprise, and was with difficulty persuaded by Lambert and others to accept of it. The instrument was left in a room in the palace to receive the signatures of other members, and on the third day the number amounted to eighty, a majority of the whole. Meantime a new constitution had been prepared and submitted by Lambert to

the council of officers, which gave Cromwell the authority, though not the title, of a king.

The following day (16th) Cromwell was installed in his new office. The street was lined from Whitehall to Westminster-hall; the general came in his coach at one o'clock; at the door the procession was formed; the judges and other law officers, the lord mayor and aldermen, all in their robes, went first; then came the general, in a suit and cloak of black velvet with long boots and a broad gold band round his hat, followed by the councils of state and of the army. They proceeded to the court of chancery, where the general took his seat on a chair of state surrounded by the members of the bench; the civilians stood on the right, the military on the left side of the court. Lambert came forward and in the name of the army and the three kingdoms prayed him to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth. The Instrument of Government, as the plan of the new constitution was named, was then read by one of the clerks of the council. Cromwell having with feigned reluctance given his consent, the oath was read to him by the lord-commissioner Lisle and he signed it. Lambert then on his knees offered him the civic sword in a scabbard; he took it, and at the same time laid aside his own military one. He then sat down and put on his hat; the commissioners handed him the seal, the lord mayor the sword; he took them and gave them back. Having exercised these acts of sovereignty he returned to Whitehall. Next day the new government was proclaimed with the ceremonies usual at the accession of a king.

The substance of the Instrument was, that the supreme authority should be in the lord-protector and the parliament; the protector to be assisted by a council of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons, immovable except for corruption or other miscarriage in their trust. The former functions of royalty in general were to be exercised by the protector, with the consent of parliament or the council. A parliament was to be summoned for the 3rd of September, 1654, and once in every third year, reckoned from the dissolution of the last, and not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved for the space of five months without its own consent. The parliament was to consist of 400 members for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. The qualification for the electors was to be the possession of an estate, real or personal, of the value of 200*l*. Those persons

who had aided or abetted the royal cause in the late wars were to be incapable of being elected or of voting at elections for the next and three succeeding parliaments. Catholics and the aiders and abettors of the Irish rebellion, were to be disabled for ever. A provision more certain and less subject to scruple than tithes was to be made for the teachers of religion. All who professed faith in God through Jesus Christ were to be protected; but this liberty was not to extend "to popery or prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness," etc. etc.

Oliver Cromwell had thus, by taking advantage of a train of favourable circumstances, raised himself to the summit on which, since his victory at Worcester, he had probably fixed his view. His usurpation, if such it is to be called, was the greatest benefit that could befall the country in its present condition. "It secured the nation," observes Hallam, "from the mischievous lunacy of the anabaptists, and from the more cool-blooded tyranny of that little oligarchy which arrogated to itself the name of commonwealth's-men." Had the presbyterians recovered their power; they would have bound their odious intolerant religious despotism on the necks of the people; the royalists, if triumphant, would have introduced the plenitude of absolute power. The rule of Cromwell gave time for men's minds to settle.

As by the Instrument, the ordinances of the protector and the council previous to the meeting of parliament were to have the force of laws, he took an early occasion of repealing the Engagement; he made a new law of treason; an ordinance of union, accompanied by an act of oblivion, with Scotland; one appointing commissioners to approve of public preachers, and another for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers.

The parties from whom Cromwell had most to dread (for the presbyterians seem at this time to have been quiescent) were the anabaptists and the royalists. His old assistant Harrison and some of the other officers belonged to the former. Harrison, when asked if he would own and submit to the present power, frankly replied that he would not. His commission was then taken from him, and ere long he was placed in confinement. Some of the others were removed; the rest complied with the new order of things. With the anabaptist ministers, the protector found it necessary to proceed with some rigour. During the time of the Little Parliament, these sectaries, thinking that they now had the modeling of the nation

in their own hands, used to meet every Monday evening at Blackfriars, for the purpose of prayer and discussion. These meetings were suppressed, and two of their preachers, Feake and Powel, who in their sermons declaimed against the protector as a "dissembling, perjured villain," and threatened him with "a worse fate than had befallen the late tyrant," were sent prisoners to Windsor.

The royalists, on their side, had recourse to conspiracies. In the month of February (1654) a few were arrested for a conspiracy; but it appeared to have been merely the wild talk of some hot-headed persons, and nothing could be made of it. But in the following month of May, a plot to assassinate the protector on his way to Hampton-court was discovered. About forty persons, among whom were the earl of Oxford, the two Ashburnhams, sir Richard Willis, sir Gilbert Gerard and his brother John, were arrested. John Gerard, Somerset, Fox and one Vowel a schoolmaster, alone were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty; the other three were convicted on the evidence of ten of their accomplices, one of whom was Gerard's brother Charles, a youth of nineteen, he himself being but two-and-twenty. Vowel was hanged; Gerard obtained the favour of being beheaded: he suffered on Tower-hill, avowing his royalism, but denying his participation in the conspiracy.

On the same day with Gerard (July 10), another young man suffered, in whose case the protector showed that in his regard to justice he would be checked by no pretended privileges. Don Pantaleon Sá, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, had had an accidental quarrel in the last month of November, with John Gerard, whose fate we have just related, in the New Exchange in the Strand. Next day he came with twenty companions, all armed, and taking a person named Greenway for Gerard, fell on and murdered him. They then took refuge in the house of the ambassador, but they were seized and committed to Newgate. The plea of privilege was disregarded, as it was maintained to be only personal to the ambassador. They were tried before a mixed jury of natives and foreigners, and Sá and four others were found guilty. Three were pardoned; Sá and the other were executed, notwithstanding the interposition of all the foreign ambassadors.

With respect to the royalist conspiracies, it is probable that they were not unknown to Charles II. Cromwell, though he declared that he did not believe in them, threatened retalia-

tion, and hinted that he was in no want of instruments. The royalists in the highlands of Scotland, headed by Middleton, whom Charles had sent over, and encouraged by Angus, Montrose, Athol, Lorn, and other noblemen, had bidden defiance to the English troops; but they were speedily dispersed by the vigour of Monk; Ireland was completely subdued; foreign powers sought the friendship of the protector: it only remained for him to terminate the war with the United Provinces, in order to consummate his glory.

While all the late internal changes were taking place in England, the Dutch war was not intermitted. In May 1653, each country sent a fleet of 100 sail to sea. The English were commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Tromp, Ruyter, Witt, and Evertson. They met off the North Foreland (June 2); and the action lasted the entire day. Dean and Monk were in the same ship; the former was killed by a chain-shot; Monk instantly flung his cloak over him, lest the men should be discouraged. In the night Blake joined with eighteen ships, and the battle was renewed next day. A panic seized the Dutch, and though Tromp fired on them to rally them, they fled. The loss of the Dutch was twenty-one sail; that of the English only one.

The States had already, at the desire of the merchants, appointed ambassadors to treat of peace; but they had not set out at the time of this great victory. On their arrival in England (June 22), they found the demands of the council as high as those of the parliament had been. At length (July 26), Cromwell told them that England would be content if Tromp were dismissed for a while from his command, and the States would consent to a federative union between the two countries. Two of them returned to the Hague for fresh instructions; meantime another battle was fought, and another victory gained, by the English. Monk and Tromp, each with 100 ships, engaged off the coast of Holland (31st). The battle was long dubious; at length Tromp fell, shot through the heart by a musket-ball; the Dutch lost courage and fled; their loss is uncertain; Monk said that twenty, they themselves that only nine, sail were sunk. No ships were taken.

The negotiations for peace were resumed in October, and after a great variety of manœuvres and delays, a treaty was signed (Apr. 5, 1654), Cromwell receding from all the lofty pretensions of the parliament. By a secret article, the States of Holland engaged never to elect the prince of Orange for their

stadtholder, or to give him the command of the army and navy. Commercial treaties were also about this time made with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal. France and Spain were rivals for the favour of the protector.

In this state of things Cromwell met his parliament, the elections for which had been perfectly free. As the 3rd of September happened to fall on a Sunday, the protector requested the members to meet him on Monday, at sermon, in the abbey. He proceeded thither in great state. First rode two troops of the life-guards; next, some hundreds of officers and gentlemen bare-headed; his highness' lackeys and pages, in rich liveries, walked before his coach, a captain of the guard was on each side of it; his son-in-law, Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger richly caparisoned, followed, and he was succeeded by the great officers of state and the members of the council in coaches. After sermon, the protector and the members repaired to the Painted Chamber, where he addressed them in a speech of three hours' length, displaying the wretched, disorganised state of the nation at the close of the Little Parliament, and contrasting it with the prosperous and settled condition to which it had since been brought. It was for them, he said, to put the top-stone to the work, and complete the happiness of the nation. He then desired them to repair to their own house and choose a speaker.

Lenthall was chosen speaker without a division. Though Vane and some others of the leading republicans were not in the assembly, Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scot, were there, and it soon appeared that the party of the protector was not the majority. The parties came at once to a trial of strength on the question, whether the government should be in a single person and successive parliaments. It was debated with great vigour during four successive days (8th to 11th) in a committee of the whole house. On the fourth day judge Hale proposed a middle course, in which the republicans seemed inclined to acquiesce, but Cromwell had already determined how to act. The following morning (12th), the members, on going to the house, found the doors locked and the avenues filled with soldiers, and they were told that his highness would meet them in the Painted Chamber. He there showed them how the Long Parliament had brought on its dissolution by its despotism, the last by its imbecility, and how power had been conferred on him, against his will, by the voice of the people, signified in various ways. He told them that in the Instrument of

Government, in virtue of which they now sat, four points were fundamental. 1. The supreme power in a single person. 2. Parliaments to be successive, not perpetual. 3. Neither protector nor parliament to have the sole command of the army. 4. Liberty of conscience. These they might not touch; other points might be amended. He therefore had caused to be prepared a Recognition, which they must sign before he could allow them to sit again. He then dismissed them. About 300 subscribed the recognition; yet, though the more violent republicans were thus excluded, the house did not prove quite so manageable as had been expected.

Shortly after, an accident occurred which was near bringing the protector's ambition to a sudden termination. The duke of Oldenburg had sent him a present of six Friesland coach-horses. One day (Oct. 5th) he went with his secretary Thurloe and some of his gentlemen to Hyde-park, and dined under the trees. After dinner the fancy took him to drive his coach himself, and he mounted the box, putting Thurloe inside. For some time he went on very well, but on his beginning to use the whip rather freely, the horses got into a gallop and ran away. The postillion was thrown: Cromwell himself fell on the pole, his feet got entangled in the harness, and a pistol which he had in his pocket went off; at length his foot came out of his shoe, and he fell under the body of the coach and thus escaped. Thurloe, who had leaped out, also received some bruises, and they were both confined to their rooms for two or three weeks. The cavaliers prophesied that Cromwell's next fall would be from a cart.

Meanwhile the parliament went on discussing the Instrument, but carefully shunning the forbidden points. Soon after the protector's accident (Oct. 13), the question of the succession was brought before them. Lambert, in a long and able speech, dwelt on the evils of elective succession, and recommended that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, but the motion was rejected by a majority of 200 to 80, and it was resolved, that on his death the successor should be chosen by the parliament, if sitting, if not by the council. Cromwell waited patiently till the five lunar months were expired*; the parliament then, who had just completed and read a third time their revision of the Instrument, were

* "The month in law is always of twenty-eight days unless the contrary be expressed. This seems, however, not to have been generally understood at the time."—*Hallam*, ii. 335.

once more summoned to the Painted Chamber. In a long speech he reproached them with having done nothing during five months, unless it were to give encouragement to the cavaliers and levellers to combine in intrigues against the commonwealth, and he concluded by telling them that the parliament was dissolved.

The coalition of royalists and republicans to which Cromwell alluded was no fiction. The common hatred of *him* united them, and each hoped that when he was overthrown they would be able to subdue their allies and establish their own system. Some of the leading republicans, such as colonel Overton and major Wildman, entered into correspondence with the exiled king. Okey, Alured, Lawson, and Hacker, held consultations with Wildman, at which Marten and lord Grey of Groby are said to have been sometimes present. Of the co-operation of Haselrig, Harrison, Carew, and some others, there seems to be no doubt. The vigilance of the government, however, disconcerted all their plans. Overton was arrested and sent up from Scotland, lord Grey, Harrison, and Carew, were sent to various prisons. Wildman was taken in the very act of dictating 'The Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq.'

The general rising of the royalists had been fixed for the beginning of March (1655). Wilmot (now earl of Rochester) and sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to take the command of them, and Charles himself with Ormond and others moved from Cologne to Middleburg, to be ready to pass over to England. The wakeful eye of government, however, was on their projects, and the partial risings which they made in Yorkshire and the west were easily suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby and sir Richard Malever, who had been with Wilmot at the head of the former, were taken, but Wilmot himself escaped. In the west, Wagstaff being joined by colonel Penruddock, captain Grove, and about 200 others, entered Salisbury on a Sunday night (Mar. 11), and seized in their beds the judges and sheriff who were there to hold the assizes next day. In the morning Wagstaff prepared to hang them, but Penruddock and others, horrified at such barbarity, interposed so warmly that he consented to liberate them. The insurgents then proclaimed the king, but finding that none joined them, and that a reinforcement which they expected from Hampshire did not arrive, they retired and passed through Dorset into Devon, where they were attacked at South Molton by captain

Crooke, and routed. Wagstaff made his escape, the rest surrendered. Cromwell resolved to venture on trying them by jury, and as their guilt was manifest according to the existing laws, they were all found guilty. Grove and Penruddock were beheaded; some were hanged, others were pardoned; the remainder, without any regard to their station in life, were, in the usual way, shipped off for slaves to Barbadoes.

Hitherto Cromwell had been lenient to the royalists in the hopes of gaining them; of this he now despaired, and he resolved to keep measures with them no longer. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen were arrested; the episcopalian clergy were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or tutors, or to use the church service either in public or private; popish priests were ordered to quit the kingdom under pain of death; cavaliers and papists were not to come within less than twenty miles of the city. He finally *decimated* the royalists, that is, imposed an annual income-tax of ten per cent. on all possessing 100*l.* a year and upwards in land, or 1500*l.* in personal property, who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party. He thus openly trampled on the Act of Oblivion, which when it suited his purpose he had pressed on so strenuously. The reason he assigned was, that as, by their obstinately keeping themselves separate from the rest of the nation, they were a continual cause of danger, it was but just that they should be made to defray the expenses incurred in guarding against it.

For the collection of this tax, and for carrying into effect his other arbitrary measures, he divided England into eleven districts, over each of which he set a major-general. These officers were furnished with most extensive authority; they were empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, arrest and imprison dangerous and suspicious persons. When to these we add the arbitrary system of general taxation continued or imposed, the high courts of justice, the interference with the functions of judges and advocates, we have a picture of despotism before which that of the Stuarts almost sinks into insignificance.

We now turn to the foreign affairs of the protector's government. France and Spain, we have seen, were rivals for his favour. Of all the states of Europe, Spain was, perhaps, the one with which there was least ground of quarrel: it had given no countenance whatever to the royal family, and it had been

the first to acknowledge the commonwealth. But on the other hand, Cromwell was a zealous protestant, and Spain was bigotedly catholic, and the chief seat of the Inquisition; and the gold and silver which it drew from America were moreover tempting to the protector's cupidity. He did not see why Spain should monopolize the wealth of an immense country, the innocent people of which she had so barbarously massacred, and treat as pirates the crews of all ships which were found in those latitudes. He therefore demanded of Cardeñas, the Spanish ambassador, that the trade of the English in the Atlantic should be free. He also required that the English merchants settled in Spain should be secured from molestation by the Inquisition. Cardeñas replied, that the American monopoly and the Inquisition were his master's two eyes, neither of which he would consent to have put out. The Spanish court, meantime aware that Cromwell was equipping a fleet, and fearing that it might be intended for the West Indies, sent the marquess of Leyda to London; but after staying there five months, he returned without having effected anything.

Cromwell had in fact prepared two fleets; the one of thirty sail under Blake had sailed in the preceding month of October to the Mediterranean, to exact reparation for injuries done to the English trade by the states around that sea. Blake first cast anchor before the port of Leghorn, and he made the duke of Tuscany pay 60,000*l.* for the injuries he had done to the English nation. He then sailed to Algiers (Mar. 10, 1656), and required the Dey to deliver up the English ships and men taken by his piratic subjects. Having received a conciliatory reply, he proceeded to Tunis, and made a similar demand; but the Dey bade him destroy the castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, and his fleet, if he was able. Blake speedily silenced the fire of these castles, and then entered the harbour and burned nine ships of war that were lying there. He sailed thence to Tripoli, whose Dey submitted at once to his demands. Having thus chastised these pirates, Blake returned to England.

The other fleet, which consisted of thirty sail, commanded by admiral Penn, and carrying 4000 land forces under general Venables, sailed about the end of December for the West Indies with sealed orders. When they reached Barbadoes (Jan. 29), they opened their instructions, and having enlisted and regimented a good number of those who had been sent thither as slaves, and thus raised their forces to 9000 men, to which they added 1200 at St. Kitt's, they sailed to Hispaniola; but

instead of entering the port of St. Domingo at once (Apr. 14), when the town would probably have submitted, they landed the troops at a distance of forty miles from it. Here a mutiny broke out in consequence of commissioner Winslow's issuing a proclamation stating, in Roman fashion, that all plunder should be public property. This being appeased by Venables, they advanced for three days under a burning sun, and living chiefly on unripe fruit, which caused diseases among the men. At length they joined a detachment which had landed within ten miles of the town. As they advanced they fell into an ambuscade; they drove off the enemy, but their success was of no avail, for the diseased condition of the troops made it necessary for them to fall back to the station of the detachment, where they remained for a week. When they advanced again toward the town (25th), the road, lying through a thick wood, was commanded by a battery, and the sides were lined with Spanish marksmen. The advance guard in disorder fell back on a regiment of foot, and they on a troop of horse; all was confusion till a body of seamen cleared the wood. But night then came on, and they returned once more to their former station. Here a council of war having decided that success was now hopeless, it was resolved to reembark the troops. They therefore left Hispaniola (May 3); but as the commanders feared to return without having effected something, they made a descent (10th) on the island of Jamaica, the people of which offered no resistance, but they had placed the greater part of their property in security, so that the plunder gained was trifling. By Cromwell and the nation, the acquisition of Jamaica was thought a matter of no importance; yet there were people who saw further into things, and regarded it as really of more value to England than Hispaniola would have been. Penn and Venables were, on their return, both committed to the Tower by the indignant and mortified protector. They had shown themselves inefficient commanders, and by their want of harmony they had almost ensured failure.

Cromwell at this time added to his reputation in the eyes of the world by his prompt and effectual interference in behalf of the Vaudois, or protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Perusa, and San Martino in Piedmont, who were persecuted by their catholic sovereign. There are of course conflicting statements on this subject, but from the known intolerant spirit of the church of Rome, it is a fair conclusion, that in cases of this kind, and where the catholics were by far

the stronger party, they were the aggressors. The Vaudois, it appears, were ordered to give up a part of the valley of Lucerne; they expressed their dissatisfaction, and the duke of Savoy forthwith quartered troops in their valleys. The soldiers acted with insolence and tyranny; the people resisted but were overpowered, and a massacre of about three hundred of the inhabitants of Lucerne was perpetrated (Apr. 21) with all the circumstances, we are assured, of the most revolting barbarity. When the intelligence reached England, Cromwell lost no time in sending off under-secretary Morland as his envoy to Turin: he wrote letters to all the protestant states of Europe, and he made the security of the Vaudois a *sine quâ non* in the treaty which was pending with the court of France. The duke was therefore obliged to allow his protestant subjects to exercise the religion of their fathers, and Cromwell sent them a sum of money from himself in addition to what had by his permission been collected for them in the churches.

When the Spanish court was certified of the attempt on Hispaniola, it was thrown into great perplexity, being already engaged in a war with France. It could not, however, tamely pass over such an indignity, and it was therefore resolved (Sept. 1) to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in Spain; and Cardenas received orders to remonstrate, and if not satisfied to withdraw. He accordingly left England (Oct. 24), and the day after his departure Cromwell put forth a declaration of the justice of the war on his part, and he signed the treaty with France, by a secret article of which ten Frenchmen were to be excluded from the British dominions, and Charles II., the duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and fifteen others from those of France.

Among the events of this year may be noticed the return of the Jews to England, where they had not been settled since the reign of Edward I. Manasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished rabbi, came over to England to negotiate with the protector on this subject, and though the liberty of the committee appointed to consider his proposition did not allow Cromwell to go so far as he wished, he permitted them to come over, to build a synagogue, and to purchase ground for a cemetery.

•The motto of political parties seems to be *Flectere si nequeo superos*, etc., in other words, they are willing to join with those whom they most hate to overthrow an object of common aversion. In accordance with this principle, we now meet the sectarian levellers again in alliance with the royalists, and even

with the court of Spain. Edward Sexby, a man who had risen from the ranks to the post of colonel, had been an admirer and an agent of Cromwell's in the army; he had been a leading agitator; he was a zealot for liberty, and when his former idol apostatised as he thought, he became his inveterate foe. After the arrest of Wildman and others, Sexby, who had not been taken, went through the country distributing pamphlets. In the May of this year he went over to Brussels, where he informed the count Fuensaldaña of the real destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables, and offered the aid of the levellers against the Protector, if furnished with money. Fuensaldaña sent him to Madrid, where he was well received, and he obtained 40,000 crowns, with which he returned to Antwerp, whence he sent various sums to his confederates in England; and though Cromwell had gotten information, and even seized a remittance of 800*l.*, Sexby crossed the channel, remained some time, and returned in safety.

Charles had made an offer of alliance to the Spanish cabinet after the rupture with England. He engaged to recall to his standard the English and Irish regiments in the service of France; he boasted of his influence in the English navy, and, like Sexby, only asked for money. After a long period of the usual delay, the court of Spain resolved to accept both offers, and to effect a union between Charles and Sexby. The latter said, that the wish of his friends was to have a free parliament, in which case there was no doubt that Charles would be restored, though with some limitations. The plan formed was, that Charles should raise four regiments out of his subjects in the service of France, that Spain should furnish a body of six thousand men, and that the levellers should secure for them a port and fortress not distant from London, where they might effect a landing.

While this conspiracy was secretly organised against him, Cromwell issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of September. Great excitement prevailed; the government and its major-generals and other instruments made every exertion to procure favourable returns; on the other side, pamphlets calling on the people now to make a struggle for their liberties were circulated. The result was, that though Scotland and Ireland returned those recommended, England sent to the parliament a great number, such as Haselrig and Scot, strongly opposed to the protector's government. For this, however, Cromwell had a remedy; as the council was empowered by

the Instrument to decide on the qualifications of the members returned, he, under various pretexts, chiefly of delinquency or immorality, caused their tickets of admission to be refused to about one hundred persons. The excluded members published a bold and vigorous Remonstrance. Of this, though of a most daring tone, the protector deemed it advisable to take no notice, for his party had now a clear majority in parliament, and that was all that he required.

Acts were speedily passed for renouncing the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and for the security of the protector's person. The war with Spain was resolved to be just and politic, and a supply of 400,000*l.* was voted. In calling this parliament Cromwell had had two main objects in view: the one was to obtain supplies in a legal manner; the other to gain from it the coveted title of king. Various motives probably concurred to make him ambitious of the title, though he was without it possessed of more than regal power. He certainly felt that *prestige* from which few are exempt, attached to names of dignities hallowed by time and long usage; he who was so affectionate to his family may have wished to secure the succession of his son, and even to gratify the vanity of his daughters. The name of king, too, was interwoven into all the institutions of the country, and the lawyers, the clergy, the nobility, and all who were weary of military rule, would be pleased with a prospect of legal and settled government. There were even hopes that the great body of the royalists, on a return to the ancient forms of the constitution, would grow indifferent to the exiled family, and transfer their loyalty to the new dynasty.

Cromwell, as we have seen by what he said to Whitelock, had had this idea in his mind for some time. He now consulted on the subject with Thurloe, Pierrepont, and St. John; and to gain the good-will of the people, he resolved to commence with allowing the arbitrary rule of the major-generals to be terminated. A bill being brought in (Jan. 7, 1657), of which the object was to confirm their past acts, and invest them with legal authority for the future, it was opposed by Claypole, the protector's son-in-law, and by lord Broghill, his confidant. The debate was continued for ten successive days; the tyranny of the bashaws, as they were called, was detailed and dwelt on; but, headed by Lambert, they defended themselves with spirit. One of their arguments amounting to this, that the whole body of the cavaliers should be punished for

the offences of some, Henry Cromwell, the protector's nephew, replied, that on this principle, all the major-generals ought to be punished, because some of them had done ill, of which he could produce proofs. He was called on to name, and he professed himself ready to do so, but the debate was adjourned. It was hinted to him that his uncle would not be pleased with his conduct; but he went that very night and told the protector what he had done, and added, that he "had his black book and papers ready to make good what he had said." Cromwell replied in a jesting manner; and taking off a rich scarlet cloak and his gloves, gave them to Harry, who strutted into the house with them next day. The bill was finally lost (29th) by a large majority, and the major-generals remained exposed to actions at law for their previous conduct.

While this bill was pending, a plot to murder the protector was discovered. The agent was Miles Syndercomb, who had been a quarter-master in Monk's army, but had been dismissed for his share in Overton's plot. Sexby, when last in England, had arranged the plan with him, and there can be no doubt but that Charles and his court knew and approved of it. The death of Cromwell was to be the signal for the rising of the levellers and royalists, and the invasion from Flanders. Syndercomb and another named Cecil bribed Tooke, a life-guardsmen, to give them information of the places where Cromwell was to pass, intending to shoot him from a window. But something always occurred to frustrate them, and at Wildman's suggestion they altered their plan. One evening at six o'clock (Jan. 9) they entered the chapel at Whitehall; and having set a basket of combustibles in one of the pews, lighted a slow match, calculated for six hours; but as they were coming out they were all seized, for Tooke had betrayed them. Cecil told all he knew, which only amounted to this, that some persons in the palace were to kill Cromwell in the confusion. Syndercomb was tried and condemned for high treason (Feb. 9); he would give no information, and he was found dead in his bed a few hours before the time appointed for his execution (13th). The royalists and levellers maintained that he had been strangled by Cromwell's orders; the verdict of the jury was suicide by snuffing up a poisonous powder.

The pulse of the house on the subject of kingship having been felt after the discovery of this plot, about a month later (Feb. 23), alderman Pack rose and presented a paper, called *An humble Address and Remonstrance*, protesting against the

present uncertain form of government, and calling on the protector to assume a higher title, etc. The officers instantly rose in a great heat, and Pack was borne down to the bar; but order being restored, lord Broghill, with Glyn, Whitelock, and the lawyers and dependents of the court supporting Pack, the paper was read, and it was resolved to take it into consideration. It was debated, article by article, and at length adopted under the title of *The humble Petition and Advice*.

The only opposition which Cromwell had to fear was that of the army, in which interest swayed some, fanaticism others, to oppose it. Lambert, in particular, was against it; for being the second person in the country and a vain ambitious man, he looked forward to being the next protector. His proposal to the officers was, to bring up five regiments of cavalry and compel the house to confirm the Instrument and the establishment of major-generals. They hesitated however to adopt this bold measure, and he then withdrew from their councils. The inferior officers also held meetings, and they sent (28th) one hundred of their number to inform the protector of their sentiments. He reminded them that at one time they had offered him the title of king; he said he had always been the drudge of the officers; that the parliament had been called contrary to his judgement, that it required to be controlled, which could only be done by enlarging the authority of the protector. Several were convinced by his reasons, but they had no effect on the majority. They, however, agreed that if the question of the title were kept to be last considered, they would make no opposition to those of his being empowered to name his successor, and of the parliament's consisting of two houses as he proposed.

On the 25th of March the title of king was voted, and six days after a committee waited on the protector with *The Petition and Advice*. He spoke of the "consternation of his mind" at the offer, and requested time "to ask counsel of God and his own heart;" at the same time approving of every thing but the new title to be given to himself. At his desire, a committee was appointed to hear and resolve his scruples. After various conferences, he owned (Apr. 20) that his doubts were removed, and at length he appointed a day (May 6) to meet the parliament, when it was fully expected that he would accept the royal title.

Cromwell had vainly sought to gain his brother- and son-in-law, Desborough and Fleetwood, over to his design. They

now told him that they must resign their commissions; and Desborough having informed Pride of what Cromwell was about to do, the latter cried out, "He shall not." When asked how he could prevent it, he said by a petition signed by the officers; they approved of his plan and went straight to Dr. Owen and prevailed on him to draw up one without delay.

The 8th was the day finally fixed for the protector to meet the parliament. On the morning of that day, colonel Mason and six-and-twenty other officers came and presented the petition, in which they asserted that the design of those who urged the general to take the title of king was to destroy him and bring the nation under the old servitude, and prayed the parliament to continue steady to the old cause, for which they themselves were willing to lay down their lives. When Cromwell heard of this, he sent for Fleetwood and asked him why he had let a thing of the kind proceed so far, when he knew that he would not accept a crown without the consent of the army; and he desired him to go back and stop it. Shortly after, the members were summoned to Whitehall, and Cromwell concluded a long and embarrassed speech by formally declining the title of king.

The word *protector* being substituted for *king*, Cromwell gave his assent to The humble Petition and Advice. It empowered him to name his immediate successor and restored the two houses, giving the protector the right of nominating the members of the Other House as it was termed, but subject to some restrictions. The inauguration of the protector took place on the 12th of May, in Westminster-hall. He stood on a platform at the upper end of the hall; the speaker arrayed him in a purple mantle lined with ermine, presented him a bible superbly bound, and placed a golden sceptre in his hand. The oath was then administered to him; a long prayer from the chaplain succeeded. The protector sat down between the French and the Dutch ambassadors, the earl of Warwick and the lord mayor holding a sword at each side of him; the trumpets sounded and the heralds proclaimed the style of the protector, to which the spectators responded. He then rose, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked down the hall to his coach. The house of commons then adjourned for six months. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector; Lambert refusing, was deprived of his commissions, which were worth to him 6000*l.* a year; but he obtained a pension of 2000*l.*

About this time, a pamphlet entitled *Killing no Murder*, and written with great energy, came out in Holland. The writer of it is generally considered to have been captain Titus, though Sexby, who sent thousands of it over to England, claimed it as his own. The author having determined that Cromwell was a tyrant and that it would be meritorious to kill him, eulogised Syndercomb, assuring the protector that there were numbers ready to follow that example, and that he was not safe in his bed or at his board. Sexby soon came over again, but he was taken and died in prison.

We must now return to the war with Spain. In the spring of 1656 a fleet sailed from Portsmouth, under Blake and Montague. Their destination was Cadiz and Gibraltar; but not feeling themselves strong enough to attack either of them, they entered the Tagus, where they obliged the king of Portugal to ratify the treaty concluded with him, and pay the stipulated sum of 50,060*l*. They then went to the Mediterranean and again returned to Lisbon, leaving captain Stayner with six frigates before Cadiz. Soon after (Sept. 10) a Spanish fleet of eight sail from the Havana coming in sight, Stayner attacked it and sunk four, and took two laden with treasure. One of the ships destroyed was the vice-admiral's, on board of which was the marquess of Vaydes, the viceroy of Peru, with his wife and seven children. When the ship took fire, the marchioness and her eldest daughter fainted; the marquess would not abandon them, and he perished with them and one of his sons; the other children were saved and brought to England. The value of the silver taken was estimated at two millions; and Cromwell, to dazzle the populace, caused it to be conveyed in wagons from Portsmouth to London.

As Montague had returned home with the prizes, Blake remained in the sole command, and in the spring (1657) he sailed for the Canaries to intercept the plate-fleet from Mexico. He found it already lying in the port of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, the plate-ships, ten in number, being moored in a crescent close to the shore, with seven galleons in a line before them: the entrance of the harbour was commanded by the guns of the castle, and around it were seven batteries. Blake resolved to attack. He caused a solemn fast to be held, and next morning (Apr. 20), Stayner leading the way, the fleet entered the harbour under a shower of balls and shells. By two in the afternoon the batteries were silenced and all the ships in the possession of the English; but the wind which had brought

them in, now opposed their egress. Blake ordered the prizes to be burnt, and soon after the wind changed to the south-west, and enabled them to get out to sea. The English had lost only forty-eight men in this daring action. Blake returned home some time after, but his health was gone, and he died (Aug. 17) as his ship was entering the harbour of Plymouth. The protector gave him a magnificent funeral, and his remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey.

In the month of November Cromwell married his two youngest daughters to lord Falconberg and to Mr. Rich, grandson of lord Warwick. The bride of this last, however, became a widow the following February.

In the spring of this year, Lockhart, a Scottish judge, who was married to Cromwell's niece, had proceeded as his envoy to Paris, and a treaty of alliance for a twelvemonth was concluded with Louis XIV. Cromwell was to supply a force of six thousand men, and in return was to get Mardyke and Dunkirk when reduced. The result of the campaign was the reduction of the former place, which received an English governor.

When the parliament met (Jan. 20, 1658), it presented the ancient form of the two houses, the protector having summoned by writ sixty persons to form the Other House. Cromwell addressed them in the ancient style—"My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons." But the experiment proved a failure. As by the Petition and Advice the commons were authorised to judge of the qualifications of their body, the secluded members had resumed their seats, and there was now a powerful opposition headed by Haselrig and Scot. They allowed the commons to occupy themselves with nothing but the title and rights of the other house. Cromwell soothed, and reasoned, and menaced to no purpose. He then formed his resolution with his usual promptitude. One morning (Feb. 4) he threw himself into a coach that was standing at the gate of Whitehall, beckoned to six of the guards to follow him, and drove to the parliament-house. He summoned the commons to his presence. He then, as usual, talked of his dignity having been forced on him, and reproached them with thwarting instead of aiding him, while he was environed with conspiracies; it was therefore time to put an end to their sitting, "and I do dissolve this parliament," said he, "and let God judge between me and you." "Amen, amen," responded several voices. Thus was a fourth parliament dissolved. Addresses to the protector from the army and counties, towns, and boroughs were

easily procured, and were inserted in the newspapers, to convince the world of the popularity of his government.

At the same time several arrests took place; for the conspiracies of which he spoke were no fictions. Ormond was actually in London at this very time negotiating with the various political parties, and transports were collected at Ostend to carry over an invading force. But Cromwell had a source of intelligence which the royalists little suspected. There was a select band of six, named the Sealed Knot, who enjoyed the principal confidence of Charles and his court, and were the directors of the royalists in England. Sir Richard Willis had most influence in the Sealed Knot, and *he* was in the pay of Cromwell! For Willis having been arrested one time, Cromwell, it is said, undertook to prove to him that it was for the interest of the royalists themselves that their plots should be prevented. Willis was, or affected to be, convinced, and it was arranged that he should give information, but never be brought forward as a witness or required to name any person. For this service he had an annual stipend of 200*l*.

The protector, therefore, knew of Ormond's being in London, and when it was thought that he had been there long enough a hint was given him, on which he hastened to Shoreham and embarked for France. Shortly after, some of the members of the Knot and other royalists were arrested, and sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, John Mordaunt brother to lord Peterborough, sir Humphrey Bennet, and captain Woodcock were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Slingsby was a gentleman of advanced age; he had been a prisoner at Hull ever since the rising in 1655, in which he had been engaged; the charge against him was his having given the officers of the garrison commissions from king Charles. Hewit was an episcopalian clergyman and an active agent for the exiled king. Mordaunt also had distributed commissions. Hewit refused to plead, but that availed him not, and he and Slingsby were found guilty. Mordaunt was acquitted, the principal witness against him having been bribed to abscond. Slingsby was married to the aunt of lord Falconberg, and the lady Claypole strongly interested herself for Hewit; but the protector would hearken to neither daughter nor son-in-law in their favour; and they were both beheaded (June 8). Bennet and Woodcock were acquitted.

While Cromwell thus suppressed conspiracy at home, his arms prospered on the continent. After a victory gained by

Turenne over the Spaniards (June 8), in which the valour of the English troops had decided the fortune of the day, Dunkirk was invested ; it surrendered in a few days (17th), and was delivered up to the English by Louis in person.

Cromwell would seem to be now at the height of his glory, victorious abroad and absolute at home, but never was his state more precarious ; he wanted money, he was surrounded by enemies. As to procure the former it seemed necessary to call a parliament, he appointed a council of nine to devise means of obviating the influence of the republicans in it, of raising a revenue from the estates of the royalists, and of settling the succession. But after three weeks' deliberation they came to no conclusion of importance, and the protector, suspicious of some of the members, dissolved the council (July 8).

To secure himself against the secret attempts of his enemies, he adopted various precautions. He wore armour inside his clothes and carried pistols in his pockets ; he drove at full speed, his coach filled with attendants and surrounded by guards, and he always returned by a different road ; he changed his bed-chamber frequently, and often personally inspected the night-watch of the palace. His nights were sleepless, or his rest was feverish and disturbed, and the anxiety of his mind visibly preyed on his health. Domestic affliction also came to add to his cares. In the relations of son, husband, and father no one ever went beyond Cromwell in sincere affection ; and his favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, was now dying of an internal abscess, and the grief occasioned by the death of her youngest son augmented her danger. Cromwell abandoned all affairs of state, and went to Hampton-court, where she lay. He spent much time in her room, and always left it with an air of the deepest melancholy. When her death took place (Aug. 6), though he had long expected it, the event gave him a great shock. He was himself confined at the time with a fit of the gout ; he was also seized with what was called a bastard tertian ague. One day (24th) hearing one of his physicians whisper to another that his pulse was intermittent, he grew alarmed, caused himself to be put to bed, and executed his will ; but next morning, when the physicians visited him, he took his wife by the hand, and said, " I tell you I shall not die this bout ; I am sure of it." Observing their surprise, he added, " Do not think I am mad ; I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than your Hippocrates or Galen can furnish.

God himself hath given this answer, not to my prayers alone, but to the prayers of those who maintain a stricter correspondence and greater intimacy with him. Go on, therefore, confidently banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man." His confidence extended to his family and friends. "His highness," writes Fleetwood, "has had great discoveries of the Lord to him, and assurances of being restored and made further serviceable." "O Lord," said his chaplain Goodwin, "we pray not for his recovery; that thou hast granted already; what we now beg is his *speedy* recovery."

But these predictions were not to be verified. At Whitehall, whither he had removed, his disease turned to a double tertian (28th); he became delirious, and, at times, insensible. In one of his lucid intervals he asked his chaplain Sterry if it were possible to fall from grace. On his replying in the negative, "Then," said he, "I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." On the night of the 2nd of September he was heard to pray to this effect; "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature. This people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory; and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins; and do not forsake them, but love, and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

The next day (3rd) was his fortunate day, that of Dunbar and Worcester. After long lying insensible, he expired about four in the afternoon, amidst the tears of his attendants and in the sixtieth year of his age. When the news was brought to those who were assembled to pray for his recovery, Sterry is said to have stood up and to have bid them not be troubled, "for," said he, "this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us and to be mindful of us on all occasions." Even his sagacious secretary, Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, says, "He is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."

This extraordinary man was a gentleman by birth, and educated at Cambridge, whence he went to Lincoln's Inn; but,

instead of devoting himself to the study of the law, he plunged into the vices and excesses of the town. He speedily however reformed, and then running into the opposite extreme, became an enthusiast in religion. In the contest between the king and parliament his latent military talents were developed; these did not consist in tactics or manœuvres, but in vigour and decision; he never sought to surprise the enemy; his plan was to fall on with impetuosity. He had the art of attaching the soldiers both by his religious exercises and by a coarse kind of buffoonery and jocular language. His great skill in politics lay in knowing how to turn to advantage the opportunities which fortune presented. As a ruler he sustained the national honour in a manner which called to remembrance the glorious days of Elizabeth. In his domestic relations the character of Cromwell was every way estimable; he was a sincere friend and a placable enemy. He loved justice and delighted not in blood; yet ambition made him at times trample on the one and shed the other; it is possible, however, that in the case of the king he thought himself justified both by reason and revelation. He never lost his sense of religion, though, like many other enthusiasts, he could make hypocrisy compatible with it. His desire for the title of king is, like *Cæsar's*, a curious instance of human weakness. On the whole, Cromwell's is a name which Englishmen will generally be found to mention with respect.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED.

1658-1660.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the protector his council met, and it was resolved to proclaim his son Richard, whom he was said (but the fact is very doubtful) to have nominated as his successor. Richard was proclaimed in the usual manner; not a murmur was heard; and addresses poured in from the army and navy, the churches, the cities, and the boroughs. The royalists and the republicans, who had hoped to see the whole frame of government fall to pieces when the vigorous mind of Oliver was gone, looked on in amazement.

influence of the government was paramount. Most of the small boroughs therefore returned the court candidates, and when the parliament met (Jan. 27, 1659) the state of the parties proved to be as follows. The Protectorists or adherents of the Petition and Advice composed one half of the house; the Republicans, headed by Vane, Ludlow, Lambert, Bradshaw, and Scot, were about fifty, among whom was lord Fairfax, a secret royalist; the Moderates or Neuters constituted the remainder. These were chiefly presbyterians, but among them were several cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers, who had their instructions from Hyde to embarrass the government, and to foment the dissensions between it and the republicans. Mr. Challoner Chute was chosen speaker.

The question of the recognition of the protector caused a long and stormy debate, and it was not carried without great difficulty; that relating to the Other House was still more violently disputed, but the commons at length consented to transact business with them during the present parliament, with sundry limitations of their authority. Thus far the royalists had supported the courtiers; they now began to act on the other part of their instructions. Complaints were made of various tyrannical acts, such as selling men for slaves in the West Indies, of extortions and embezzlement of the revenue, and secretary Thurloe and Boteler, one of the major-generals, were menaced with impeachments.

These proceedings gave alarm to the officers, who feared there would be soon a power superior to their own. They were divided into two parties; those who adhered to the interests of Richard and met at Whitehall, such as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and others, and those who met at Wallingford-house*, the residence of Fleetwood, such as Desborough, Sydenham, Berry, and Haynes, whose object was to make Richard merely a civil magistrate, and to keep the army in their own power. A third party now appeared at St. James's, composed of Ashfield, Lilburne, Mason, and some other men of strong republican principles. The republicans in the house finding their weakness soon entered into close relations with the Wallingford-house party; there was also a junction formed with the party at St. James's. A general council was formed, and a Humble Representation and Petition, complaining of the neglect of the good old cause and its supporters, etc., was drawn up and presented to the protector, and by him to the commons, who took

* It stood on the site of the present Admiralty.

no notice of it. They then, with the protector's consent, called a general council of officers to make propositions to the parliament respecting the army. It was decided by this council that the command of the army should be committed to some one in whom they could all confide, and that every officer should declare his approbation of the death of Charles I. and the subsequent acts of the army. The commons took alarm and voted (Apr. 18) that the officers should no more meet in a general council, and also declared (21st) that the command of the army was only to be exercised by the protector. The officers then appointed a rendezvous of the army next day at St. James's; while the protector summoned a counter one to Whitehall. But the troops all went to the former, and at noon Desborough came from them to tell him that if he would dissolve the parliament the officers would take care of him, but if not they would do it without him. After consulting with his friends, among whom Whitelock alone opposed the dissolution, he consented, and the parliament was dissolved.

The officers, having thus put an end to the parliament, were now somewhat uncertain how to act. They wished above all things to retain their power, for which purpose they were not unwilling to continue Richard in his office; at the same time they felt the necessity of money. Their first thought was to raise it, like Cromwell, by the power of the sword; but this proving too hazardous, they listened to the proposals of their republican allies, and agreed to reinstate the Rump parliament. They proposed a settlement on Richard, and the retention of the other house under the name of a senate; but matters not brooking delay, these points were reserved, and a Declaration in the name of Fleetwood and the general council of the army was issued (May 6), inviting the members of the Long Parliament who had continued sitting till April 20th, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. Next day forty-two members met in the Painted Chamber, and headed by Lenthall, passed into their house through lines of officers. Sir George Booth, Prynne, Annesley, and others of the secluded members attempted to enter the house, but the doors were closed against them.

A committee of safety (all the members but Vane and Scot being military men) was appointed (9th), and a few days after (13th) a council of state of thirty-one civilians and officers was chosen. Addresses poured in as usual; the house voted (21st)

"A free commonwealth without a single person, kingship, or a house of peers." All this, however, was far from being agreeable to the Wallingford-house party; those of them who were members of the council rarely attended, and when they did, they behaved with great insolence; they scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth in opposition to Charles Stuart, or a single person;" they sent to the parliament (15th) "the things which they had on their minds," when they restored it, in the form of fifteen demands, bearing the modest title of The humble Petition and Address of the Officers. In this they required an act of indemnity for those who had acted under the late power, Fleetwood to be commander-in-chief, the protector's debts to be paid, and an income of 10,000*l.* a-year to be settled on *him*, and 8000*l.* a-year on his mother "her highness-dowager;" the government to consist of a representation of the people, and a select senate, etc. The parliament replied that they would take these things into consideration, and give all possible satisfaction. The act of indemnity was passed, but in an unsatisfactory form; the debts of Richard, amounting to 29,000*l.*, were transferred to the public account, a sum of 2000*l.* was given him for present purposes, and the 10,000*l.* a-year was voted. He was at the same time required to leave Whitehall, as it was suspected that the officers kept him there for purposes of their own. It was feared that his brother Henry, who was a man of more spirit, would offer resistance in Ireland, where he was lord-deputy, but he yielded obedience to the mandate of the parliament.

But the great object of the parliament was, as Ludlow expresses it, to provide "that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed; the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house; the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take further order therein, and directing that the officers approved of by the parliament should receive their commissions not from him but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as needless and only tending to disgust the army, but the fervent zeal of Haselrig, Sidney, and Neville, would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice being given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions

from the speaker, a council was held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haselrig, who now had regiments, attended. The officers were very high : Desborough even said, that he thought the commission he had as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June 8) colonel Hacker and his officers came at the persuasion of Haselrig, and took their commissions from the speaker, and the ice being now broken, others followed. Fleetwood took his the day following, and Lambert soon after.

It was voted at this time (6th) "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on by the leading presbyterians, and they were now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and 20,000*l.* a year; his brother was also solicited, and he at one time is said to have meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk also were applied to. A general rising on the 1st of August was arranged, and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled. But Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery however was at this time discovered through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own hand-writing. Willis, after his usual manner, when the government had been put on its guard by himself, represented to the Knot that the project was now hopeless, and persuaded them to write circulars forbidding the rising (July 29). Accordingly, it was only in Cheshire that it took place, where sir George Booth called on the people, without mentioning the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends all remained inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever; but Lambert easily forced it, and their men broke and fled at his approach (Aug. 16). Colonel Morgan and about thirty men were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. The earl of Derby was

taken in the disguise of a servant, and Booth, as he was on his way to London dressed as a woman, was discovered at Newport-Pagnel in Bucks.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of 1000*l.* which was voted him, he distributed among his officers, and shortly after (Sept. 14) they sent up from Derby a petition (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford-house), requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission, that Lambert should be major-general, that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Haselrig by Fleetwood (22nd), he hastened into the house, and having caused the doors to be locked moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they contented themselves with passing a vote expressive of their dislike of the petition; and it was resolved "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable and dangerous." Several meetings were now held at Wallingford-house, and another petition was drawn up, which was presented (Oct. 5) by Desborough and other officers. It was in substance the same as the former, but it further demanded that those who groundlessly informed the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haselrig and his friends. The house in the usual manner returned them thanks for their good expressions, but soon after (11th) a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. Next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to colonel Okey, and by another vote Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six other persons were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces.

Haselrig, having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey, and some others about London had assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move for Westminster, and early in the morning (13th) the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King-street and about

the Abbey. The two parties faced each other, but the men were loath to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers did not urge them. When the speaker came up in his coach, Lambert sneeringly ordered one of his officers to conduct the lord-general to Whitehall, but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met, and after a good deal of altercation it was agreed that the parliament was not to sit, that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new parliament speedily to be summoned. Fleetwood was declared to be commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed.

To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found the officers and men wavering and divided; Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk, who declared for the parliament.

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he got a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; he continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and he wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, he was no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a presbyterian. He was a man of a phlegmatic temper and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him, and it is not improbable, that now seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret plan was to aid, if it could be done with safety, in restoring the king.

The first care of Monk was to secure the castles of Edinburgh and Leith, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert should march against him; and he set out forthwith for the north (Nov. 3), having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood, that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haselrig without his approbation.

Monk meantime went on remodeling his army: those of

his officers who were of the Wallingford-house party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend on; he also displaced many who had been put in by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well-supplied, and he knew that his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate; he therefore sent deputies to London, and on their return pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he went on reforming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he was not certain, and supplying their place with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, and having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and obtained a grant of money (Dec. 6), he fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

Meantime the cause of the army was losing ground in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers; an attempt was made to seize the Tower; admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haselrig and Morley into the town, and the troops sent against them went over to them; the Isle of Wight declared for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers, and putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled (Dec. 24) in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and having declared for the parliament, marched by Leithall's house, in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haselrig returned in triumph, and the vivacious Rump once more flourished.

Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others, made their submissions in the humblest manner, but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was remodeled; not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety; Vane was expelled and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; Whitelock had to resign the great seal and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason

were made against Ludlow and others. A new council of state was appointed, and an oath renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. Meantime, lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day (Jan. 1, 1660) the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former should seize the city of York. The engagement was punctually performed; the royalists in York opened the gates, and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued his march; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and having stayed five days to consult with Fairfax at York, Monk resumed his march for the capital (16th), the invitation to do so being now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king, but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; in fact, he caned at York one of them for charging him with this design. At Nottingham (21st) they were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester (23rd) Monk was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion, that monarchy could not be restored, that it would be dangerous to recall the secluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scot and Robinson, two of the members sent, as it were, to do him honour, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him for the restoration of the secluded members and a free parliament.

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed 5000 men, and those in and about London were more numerous; he therefore wrote from St. Alban's (28th), requiring, to prevent quarrels or seduction, that five regiments should be removed. An order was made to that effect (Feb. 2), but the men refused to obey; the royalists of the city tried to gain them over; they, however, remained faithful to the parliament, and on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning. Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall.

On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his

reply, he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be entrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scot, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion, by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts to be taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The secluded members had frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament held communications with them. The last elections had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; they set the present one at naught, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it, and received and answered addresses from the counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council of state that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains which had been fixed in the streets be taken away, and the city gates be destroyed. In the dead of the night (9th), Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens received him with groans and hisses, but made no opposition. When the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullises. He then led his men back to Whitehall, and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and, finally, lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning (10th) to the speaker, requiring that by the following Friday every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury-fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he was come to join with them in procuring a full and free parliament. His speech was received with acclamations; he was entertained at the Guildhall; his soldiers

were feasted; the bells were tolled; bonfires were lighted, and the populace amused themselves with roasting rumps of beef, etc. at them, in ridicule of the parliament:

Monk remained in the city till the 21st. He had daily conferences with all parties, but none could penetrate the veil of secrecy in which he enveloped himself; his words were all for a commonwealth, while many of his actions spoke a different language. It was now arranged that the secluded members should be allowed to take their seats on certain conditions, one of which was, that writs should be issued for a new parliament to meet on the 20th of April. After an absence of more than eleven years, Hollis, Pierrepont, and the other presbyterians resumed their seats, while Haselrig, whose eyes up to this moment had been closed to the duplicity of Monk, retired in despair with his adherents:

All the proceedings against the king and themselves were now annulled: sir George Booth and his friends, the Scottish lords, and several royalists were released from prison; while Lambert was sent to the Tower; the government of Hull was taken from Overton, and committed to lord Fairfax; Lawson was voted to be vice-admiral, and Monk and Montague to be generals at sea. Monk was also made general of all the land-forces in the three kingdoms; the city chose him major-general of their militia; he was made steward and keeper of Hampton-court, and a sum of 20,000*l.* was voted him. The Engagement was now repealed; but the Assembly's Confession of Faith was approved of, and the League and Covenant was ordered to be printed and hung up in the churches; the execution of the laws against popish priests and recusants was enjoined. The council of state which was appointed was composed of presbyterians, and they also held most civil and military offices. In this state of things, having issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 25th of April, the ever-memorable Long Parliament put a termination to its own existence on the 16th of March.

Monk still dissembled; but now seeing how the elections were going, he ventured to open his mind to a royalist agent. Mr. Morrice, his relative and confidential friend, having informed him of the state of feeling in the West, he consented to have a private interview with sir John Greenville, who was also his relation, but at the same time high in the confidence of the king. Greenville delivered him a letter from his royal

master, which Monk received with great respect : he mentioned the difficulties of his situation, and therefore desired him to confer in private with Morrice. An answer to the royal letter was drawn up, in which Monk advised that the king should send him a letter to lay before the parliament ; he recommended an amnesty, total or nearly so, liberty of conscience, confirmation of the national sales, and payment of the arrears of the army. When it had been read, he threw it into the fire, bidding Greenville to remember the contents.

It was also a part of Monk's advice that the king should quit the Spanish dominions* : Charles therefore moved from Brussels to Bredá, whence he forwarded by Greenville a declaration, with letters to the house of lords, the house of commons, the lord mayor and city, Monk and the army, Montague and the navy. Copies of them all were sent to Monk, who was to do as he pleased with the originals. The declaration was very different from what he had proposed, but he made no objection.

If ever there was a parliament freely chosen, it was the present one : there was no court or army now to control the elections ; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use none but its legitimate influence ; the royalists (the catholics of course excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting ; all parties therefore put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained few seats, and their only hopes lay now in the army, and by representing to the officers that they would be obliged to resign their purchases, and to the privates that they would lose their arrears, they succeeded in exciting a mutinous spirit. Lambert having escaped from the Tower, hastened down to Warwickshire to put himself at their head. He had collected a few troops of horse and some foot, when Ingoldsby, now a royalist, met him near Daventry (Apr. 21). Captain Haselrig (son to sir Arthur) passed over with his troop to Ingoldsby ; others followed their example, and Lambert, left alone, having vainly tried to induce his former fellow-soldier to let him escape, surrendered. Colonels Cobbet, Creed, and some others also were taken. At the very moment (24th) when Monk was reviewing the militia

* It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon (vii. 452), he narrowly escaped detention.

of the city in Hyde-park, Lambert and his friends were driven by Tyburn, on their way to the Tower, amidst the hootings of the populace.

The next day the house of commons met, and the presbyterians succeeded in having sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of their party, chosen speaker. Monk sat as one of the members for Devon. At the same time the peers who had sat in 1648, assembled in their house without opposition; but it was plain that they had no exclusive right, and some of those who had been excluded applied to Monk. On his replying that he had no authority to determine any claims, a few of them ventured to take their seats; no one opposing, others followed, and in a few days the presbyterians formed only a fifth part of the house.

On the 1st of May Greenville came to the door of the council-chamber (by Monk's secret direction), and requested a member to tell the lord-general that 'one wished to speak to him. Monk came to the door; Greenville put a letter into his hand; Monk, perceiving that it was sealed with the royal arms, directed the guards not to let the bearer depart. Greenville was soon called in and interrogated by the president; he was ordered into custody, but Monk said that he now perceived he was his near relation, and he would be his security. The drama had now reached its conclusion; Greenville delivered all his letters, and received the thanks of the house and 500*l*. The letters to the army, navy, and city were read to them by Monk, Montague, and the lord mayor, and addresses to his majesty were unanimously voted.

The declaration from Bredá contained a promise of pardon to all except those who should be hereafter excepted by parliament; a promise to consent to any act of parliament that should be passed for the indulgence of tender consciences; a promise to allow the parliament to regulate all differences respecting the rights and titles to lands, and a similar promise respecting the military arrears.

How illusory all this was is plain to be seen; the king in effect was bound to nothing, and what the complexion of the next parliament was likely to be, no one could have a doubt. The upright sir Matthew Hale, therefore, with Prynne and others, called on the house to pause, and now, while they had the power, to make a final settlement of the claims which had hitherto caused collision between the crown and parliament. But Monk opposed the revival of these disputed questions at

this time, when every moment was precious. Let the king, he said, but come, it would be always in their power to impose limitations. The house rang with acclamations, and the king was restored without any restriction.

A sum of 50,000*l.* was voted to the king, 10,000*l.* to the duke of York, and 5000*l.* to the duke of Gloucester. The arms of the commonwealth were everywhere taken down, and the royal arms put in their place. Charles was proclaimed with great solemnity (8th); and the ministers were ordered to pray for him and the duke of York. Commissioners were sent to invite the king to come and receive his crown.

Charles lost no time in proceeding from Brédá to the Hague. The States, who had hitherto neglected him, now treated him with the utmost respect and magnificence. Montague being arrived with the English fleet in the bay of Schevelin, he got on board (23rd). At Dover (25th) Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry of Kent, received him as he landed. He kissed and embraced the general, made him walk by his side and ride in the coach with himself and his brothers. As he proceeded, the people crowded from all parts to see and welcome him. On the 29th, his birth-day, he approached the capital. The army, which was drawn out on Blackheath to receive him, greeted him with joyful acclamations as he passed. In St. George's-fields the lord-mayor and aldermen invited him to partake of a cold collation in a tent. The houses from London-bridge to Whitehall were covered with tapestry; the streets were lined to Temple-bar by the militia on one side, the city companies in their liveries on the other; thence, to Whitehall, by militia and regiments of the army. Troops of gentlemen richly clad, with their footmen and trumpeters, the city companies, the sheriffs, mayor and aldermen, rode along; the lord-general and the duke of Buckingham followed; the king, riding between his two brothers, succeeded; the cavalcade was closed by the general's guards, and five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. Such was the general joy displayed, that the king, in his agreeable manner, observed, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before, for I have met with no one today who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration."

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES II.

1660-1667.

ENGLAND, after nearly twenty years of anarchy and confusion, now resumed her original form. The clouds seemed to be all dissipated and a bright sun of royalty about to shed peace and happiness all over the land. But this appearance was fallacious; Charles, bland and courteous, easy and negligent as he was, had adopted principles and formed habits which soon dispelled the flattering hopes in which men were led at first to indulge.

Historians have remarked with a kind of astonishment, the sudden change which took place in the conduct of the people; flinging away, as it seemed, the rigour of religion, they rushed madly into excess and licentiousness. It is, however, an error to suppose that the people were changed; the only change was in the ruling power. Those who had been really religious, remained so still; but such has never been the character of the great body of a people. During the whole time of the suspension of royalty, the power had been in the hands of men who, though fanatics, were religious; the same was the character of the army*. All the outward expressions of vice and pleasure were therefore suppressed, and the nation wore an aspect of rigour and sanctity which did not really belong to it. The weight being now removed, it resumed its natural bent, and men ran wildly into excess in proportion to the severity of the restraint under which they had been held. This is one among the many evil consequences of making men religious by law and force.

The first care of the king was to reward those who had been active in his restoration, and to form his council. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, and Montague earl of Sandwich,

* Whitelock and others will furnish proofs of this. Burnet, speaking of some regiments that he saw at Aberdeen, says, "There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved."

and both had the garter. Annesley was made earl of Anglesea; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis; and Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord-chamberlain, and lord Say lord privy-seal. Monk's friend Morrice was made one of the secretaries of state. Of the old royalists, Hyde was made chancellor, Southampton treasurer, Ormond steward of the household; sir Edward Nicholas continued to be secretary of state, and lord Colepepper master of the rolls.

The present parliament, not having been summoned legally, was no more than a convention, and its acts were therefore not binding. It however passed an act declaring itself to be the parliament, and then proceeded to the consideration of the many weighty matters it had to determine.

The first was to provide a revenue for the crown. As it appeared that a chief cause of the late unhappy troubles had been the inadequacy of the revenue to the exigencies of the government, it was resolved to settle an income of 1,200,000*l.* a year on the king. In return, was required the abolition of tenures in chivalry, with all their incidents, such as wardships, marriages, etc., together with purveyance and pre-emption—all, for centuries, fruitful sources of evil, and constant subjects of complaint and remonstrance. This being consented to, the next question was, whence the aforesaid revenue was to arise. A permanent tax on the lands thus relieved was the obvious and equitable course; but he knows little of parliaments, who thinks that this would be assented to by the owners of lands who sat in them, while any mode offered of shifting the burden. Some one mentioned the excise; the idea was at once embraced, and it was carried by a majority of two that a moiety of the excise on beer and other liquors should be settled on the crown; and thus this tax, originally so odious, was made permanent. By this act (12 Car. II. ch. 24), a most important change was wrought in the constitution, the prerogative losing its most influential branch. We will here add, that at the close of the session, the remaining moiety of the excise was given also to the crown.

An army of sixty thousand men, whose pay required an assessment of 70,000*l.* a month, was alike dangerous to the crown and burdensome to the nation. Symptoms of disaffection had already appeared among the soldiers, and Monk declared that he could no longer answer for the troops. It was therefore resolved to lose no time in disbanding them; money was procured to clear off their arrears, the regiments were reduced

one after another, eulogies were lavished on the soldiers, and without a mutiny or a murmur, they merged into the mass of peaceful citizens; and thus disappeared that wonderful army, only to be rivalled perhaps by those of the early days of the Roman republic and those of the first Khaleefehs, in the union of religion, discipline, and undaunted valour. The king was strongly urged by the duke of York to retain this army, or to raise another; to this course he was himself inclined, but he knew that it was useless to propose it to the parliament. Monk's regiment, named the Coldstream, was however retained, with one or two of horse, and one formed out of the troops at Dunkirk was afterwards added; the whole amounted to about five thousand men, and under the name of Guards formed the germ of the present large standing-army.

The bill of indemnity also occupied the attention of parliament. They had been engaged on this even before the arrival of the king. Monk had recommended the king not to except more than four persons; but the commons at first (May 16) excepted seven by name; they afterwards enumerated twenty persons who, though not regicides, should for their share in the transactions of the last twelve years, be affected with penalties short of death; they finally excepted such of the king's judges as had not surrendered themselves on the late proclamation. When the bill came to the lords (July 11), where the old royalists prevailed, it was judged to be far too lenient. They dared to except all the king's judges, and also Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, Hacker, and Axtel; they struck out the clause respecting the twenty persons, and then sent the bill back to the commons. But here there were some feelings of honour and humanity. By the proclamation above-mentioned, the king's judges were required to surrender themselves on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates. The obvious construction of this was, that the lives of those who came in would be in no danger, and accordingly nineteen had surrendered. It was contended that these should be set at liberty, and suffered to make their escape if they could. A compromise at length was effected. Most of the king's judges were excepted, as also were Hacker, Axtel, and Hugh Peters; but the nineteen were not to suffer death without an act of parliament for that purpose. Vane and Lambert were also excepted; but by an address of both houses, the king was requested to spare their lives if they should be attainted. Haselrig, lord Monson, and five others were to lose

liberty and property, and Lenthall, St. John, Hutchinson, and sixteen more, all members of the high courts of justice, were to be ineligible to any office whatever. In this form the bill of indemnity received the royal assent.

After sitting about three months, the parliament adjourned, and during the recess the twenty-nine regicides who were in custody were brought to trial before a court of thirty-four commissioners, of whom some were old royalists; others, such as Manchester, Say, Hollis, and Annesley, members of the Long Parliament; with these sat Monk, Montague, and Ashley Cooper, the associates of Cromwell, whom a feeling of delicacy should, perhaps, have withheld from the tribunal.

Most of the prisoners expressed sorrow for their crime; others said that they had borne the king no malice, that they thought his death an act of national justice, and that they had acted under the supreme authority of the nation. They were all found guilty; those who had surrendered were, with one exception, respited; ten were executed. These were six of the king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Jones, Clement, and Scroop; Cook, one of the counsel on the trial; Axtel, and Hacker, who had commanded the guards; and Hugh Peters, the fanatic preacher. The place of execution was Charing-cross, where a gallows was erected for the purpose. General Harrison suffered first (Oct. 13). Supported here, as on his trial, by that fervid spirit of enthusiasm so perfectly free from all alloy of worldly motives, he gloried in the act for which he was brought to die as performed in the cause of God and his country, and expressed his confidence in the revival of the good cause in happier times. Carew was the next who suffered (15th); his conduct was similar. Cook and Peters were executed on the same day (16th); the latter alone, it is said, showed want of courage, and was obliged to have recourse to cordials. Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, also suffered on the same day (17th). Hacker and Axtel closed the scene at Tyburn (19th). All died with the constancy of martyrs. It is very remarkable, that not a single man of those who had a share in the death of the late king seems to have voluntarily repented of the deed.

Though one must admire the constancy and magnanimity of the sufferers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and education, the justice of their sentence is not to be denied, even on their own principles; and it was impossible for Charles to suffer such a heinous deed as the solemn execution of his

father to go unpunished. But there was another part of the royal vengeance which can be regarded with no other feelings than those of abhorrence and disgust. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were taken from their tombs in the Abbey, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., hung on the gallows till evening, then taken down, the heads cut off and fixed on Westminster-hall, and the trunks thrown into a pit. The bodies of about twenty persons (those of Blake and Cromwell's respectable mother included) were afterwards taken out of the Abbey and buried in the adjoining churchyard.

The lives of the remaining regicides were spared ; and they spent the rest of their days in different prisons. The witty and licentious Harry Marten died at the age of seventy-eight, in Chepstow castle. Lambert lived many years in an island in Plymouth Sound. They surely had no just reason to complain of their fate, if they recollected how many royalists *they* had, as far as in them lay, subjected to a similar destiny.

Another important point for the parliament to decide on was the case of those who had purchased the crown- and church-lands and the estates of royalists, which had been sold by the public authority in the late times. A bill was introduced for an equitable adjustment, but it met with much opposition ; and nothing having been done when the parliament was dissolved, the crown, the church, and the other proprietors entered on the lands in question, and the occupiers, having no legal titles to produce, were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of their purchase-money. But it was only the leading royalists that gained in this way ; thousands of gentlemen who had sold their lands to support the royal cause, or to pay the sequestrations imposed on them for their loyalty, and had thus been reduced to poverty, remained without remedy. The sales having been legal, the present possessors were secured by the bill of indemnity, against which the disappointed cavaliers now exclaimed, saying it was indeed an act of oblivion and indemnity, but of indemnity for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. They taxed the king with ingratitude, and they conceived, on account of it, a mortal hatred to Hyde. Their case was doubtless a severe one, but there was really no preventing it but at the risk of a civil war. It was observed that the most clamorous were those who had suffered least, and the petty services for which many claimed large rewards furnished matter for ridicule.

The church was a difficult matter to arrange. Most of the livings were in the hands of the presbyterians, and they had so mainly contributed to the Restoration, that it would be both ungrateful and unsafe to attempt to disturb them. On the other hand, both the king and the chancellor were resolved to re-establish episcopacy. There was also a difficulty about the livings, for such of the clergy as had been ejected for their loyalty, seemed now to have a just claim to recover what they had lost. This however was accommodated to a certain extent; but the vision of the jurisdiction of bishops, and the dreaded surplice, ring, and cross, alarmed the presbyterians. They proposed bishop Usher's model of episcopacy, and prayed that the habits and ceremonies might not be imposed, and that the liturgy might be revised. The king issued a declaration, apparently granting all they required; but when an attempt was made to have this converted into a bill, it was frustrated by the efforts of the court-party in the commons. It was quite plain from this that the royal declaration was only meant to be illusory.

At length (Dec. 29) the convention-parliament was dissolved, for it was urged that it was necessary to have a true parliament, to give the force of law to what it had enacted; and it was also expected that a new parliament would be more purely royalist.

In the September of this year the duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, much lamented by the king his brother. Their sister, the princess of Orange, died of the same disorder in the winter. The king's other sister, the princess Henrietta, was married about this time to the duke of Orléans, brother to Louis XIV.

Another marriage in the royal family was that of the duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, who had been maid of honour to the princess of Orange. She possessed wit and sense, though not beauty. The duke, whose taste on this last point was never very delicate, laid siege to her virtue, which was surrendered on a secret contract of marriage; when the consequences were becoming apparent, James kept his promise, and privately espoused her (Sept. 3). He informed the king and chancellor. The former, though annoyed, forgave him; the latter pretended the greatest rage against his daughter, advised the king to send her to the Tower, and that not being done, confined her to a room in his own house. The queen mother and the princess of Orange were highly indignant; and Charles Berkeley, to recommend himself to favour, swore that

Anne had been his mistress, and brought lord Arran, Jermyn, Talbot, and Killegrew, as witnesses of her wantonness. The duke was shaken; but on the birth of her child, and her solemn assertion at that time, and Berkeley's confession of the falsehood of his story, he resolved to do her justice. He acknowledged her as his duchess, and she bore her new rank, it is said, as if she had been born in it.

The new year (1661) opened with a wild outbreak of the fanatics named Fifth-monarchy men, under their leader Venner, the wine-cooper. One Sunday (Jan. 6), having heated their enthusiasm by a discourse on the speedy coming of Jesus and the reign of the saints, he issued from his conventicle, in Colman-street, at the head of sixty well-armed fanatics. They proceeded to St. Paul's, proclaiming King Jesus. They drove off a party of the trained-bands that were sent against them, and in the evening they retired to Caen-wood, between Hampstead and Highgate. Here some of them were taken: but on Wednesday morning (9th) they returned into the city, shouting as before, and dispersed some of the troops and of the trained-bands. At length, some being killed, and Venner taken, they retired into a house at Cripplegate, which they defended, till a party, headed by one Lambert, a seaman, got in at the roof. Most of them were slain; Venner and the remainder were hanged. The attempt was purely an isolated act, but advantage was taken of it to issue a proclamation for suppressing the conventicles of the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries; it was also the occasion of the formation of the regiments of guards already noticed.

The king's coronation having been celebrated with great splendour (Apr. 23)*, the new parliament met (May 8). As was to be expected, it was most decidedly royalist, the presbyterians not having more than sixty seats. Its temper soon appeared, by votes for obliging all the members to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and for having the solemn league and covenant burnt by the common hangman. It was declared that the negative and the command of the army were rights inherent in the crown; and it was made treason to injure the king's person, or to distinguish between his person and his office. It required all the efforts of the king and Clarendon to have the bill of indemnity passed without further exceptions. A bill passed the commons for

* Hyde was on this occasion created earl of Clarendon, and Arthur lord Capel (son of him who had been executed in 1649) earl of Essex.

the immediate execution of the remaining regicides; but the lords, more humane, or more honourable, rejected it, the king himself expressing his aversion to it*. The act depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, which had been so violently extorted from the late king, was repealed, and the prelates were restored to their legislative functions. As a chief weapon in those times had been tumultuary bodies of petitioners, an act was passed that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king or either house, nor should it be signed by more than twenty, unless with the order of three justices, or the major part of a grand jury.

While the parliament was thus replacing the constitution on its ancient basis, a conference was going on at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, between twelve prelates and nine assistants, and an equal number of presbyterian divines. The ostensible object was a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. It ended, of course, as all such conferences do. The bishops were predetermined to admit of none but very slight modifications and to retain all the ceremonies. The presbyterians, under the circumstances, required by far too much; yet surely the prelates might have conceded something to men at least as pious and as learned as themselves, and but for whom they would be probably still without their sees. If it was puerile on the one side to object so vehemently to the cross, ring, and surplice, it was surely no proof of wisdom on the other to insist on them as if they were of the very essence of religion. So little were the prelates disposed to concession, that even the innovations of Laud were retained, and they remain to this day part of the service of the church of England. They are all now become innocuous; no one, for example, sees in the surplice anything more than a decent habit; the ring is used without any scruple, or, in general, any knowledge of its meaning; we kneel at the communion without any apprehension of the real presence: it was not so, however, in those times; and we think that the chief blame lies with those who would not concede.

The strength of the presbyterian party lay in the corporations, and in these, their strongholds, the church party proceeded to attack them. By the Corporation-act now passed it was enacted, that any person holding office in a corporation

* "I am weary of hanging," said he to Clarendon, "except for new offences. Let the bill settle in the houses, that it may not come to me, for you know that I cannot pardon them."

might be removed, unless he would renounce the solemn league and covenant, and declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, etc.; and no future officer to be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. Thus commenced that odious profanation of the most solemn act of religion, so long a national disgrace.

The revision of the Common Prayer was finally (Nov. 20) committed to the convocation. They made a number of alterations and additions; none, however, favourable to the presbyterians*. The amended book was presented to the king and council, and by them recommended to the house of lords.

Vane and Lambert still lay in prison. As they had had no immediate hand in the death of the late king, the convention had addressed the king in their behalf and he had assured them that, if attainted, they should not be executed. They were now brought to trial, at the suit of the commons. Lambert (June 9, 1662), who had never been an enthusiast, or even perhaps a republican, acted with great caution. He excused his opposing Booth and Monk by saying that he knew not that they were acting for the king, and he threw himself on the royal mercy. He was sentenced to die, but he was only confined for life in the isle of Guernsey. He lived there for thirty years forgotten by the world, occupying his time in the cultivation of flowers, and in the practice of the art of painting.

Very different was the conduct of the upright, fervid enthusiast and republican Vane (June 6). Far from suing for mercy, he asserted that "the decision by the sword was given [against the late king] by that God who, being the judge of the whole earth, does right, and cannot do otherwise;" and the parliament then became the government *de facto*, and, consequently, he was entitled to the benefit of the statute 11 Henry VII., for acting in obedience to it. The spirit of the law, if not the letter, was decidedly in his favour, and the judges could only get over the difficulty by the monstrous assertion, that Charles had been king *de facto* from the death of his father, though "kept out of the exercise of his royal authority

* Will it be believed that they actually increased the number of the Saints' days, and added the silly legend of Bel and the Dragon, and other parts of the Apocrypha, to the lessons? They surely meant to insult, not to conciliate. Some of the state prayers were introduced into the liturgy at this time; so also was that finest of addresses to the Deity, the General Thanksgiving.

by rebels and traitors." The prisoner's defence was most eloquent and able, but it had been determined not to let him escape. Sentence of death was passed on him; and the judges refusing to sign a bill of exceptions, which he presented, he was beheaded on Tower-hill (14th). His demeanour was such as was to be expected from his known character. When he attempted to address the people in vindication of himself and the cause for which he suffered, his note-books were snatched from him, and the trumpeters were ordered to blow in his face. "It is a bad cause," said he, "which cannot bear the words of a dying man." One stroke terminated his mortal existence.

The character of sir Henry Vane stands forth pre-eminent for purity among the republican chiefs. He was disinterested and incorrupt, willing to give to all others the liberty he claimed for himself; the enemy of oppression in all its forms. It is difficult to regard his death as anything but a judicial murder, yet surely there was in it something of retribution. Though taking no immediate share in the judicial proceedings against the late king, he had mainly contributed to his death by his conduct at the treaty of Newport, and his speech in the house on his return. By the dishonourable manner in which he furnished evidence against Strafford (whose sentence was little, if at all, less iniquitous than his own), he was a principal cause of the civil war, and all the bloodshed and misery which thence ensued. On the same spot on which Strafford fell one-and-twenty years before, Vane now underwent a similar fate. As the series of blood began with the one, it ended with the other. As Charles I. forfeited his word and honour in the one case, so Charles II. forfeited *his* in the other.

Having thus far carried on the affairs of England, it is now time that we should notice those of Scotland and Ireland.

As Scotland had not been mentioned in the declaration from Bredá, the cavaliers of that country breathed nothing but blood and forfeitures. The spirit of it, however, certainly did apply to Scotland, and the earl of Lauderdale, who was now high in the royal favour, by representing all that the Scots had done and suffered in the cause of the king, disposed him to clemency. The marquess of Argyle, relying upon an ambiguous answer of the king, through his son lord Lorn, came secretly up to London, but he was immediately sent to the Tower.

The union which the commonwealth had laboured to effect was no longer thought of. The earl of Middleton was appointed commissioner for holding the parliament, Glencain

chancellor, and Lauderdale secretary. The fortresses built by Cromwell were demolished, and the garrisons disbanded. As the king had been thoroughly disgusted with presbytery, and he and his chief counsellors regarded it as incompatible with monarchy, the restoration of episcopacy was resolved on. The utmost efforts having been made to pack a parliament, that assembly, when it met (Jan. 1, 1661), proved to be suited to all the purposes of the court. It was known by the name of The Drunken Parliament, on account of the continued inebriety of Middleton and his associates. Its first proceeding was to restore the prerogative in its fullest extent. In this there was little difficulty, but to change the church-government was not so easy, as it had been confirmed by two parliaments held by the present king and his father. In one of Middleton's drunken botts, it was resolved to adopt a measure which Primrose the clerk-register had proposed half in jest, which was, a general act *rescissory*, annulling on various pretexts all the parliaments held since the year 1633. This, though vigorously opposed by the old covenanters, was carried by a large majority, and the presbyterian discipline was left at the mercy of the crown.

Those who hungered after the large possessions of Argyle now hastened to shed his blood. He was transmitted to Scotland to be tried on charges of oppression and treason. Every national act from the beginning of the wars was laid to his charge (Feb. 13). His defence was acute, and, in general, successful. As he pleaded the indemnity granted in the parliament of Stirling in 1650, the king, at the entreaty of lord Lorn, granted a mandate, that nothing done previous to that time should be prosecuted, and that no sentence should be passed till the whole had been submitted to himself. This secured Argyle as far as related to the death of the late king; there only then remained the charge of compliance with the usurpation, and here, we are assured, the base treachery of Monk came to the aid of his enemies. He transmitted to the parliament some private letters in which Argyle had expressed his attachment to the protector's government: his friends were silenced by the production of these documents, and sentence was pronounced against him (May 25). He implored a respite of ten days that the pleasure of the king might be known, but in vain, for Middleton, who hoped to get his title and estates, was inexorable. Argyle met his fate with piety and fortitude (27th).

The next who suffered was Guthrey, one of the clergy who had promoted the western remonstrance. As he had once excommunicated Middleton, he had little chance of mercy. He too died (June 1) full of hope and constancy. Swinton, another of the proscribed list, had become a quaker; he acknowledged his fault with so much contrition that his life was spared, though his estate was taken. Wariston, who had escaped to the continent, was delivered up two years after by the French government, and he also ended his days on the scaffold.

The soil being thus watered with the blood of the covenanters Argyle and Guthrey, it was resolved to replant episcopacy. Against this Lauderdale strongly remonstrated, and the king himself was long dubious of the policy of it; but the bigotry of Clarendon would yield to no suggestions of prudence, and the measure was resolved on. As there was only one Scottish bishop now living, it was necessary that some of the new prelates should be consecrated in England. Sharp, who had been the agent of the presbyterians at London and Bredá, and who, in the hope of preferment, had basely betrayed their cause, was made archbishop of St. Andrew's, the excellent Leighton (son to Laud's victim) and two others were consecrated with him by Sheldon bishop of London, and these consecrated the remaining prelates in Scotland. An act of indemnity was finally passed, but harsh and cruel, like every Scottish measure, it seemed framed only with a view to plunder.

Unhappy Ireland was also to be regulated anew. No blood was here to be shed, and the church, as a matter of course, resumed its former position; but the adjustment of property was a matter of tremendous difficulty. The tide of conquest had swept over the country, effacing all limits and landmarks. The greater part of the lands were now in the possession of the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament passed with the assent of the late king, and of the soldiers of Cromwell's army; but there were numerous other claimants, such as the Forty-nine men, or those who had served in the royal army previous to the year 1649, the protestant loyalists whose estates had been confiscated, the innocent catholics, those who had served under the king in Flanders, etc.

The king issued a Declaration (Nov. 30, 1660) for the settlement of Ireland; but the Irish houses of parliament disagreeing with respect to it, they sent their deputies over to the

king, and the catholics at the same time despatched agents on their part. Charles was, for obvious reasons, disposed to favour these last, but, like true Irishmen, they seemed resolved that it should not be in his power. With the indiscretion and disregard to truth distinctive of their party in Ireland, they behaved with insolence, justified their rebellion, denied their massacres, and finally so disgusted the king with their conduct, that he ordered the doors of the council to be closed against them. The heads of a bill were then prepared and sent over to Dublin in May 1662, but it was three years before the final adjustment was effected and the Act of Settlement passed. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to give up a third of their lands, to augment what was called The Fund of Reprisals, or property still remaining at the disposal of the crown, and which had been shamefully diminished by lavish grants to the dukes of York, Ormond, Albemarle, and others. Out of this the Forty-nine men were paid their arrears, fifty-four catholics were restored to their houses, and two thousand acres of land; but there remained three thousand who had put in claims of innocence for whom no relief was provided. There can be little doubt that only a portion of these were really innocent, but they should not have been thus condemned unheard. Previous to the rebellion, it is said the catholics had possessed two-thirds of the lands of Ireland; there now remained to them not more than one-third*. Dearly did they pay for the massacre of the protestants, in the outset committed by a savage rabble, set on by an ignorant and fanatic priesthood. It has been asserted, but the fact seems incredible, that a third part of the population perished by the sword, famine, and disease, between 1641 and 1652.

We now return to England, where the marriage of the king engaged the attention of his council. Charles was a notorious profligate with respect to women. While in France he had, or believed he had, a son by a Mrs. Barlow or Walters, and immediately on his coming to England, Barbara Villiers, daughter of lord Grandison, and wife to a catholic gentleman named Palmer, a woman of great beauty, but utterly devoid of virtue or principle, having thrown herself in his way, made a conquest of his heart, over which she long retained her empire, though only one sultana out of many. The scandal which the

* Sir W. Petty, quoted by Hallam (iii. 528); Lingard (xi. 243) says that only a sixth remained to the catholics. This statement appears to us to be much nearer the truth.

king gave by his amours caused his ministers to urge him to marry; but he had resolved not to espouse a protestant, and his subjects he thought would object to a catholic. At the suggestion of the French king, however, the Portuguese ambassador offered him the infanta Catherine, sister to the king of Portugal, with a dower of 500,000*l.*, the settlements of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and her colonies.

The money tempted the king; Clarendon and the other ministers approved of the match, but the Spanish ambassador now laboured to obstruct it. He represented that the infanta was incapable of bearing children; that it might cause a war with Spain, and the loss of the Spanish trade; and he offered, on the part of his master, a large portion with either of the princesses of Parma. Charles sent lord Bristol secretly to Italy, where he saw the princesses as they were going to church. One glance sufficed; the one was hideously ugly, the other monstrously fat. Meantime Louis sent to urge the Portuguese match, offering Charles money to purchase votes in the parliament, promising to lend him 50,000*l.* whenever he should want it, and to aid him with money, in case of a war with Spain. The Spaniard, on the other hand, proposed to the king different protestant princesses, whom his master would portion equal to daughters of Spain. He also laboured to excite the protestant feelings of the parliament and city, but to no purpose. The Portuguese match was approved of by the council and both houses, and (June 1661) the earl of Sandwich was sent out with a fleet to convey the infanta, when ready, to England.

The prospect of her lover's marriage made Mrs. Palmer very uneasy. To reconcile her he lavished on her costly presents, and created her husband earl of Castlemain in Ireland, with remainder to the issue male of his wife, who had just borne to her royal keeper, a son at Hampton-court; and finally, lost to all sense of honour and delicacy, Charles pledged himself to make her lady of the bed-chamber to his queen.

On the 20th of May, 1662, the fleet which bore the infanta reached Spithead. Charles, quitting the embraces of the wanton Castlemain, hastened to Portsmouth to receive his bride. They were married privately, according to the rites of the church of Rome, by the lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner. They then came forth and sat on chairs in the room where the company was assembled, and Sheldon, bishop of London, pronounced them man and wife. They thence proceeded to Hamp-

ton-court, where, after some days, Charles, taking The Lady, as Castlemain is called by Clarendon, by the hand, presented her to the queen before the entire court. Catherine, not knowing who she was, gave her a gracious reception, but in a few minutes, on some one's whispering the name to her, her eyes filled with tears, blood gushed from her nose, and she fell into a fit. Charles now affected the tone of a man of honour; he had been, he said, the cause of Castlemain's disgrace, and he was bound to make her reparation, and he would not submit to the whims of his wife. Clarendon and Ormond remonstrated, but were harshly reproved, and even required to lend their aid in the royal project; and who will not blush for Clarendon, when he reads that he actually did undertake the odious office? But Catherine would not listen to him. To break her spirit, Charles then sent away her Portuguese attendants, and the presence of Castlemain was continually obtruded on her. The queen long bore up against these studied insults; at length she most imprudently resolved to yield, and she humbled herself so far as to admit that abandoned adulteress to her familiarity and friendship.

The queen's portion was soon spent, and to raise money for the royal expenses, Clarendon, it is said, proposed the sale of Dunkirk to the French king. Louis was eager to treat; Clarendon demanded twelve millions of livres; he was offered two, and the bargain was finally concluded for five (Sept. 11). But Charles wanted all the money, and Louis would only pay two millions down and the remainder in two years. The treaty was nearly broken off, when it was suggested that Louis should give bills for the balance. This was agreed to (Oct. 17), and a French banker came over and discounted them. The banker was an agent of Louis', who boasts that he made 500,000 livres on the transaction*. Dunkirk was certainly of no direct use to England, but the possession of it gratified the national pride, and the people felt mortified at seeing it sold, and the price squandered away on the king's vices and pleasures.

But the sale of Dunkirk was a trifle to the cruel Act of Uniformity, which now came into operation. It had been urged on by the united bigotry of the clergy, of Clarendon, and of the house of commons; the lords in vain attempted to mitigate its severity; the commons were inexorable. It provided that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24), publicly declare his assent and consent

* *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* i. 167.

to everything contained in the book of Common Prayer, or lose his benefice. It further required that every minister who had not received episcopal ordination should be re-ordained under the same penalty. The appointed day came, and about two thousand ministers, the far greater part of them men of extensive learning, sincere piety, and irreproachable life, laid down their preferments, and, rather than do violence to their conscience, faced poverty and persecution. It may be said, that the episcopal clergy had done as much in the late times, but those were times of civil war, and politics were so interwoven with religion, that it was difficult to separate them, and they had the prospect of ample reward in case of the king's success. But now all was peace; the king had been restored in a great measure through the exertions of these very men; there was no longer a political contest; conscience alone could have actuated them. Henry VIII. assigned pensions to the ejected monks and friars; Elizabeth had reserved a fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with her act of uniformity; the Long Parliament had done the same; but now no provision whatever was made, nay, care was taken that those who did not conform should lose the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due till Michaelmas.

Petitions claiming the benefit of the declaration from Breda being presented to the king, he took the occasion of setting forth a declaration, promising to exert his influence with parliament in its next session to have his dispensing power so regulated as to enable him to exercise it with more universal satisfaction. His secret object was to procure toleration for the catholics; but on this head the commons were lynx-eyed; the protestantism of the royal brothers was strongly suspected, and the Romish priests, with their characteristic insolence and imprudence, in reliance on the court-favour, gave public offence by appearing in their habits. The commons, therefore (Feb. 1663), rejected the whole scheme of indulgence, and brought in bills to prevent the growth of popery.

Rumours of conspiracies were now spread in order to cast odium on the ejected clergy, and a slight insurrection which did take place this summer in Yorkshire was taken advantage of to pass in the following session (May 16, 1664) the merciless Conventicle-act. By this any person above the age of sixteen, who was present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the church of England, and where

there were five or more persons beside the household, was to be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and be transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace. This cruel statute speedily filled the prisons, especially with the quakers.

The repeal of the Triennial-act of 1641 was effected in this session. The king had the audacity to declare that he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed in it; and to please him, a bill was brought in to repeal it, and passed, with a provision, however, that parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years at the most.

Another measure of this session was an address to the king, praying him to seek redress of the injuries inflicted by the Dutch on the English trade, and promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes.

The Dutch were more devoted to commerce than any people in Europe; and as the spirit of trade is jealous and monopolising, they had been guilty of many unjustifiable actions in their foreign settlements, such, for instance, as the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the reign of James I. These however were all past and gone; treaties had been since made with them, in which these deeds had been unnoticed, even so late as the year 1662. Charles himself, though he had a great dislike to the aristocratic or Louvestein party, as it was named, which now ruled in the States, and which had deprived the prince of Orange of the dignity of stadtholder, was little inclined to a war, and Clarendon and Southampton were decidedly adverse to it; but the duke of York, who was lord-admiral, was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of the navy, which his exertions had brought to a high state of efficiency; he was also a diligent fosterer of trade, which he justly regarded as a main pillar of the national greatness. He therefore lent his powerful aid to the party desirous of war, and Downing, the resident at the Hague, a man of little principle, spared no labour to widen the breach between the two countries.

The duke of York was at the head of an African company for the purchase of gold-dust, and for supplying the West Indies with slaves. The Dutch, who had long traded to Africa, thwarted them as much as possible, and even seized or demolished their factories. The duke had already sent out sir Robert Holmes, in the name of the company, with some ships

of war to the coast of Africa, and Holmes had recovered the castle of cape Corse and taken that of cape Verd, and established factories along the coast. The duke had also sent out sir Richard Nicholas to North America, where the Dutch had settled on the tract of country between New England and Maryland, and named it New Amsterdam. The English claimed this by right of discovery, and the king had made a grant of it to his brother. The Dutch settlers offered no resistance, and Nicholas named the country New York and a fort up the river Albany, from the titles of his patron.

When intelligence came of what Holmes had done, the Dutch ambassador remonstrated in strong terms. But the king denied all concern in the matter, said that Holmes had been sent out by the company on their own authority, and promised to bring him to trial on his return. Helmes accordingly was sent to the Tower; but his explanations were considered satisfactory, and he was soon released. De Witt was resolved to be avenged. A combined Dutch and English fleet, under De Ruyter and Lawson, was now in the Mediterranean acting against the piratic cruisers, and he sent secret orders to the former to proceed to the coast of Africa and retaliate on the English. Lawson, though aware of De Ruyter's object, did not feel himself authorised by his instructions to follow him; but he sent to inform the duke of his suspicions. The Dutch admiral having accomplished his mission on the African coast crossed over to the West Indies, where he captured about twenty sail of merchantmen. The duke meantime had two fleets out in the narrow seas, which seized and detained one hundred and thirty Dutch traders.

The war being now resolved on, the king called on parliament for the requisite supplies (Nov. 25). Their liberality was unprecedented; they voted two millions and a half. In the bill for this purpose, two remarkable deviations from ancient usage were effected; the old method of raising money by subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, which had been returned to, was abandoned for ever, and the mode of assessments introduced in the civil war was adopted in its stead; the clergy, who used to tax themselves in convocation, now consented to be taxed in the same manner as the laity by parliament; and in return they obtained the right of voting at elections. This measure put a total end to the influence and the importance of the convocation; and it became from that moment a mere shadow. It is remarkable, that this great change in the constitution was

the effect of a simple verbal agreement between the chancellor and the primate.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York put to sea with a gallant fleet of 98 ships of war and four fire-ships. This prince had made wonderful improvements in the navy. Instead of committing the command of ships to noblemen of inexperienced valour, he placed them under Lawson and men who had long been familiar with the sea. He continued the practice of dividing the fleet into three squadrons; but he required it to form into line before action, and each captain to keep his place during the engagement; thus substituting the regularity of the land-battle for the previous irregular mode of fighting used at sea. The duke himself, with Lawson for his vice-admiral, commanded the red, prince Rupert the white, the earl of Sandwich the blue squadron.

For more than a month this fleet rode in triumph off the coast of Holland. At length an easterly wind having blown it to its own coast, the Dutch fleet of 113 ships of war, commanded by admiral Opdam, came out in seven squadrons. The fleets encountered (June 3) off the coast of Suffolk. The sea was calm, the sky cloudless; for four hours the fight was dubious; the duke displayed the greatest conduct and valour; one shot killed at his side his favourite the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and a son of lord Burlington's, and covered him with their blood. At length, observing great confusion on board of admiral Opdam's ship, he ordered all his guns to be fired into her successively, and she blew up, and Opdam and 500 men perished in her. Dispirited by the loss of their admiral, the Dutch fled; the English pursued, but during the night, while the duke was taking some repose, Mr. Brounker, groom of his bed-chamber, came to the master with pretended orders from the duke to shorten sail, and thus in the morning the Dutch got into the Texel. This was the greatest naval victory gained as yet by the English; the Dutch lost eighteen ships, they had four admirals killed, and 7000 men slain or taken. The loss of the English was one ship and 600 men; but among the slain were the admirals Lawson and Sampson, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland.

In other days the tidings of such a victory would have spread joy and festivity through all the streets of London; but now a gloom, not to be dispelled by the triumphs of war, sat brooding over the capital; the plague had visited it in its most appalling form.

In the middle of the last winter, a few cases of plague had occurred in the suburbs. The number slowly increased as the season advanced, and in the end of May the disease burst with fury forth from the filthy suburb of St. Giles' on the city and Westminster. The court, the nobility, the gentry, and the more opulent citizens fled to the country; thousands were about to follow, but the lord mayor refused certificates of health, and the people of the adjoining towns took up arms to ward off infection. As usual, its first ravages were among the lower classes, but it soon advanced higher. Various regulations were made (July 1); the city was divided into districts, with proper officers; every house in which the disease prevailed was marked in the usual manner by a red cross on the door, with the words "Lord have mercy upon us!" over it; pest-carts went round every night with links and the tinkling of a bell, summoning the people to bring forth their dead, which then, uncoffined and without any religious rite, were shot into a common pit prepared in the nearest churchyard. The men employed in this mournful office, taken from the dregs of the people and hardened in vice and brutality, committed deeds too horrible to be told. That unfeeling race too, the hired nurses, often, it is said, murdered the patients in order to rob them.

As in all similar cases, different minds were variously affected. While some devoted themselves to exercises of piety and awaited their doom with calm resignation, others recklessly plunged into riot and debauch; and the awful silence which ordinarily prevailed was from time to time broken by the sound of the unhallowed orgies of the brothel and the tavern. Superstition exerted its influence over others; many fancied they saw a flaming sword in the sky hanging over the devoted city; others assembled in the churchyards, where in imagination they beheld ghosts stalking round the pits which contained their bodies. Fanaticism too was active; one prophet walked naked through the streets, with a pan of burning coals on his head, denouncing woes on the sinful city; a second Jonah went proclaiming aloud, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed;" a third might be heard by day and by night crying in sepulchral tones, "Oh, the great and dreadful God!"

July and August were months of oppressive heat. Though September was less sultry, the deaths increased. The experiment was tried of burning large fires in the streets. On the third night (8th) they were extinguished by a copious fall of

rain, and the deaths now diminished; but the next week the tempest of disease was more furious than ever, and men began to despair. The equinoctial gales at length brought healing on their wings. The mortality rapidly decreased; and in the beginning of December seventy-three parishes were pronounced free of disease, and their inhabitants resumed their ordinary pursuits and avocations. The number of deaths in London had exceeded 100,000; the disease spread also over the rest of the kingdom, and its ravages in various places were in proportion to the density of the population. •

During this desolation, the fleet, which was uninfected, kept the sea; and the Dutch Smyrna and East-Indian fleets having taken shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway, lord Sandwich sailed thither. For a share of the spoil, it is said, the Danish court agreed to connive at the capture of the Dutch vessels. Owing, however, to some mismanagement, when the English ships entered the port and attacked the Dutch, they were fired on by the guns of the fort, and obliged to retire. De Witt now came with a strong fleet to convoy the merchantmen home, but they were dispersed by a storm (Sept. 4), and Sandwich captured some ships of war and two of the Indiamen. As he plundered these last, and allowed his captains to do the same, he was deprived of his command, and sent ambassador to Spain, as a cover to his disgrace.

The overthrow of the government in England by means of the discontented presbyterians and republicans was one part of De Witt's plans, and he entered into correspondence with Ludlow, Sidney, and the other exiles, for this purpose. Lord Say and some others formed a council at the Hague, and corresponded with their friends in England. An insignificant plot was discovered in London, during the height of the plague; and when the parliament met the following month, at Oxford, to grant supplies, an act was passed for attainting all British subjects who should continue in the service of the States.

In this session, also, was passed the severe Five-mile-act. During the plague, though many of the episcopal clergy had remained and faced all perils in the discharge of their duty, many had left their charges and sought safety in the country. The Non-conformists, as the ejected clergy were now named, mounted the empty pulpits, and preached to the despairing people. Their sermons were in general such as were suited to the season, but some of them could not refrain from dwelling on the sins of the court, and displaying the iniquity of their

own expulsion. They had broken the law no doubt, but surely the awful calamity then prevailing abundantly justified them. Sheldon, now primæ, Clarendon, and their other enemies, however, took advantage of it, and, under the pretext of their having preached sedition, a bill was passed (Oct. 30) requiring every person in holy orders, who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, to swear that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, etc. Those who should refuse this oath were to be incapable of teaching in schools, and were not, unless when travelling, to come within five miles of any city, town, or village, in which they had at any time exercised their ministry. This act of cold-blooded cruelty met with little opposition in the commons (who even wished to impose this oath on the whole nation), but Southampton and others resisted it strongly, though ineffectually, in the peers. It almost amounted to a bill of starvation; for, as far as in it lay, it cut off all who would not profess the doctrine of passive obedience from almost every means of obtaining a livelihood.

The king of France, being bound by a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, was now required by them to join in the war. A French fleet being expected to join that of the Dutch, the English fleet, under the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, put to sea. Rupert went, with twenty ships, in search of the French, who were said to be at Belleisle; while Albemarle, with fifty-four, proceeded to the Gun-fleet. To his surprise he saw (June 1, 1666) the Dutch fleet, of eighty sail, under De Ruyter and De Witt, lying off the North Foreland. Unequal as the numbers were, he resolved to fight, and bore down without any order. Most of the ships of the blue squadron, which led the van, were taken or disabled. Night ended the combat. Next morning (2nd) it was renewed. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, but the English again fought till night. Albemarle then burned a part of his disabled ships, and ordered the others to make for the nearest harbours. In the morning he had only sixteen ships to oppose to the enemy's pursuit. He had lost the Prince Royal, the finest ship in the navy, on the Galloper Sand, and the others were likely to share its fate, when Rupert, who had been recalled on the first day of the battle, at length came to his aid. The engagement was renewed the following morning (4th), but the hostile fleets were separated by a fog. Victory was with the Dutch, yet the English lost no honour. "They may be killed," said

De Witt, "but they will not be conquered." The obstinacy and temerity of Albemarle were justly censured.

The hostile fleets were soon again at sea, and an action was fought (25th), in which the advantage was on the side of the English, who now rode in triumph off the shores of Holland. Holmes, with a squadron of boats and fire-ships (Aug. 8), entered the channel, where the Baltic traders lay, and burned one hundred and fifty of them, two men of war, and the adjoining town of Brandaris. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore by Almighty God that he would never sheath the sword till he had had revenge. He called on his French ally for prompt aid. Louis, who was exciting the discontented Irish catholics to insurrection, and who had lately offered Algernon Sidney 20,000*l.* in aid of his project of raising the common-wealth party in England, would rather not put his fleet to hazard. He, however, ordered the duke de Beaufort, who was now at La Rochelle, to advance and join De Ruyter. This admiral had already passed the strait of Dover, when prince Rupert came in view. As De Ruyter himself was unwell, and his men were little inclined to fight, he took shelter near Boulogne, and Rupert then sailed to engage Beaufort, who was coming up channel, but a violent wind forced him to take shelter at St. Helen's (Sept. 3), and Beaufort got into Dieppe.

The wind that blew the fleet to St. Helen's was a fatal wind to England. On the night of Sunday the 2nd a fire broke out in a bakehouse, near Fish-street, in the city of London. The houses in that quarter being of wood, with pitched roofs, the flames spread rapidly; the pipes from the New River proved to be empty; the engine on the Thames was burnt; the wind increased every hour in vehemence, and the flames bounded along even to distant houses. The obvious remedy of cutting off the progress of the fire by the demolition of houses was prevented by the avarice of their owners, and the flames spread unimpeded on all sides. The spectacle in the night (3rd) was magnificent, though awful. For ten miles round it was light as day. A column of fire, a mile in diameter, mounted into the sky, the flames bent and twisted by the fury of the wind. The heat was oppressive. Evermore the sound of the fall of houses or churches struck the listening ear. Groups of people were to be seen flying in all directions, with the little portions of their property which they had been able to save.

For once during his reign the conduct of the king was praiseworthy. He displayed the utmost energy; he was pre-

sent in all places of danger, animating and rewarding the workmen; he had provisions brought from the royal stores for the relief of the houseless wanderers; he employed every precaution to prevent robbery and violence. In all his exertions he was cordially aided by his brother.

On Wednesday evening (5th) the wind abated. By blowing up houses with gunpowder, the progress of the fire to the Temple and the Tower was checked, and the flames were gradually spent for want of fuel. Two-thirds of the city, containing thirteen thousand houses and eighty-nine churches, were in ashes; and 200,000 people were lying in huts, or in the open air, in the fields between Islington and Highgate. The immediate distress and suffering was considerable, and thousands were ruined; but London soon rose from its ashes, better and more regularly built; the streets were wider, the houses of brick, instead of wood, and it hence became more healthy, and less subject to the plague.

It is not to be supposed that the real simple cause would be assigned for this calamity. Incendiaries, it was averred, were seen firing the city in various parts. Some laid it on the French, some on the republicans, but it was finally fixed on the general scape-goat, the papists; and the beautiful column raised by authority on the spot where the fire commenced, long, 'like a tall bully, lifted its head and lied,' in the inscription which it bore.

The parliament was liberal in its grant for continuing the war, but, owing to the great losses and derangements caused by the fire, the bankers could not make advances as they had usually done. The king was therefore induced to lay up the larger ships, and only to keep at sea two light squadrons of frigates. There was, indeed, every prospect of a speedy peace, for Louis, who claimed Flanders in right of his wife, wished, ere he engaged in a conflict with Spain, to be at peace with England; and four out of the seven United Provinces were induced by him to declare for peace. De Witt was therefore obliged to yield (May 14, 1667), and ambassadors met at Bredá to discuss the terms. When an armistice was proposed, the Dutch objected, on account of the delay it would cause; and, while it was under debate, De Witt and De Ruyter left the Texel, ordering the fleet, of 70 sail, to rendezvous at the buoy off the Nore. When the ships arrived, the Dutch admirals entered the Thames in two divisions (June 9), and while one sailed up to Gravesend, the other prepared to enter

Medway, and the nation was irritated against the obnoxious minister, and the king had become quite alienated from him, it was thought that the attack might be repeated with success. Charles was prevailed on to send his son-in-law, the duke of York, to him, to induce him to resign the seal. In a personal conference with the king (Aug. 26), Clarendon refused, as that, he said, would be a confession of guilt. A few days after (30th), he was ordered to surrender it, and it was transferred to sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next session the commons (Nov. 6) exhibited seventeen articles of impeachment against the earl: but the bishops stood firmly by their friend; the duke of York faithfully adhered to his father-in-law; several of the peers regarded the charges as false, or the course adopted by the commons as unconstitutional. The motion for committing him, therefore, was lost; conferences of the houses ensued; the king, in perplexity, expressed his desire that the accused would secretly retire to the continent; but this Clarendon was too proud, or too conscious of innocence, to do. At length (29th) the duke of York was the bearer to him of a positive command to quit the kingdom. To this he yielded a reluctant obedience; and having left a written vindication of himself, he retired to France. The commons (Dec. 9) voted this paper a libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hangman. An act of banishment followed, subjecting him to the penalties of treason if he should return. He fixed his residence for some time at Montpellier, and he died at Rouen, in Normandy, in 1674.

Edward earl of Clarendon occupies a prominent station in our history, both as a minister and as a writer. In the former character, he was, viewing the times, honest; for though he would sell the favours of the crown*, as was the usual practice, he was careful that his venality should not injure it. His notions of government were narrow and illiberal; he regarded the reigns of Elizabeth and James as the most perfect state of the constitution, and seemed not to be aware that in politics all is progression. He therefore required that parliament should be humbly submissive to the crown, yet he would not have the crown independent of it. He was a bigot in religion, and haughty, overbearing and pompous in manner. In private life

* "He never did nor would do anything but for money," says his own partial friend, honest John Evelyn. Pepys gives various instances of his avarice and venality.

he was strictly correct. His fall reflects disgrace on the worthless prince who abandoned him to the profligate band of courtiers who sought his ruin.

As a historian, Clarendon is distinguished by his great skill in the delineation of character, and by the air of dignity which pervades his work, though his style is involved and diffuse. His work is rather the apology for one party (as is indicated by the very title), than an impartial history; it everywhere exhibits the political feelings of the writer. Its worst fault is the disregard of truth, as we may perhaps best term it; for it appears in places where the author had no interest in disguising or misrepresenting the real facts. With all its faults, however, it is a noble performance, and is justly regarded as one of the classics of our language.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1668–1678.

THE ministry which had hitherto regulated the public affairs was now at an end. Southampton was dead, Clarendon banished, Nicholas had resigned, Albemarle was infirm, and his mean avarice had deprived him of weight; Ormond resided in Ireland. A new ministry was formed, the most profligate that England had as yet seen; it was named the Cabal, a common term, but which curiously coincided with the initial letters of the names of its members, viz.—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

Clifford, the son of a clergyman, had been, as was suspected, secretly reconciled to the church of Rome; he was a man of great resolution, violent and impetuous. He was now a commissioner of the treasury, and was afterwards high-treasurer. The earl of Arlington (formerly sir Henry Bennet) was secretary of state, an office which he had held for some time, and he was at the head of the party in the cabinet opposed to Clarendon. He too was, perhaps, a secret papist. No man knew better than he how to manage the king's temper, and he

never let principle stand in the way of his measures. Buckingham was the son of the favourite of Charles I., and was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Fairfax. He had wit, humour, a great talent for mimicry and ridicule, but was utterly devoid of religion or morality. Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) was chancellor of the exchequer. As sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, he had been first on the king's side in the civil wars; he then went over to the parliament; he was a strenuous supporter of Cromwell, and was finally active in the Restoration. He was accused of being equally devoid of religion and principle, but his talents were allowed to be of the highest order. Lauderdale was a man of talent, but of violent passions, rough and boisterous in manner, and at all times ready to surrender his judgement and his principles to the will of the court. Sir William Coventry, one of the ablest and honestest statesmen of the time, was made a commissioner of the treasury.

The first measure of this ministry however was a laudable one. The rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders giving cause of general alarm, the able and upright sir William Temple was despatched to the Hague, to propose to the States a union with Spain to check the aggressions of France. In the short space of five days three treaties were concluded (Jan. 13, 1668): one was a defensive alliance; the second an engagement to oblige Spain to make peace on the terms Louis had offered; by the third (which was a secret one) the contracting parties bound themselves, in case of Louis' refusal, to join with Spain in compelling him to confirm the peace of the Pyrenees. Sweden joined in this league, and hence it was named the Triple Alliance. Louis, who had already in secret contracted an eventual treaty for the partition of the Spanish monarchy with the emperor Leopold, in which he had bound himself to do the very thing now required of him, after making a little display of his usual theatric dignity, agreed to treat. Plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle (Apr. 22), and peace was concluded; the towns which he had conquered in Flanders being ceded to Louis. The French frontier was thus brought close to that of the United Provinces, but it was this treaty alone that prevented Spain from losing the entire of Flanders.

Buckingham, without any ostensible post, was now in fact the prime minister, and one so profligate in morals has rarely been seen in England. He was living in open adultery with

lady Shrewsbury*, which led at this very time (Jan. 16) to a duel, in which the injured husband was mortally wounded †. It served the cause of the non-conformists but little to be advocated, as it was, by a man of such a character; the commons, therefore, negatived by a large majority a bill introduced for their relief. They also voted only one half of the sum demanded for the navy, and instituted a rigid inquiry into the conduct of various persons in the late war.

As money for the supply of the royal mistresses and the other profligacies of the court was not to be obtained from the parliament, Buckingham began to form other projects. The first was to reduce the royal expenditure below the revenues, but with a prince of Charles' character that was impracticable. It was then resolved to have recourse to the king of France; Buckingham therefore entered into a negotiation with the duchess of Orléans, and Charles himself apologised to the French resident for his share in the Triple Alliance. Louis, as usual, affected indifference, but the communications gradually became more confidential, and by the end of the year Louis had the leading English ministers in his pay ‡.

It was not the mere gratification of his pleasures that Charles now looked to; he wished to be absolute. Not, however, that, like his father, he believed despotic power to be his right, or that he felt any pleasure in the exercise of it; what he wanted was freedom from restraint; he could not endure that his private life should be publicly criticised, or that parliaments should presume to inquire what had been done with the money they had granted. All this might, he thought, be obviated by a standing army, which he might make it the interest of Louis to furnish him with the means of maintaining. But there was another motive operating on the mind of Charles, which, from the tenor of his life, one would be little apt to suspect.

The duke of York was at this time become a catholic. His own account of his conversion is as follows. When he was in Flanders, he read, at the request of a bishop of the church of England, a treatise by that prelate, written to clear that church from the guilt of schism in separating from the church of

* Gallant and gay in Clifden's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love.—POPE.

† The abandoned countess, it is said, dressed as a page, held the horse of her paramour while he was fighting with her husband.

‡ Colbert, the French resident, wrote that he had made them "sentir toute l'étendue de la libéralité de sa majesté."

Rome. He also, at the bishop's desire, read a reply, which had been made to it, and the effect produced on his mind was the very contrary of what was intended. After the restoration, he read Heylin's History of the Reformation and the preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and the result was a persuasion that none of the reformers "had power to do what they did." He went on inquiring, and gradually gave his assent to all the Romish doctrines. It must be observed, that the duke, while thus solicitous about his religion, was leading a life nearly, if not altogether, as profligate as that of his brother. All this time he continued outwardly to conform to the church of England. At length he consulted a Jesuit named Simons, on the subject of being reconciled, expressing his hope that on account of the singularity of his case, he might have a dispensation to continue his outward conformity to the church of England. To his surprise, the good father assured him that the pope had not the power to grant it, "for it was an unalterable doctrine of the catholic church, *not to do evil that good might follow*." The duke wrote to the pope, and the reply which he received was to the same effect*. Thinking it dangerous then to delay any longer, he resolved to open his mind to the king, whom he knew to be of the same way of thinking. He found his brother equally sensible with himself as to the danger of his condition. It was agreed that the royal brothers should consult with the lords Arundel of Wardour and Arlington, and sir Thomas Clifford (all in the royal secret), on the best mode of advancing the catholic religion in the king's dominions.

On the 25th of January, 1669, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the meeting was held in the duke's closet. The king spoke with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, describing his uneasiness at not being able to profess the religion in which he believed; as he knew, he said, that he should meet with great difficulties in what he proposed to do, he thought that no time was to be lost, and that it should be undertaken while he and his brother were in full strength and vigour, and able to undergo any fatigue. It was finally resolved to apply to the French king for aid, for which purpose his ambassador was to be let into the secret, and lord

* The pope and the Jesuit probably thought that his public conversion would be for the interest of the Church, and hence this scrupulous morality, so unlike the usual practice of Rome.

Arundel, with sir Richard Bellings an Irish catholic for his secretary, was to go to the court of France. Arundel, when at Paris, required from Louis a large sum of money to enable the king to suppress any insurrection that might break out, offering in return to aid him in his intended invasion of Holland. Louis was willing to assent to these terms; the only question was, which should be first, the war or the king's declaration of his religion. Charles, urged by his brother, was for the last; Louis more wisely recommended the former. The year passed away in discussions; at Christmas the king received the sacrament as usual in public, but it was observed that the duke of York did not accompany him*.

The conventicle-act was now near expiring. The lord-keeper and chief justice Hale had, with the aid of bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burton, and other divines, been engaged in forming a scheme of comprehension, which was communicated to Baxter, Bates, and Morton, and by them to their non-conforming brethren. Nothing could be more reasonable than the alterations proposed, and an equally rational plan was devised. But Sheldon and the other intolerants took the alarm; the commons had not abated in their hostility, and the conventicle-act was renewed with the addition of a proviso, "that all clauses in it shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." Could anything be more barbarous than this? The vile crew of informers was now unkenneled, houses were broken open, ministers and other persons were dragged to prison. Sheldon and those prelates such as Ward and Lamplugh, who resembled himself, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced, and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hopes of driving the dissenters to look to a catholic government for relief†.

It is said that Buckingham was most anxious to prevent the succession of the duke of York. According to this prince's own account, his first project was to get the king to acknowledge the legitimacy of his son by Lucy Barlow, whom he had

* Their mother, queen Henrietta, died this year in France in the sixtieth year of her age. She was privately married, it is said, to lord Jermyn.

† "The rigorous church of England men were let loose and encouraged underhand to persecute, that the non-conformists might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the catholics prevailed."—*Life of James*, i. 443.

created duke of Monmouth, and given in marriage the countess of Buccleugh, the wealthiest heiress in Scotland; lords Carlisle and Ashley, he adds, had the boldness to hint to the king that if he was desirous of doing so, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses of his marriage, but Charles replied "that well as he loved the duke he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." To get rid of the sterile queen in some way, in order to enable the king to marry again, was the next plan. According to Burnet, Buckingham proposed to seize and convey her away secretly to the plantations, so that she might be no more heard of, but Charles rejected this course with horror. The next project was to deal with the queen's confessor, to induce her to go into a convent; but she had no mind to be a nun, and means, it is said, were employed to cause the pope to forbid her. Some talked of the king's taking another wife, but the public feeling was adverse to polygamy. A divorce was then proposed, and to this the king hearkened; but spiritual divorces were only from bed and board, and a precedent was wanting for the legal marriage of the innocent party. Lord Roos, therefore, whose wife was living in open adultery, got a bill to be moved in the upper house (Mar. 5, 1670) to enable him to marry again. The duke, seeing whither this tended, opposed it with all his might; all the bishops but Cosins and Wilkins were on his side, and all the catholic and several protestant peers. The king employed his influence in favour of it, and on the morning of the third reading (21st) he came and sat on the throne, saying, he was come to renew an old custom of attending at their debates, and desired them to go on as if he were not present. The bill was carried by a small majority, and became a precedent for bills of the same kind, but the king took no advantage of it*. He continued for some time the practice of attending the debates; "it was as good," he said, "as going to a play," and his presence was some check on the opposition.

In the month of May, Louis took occasion of a progress he was making through his lately acquired possessions to let the duchess of Orléans cross the sea to Dover to visit her brother, over whose mind she possessed great influence. Louis hoped that she would be able to prevail with him to commence with the war against the States instead of the declaration of religion, but Charles was immovable on this head. The famous Secret

* We do not see how he well could, as the queen had not committed adultery.

Treaty was now concluded. Charles was to declare himself a catholic when he judged it expedient, and then to join Louis in a war with the Dutch; Louis was to give him two millions of livres, and a force of 6000 men; all the expenses of the war by land were to be borne by Louis, and he was to pay three millions of livres annually toward the charge of the English navy; the combined fleet to be commanded by the duke of York; if the States were conquered, Charles was to have Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, and the prince of Orange to be provided for. It was further agreed, that if any new rights to the Spanish monarchy should accrue to Louis (by the death of the king, a puny boy), Charles should aid him in asserting them with all his power.

Such was the conspiracy that was formed against the protestant faith and the liberties of Europe; but many difficulties stood in the way of its success. Charles, when he reflected coolly, became aware of the protestant spirit of his subjects; he did not venture to communicate the Secret Treaty to his protestant ministers, and to blink them he let Buckingham conclude one (the counterpart of it except as to the article of religion) with France (Jan. 23, 1671). When urged by Louis to declare his religion, he hung back and made various objections, and the course of events soon caused Louis to cease from pressing him.

Charles had latterly recruited his harem from the theatre, where now, in imitation of the continent, women performed. He had taken off no less than two actresses, the one named Moll Davies a dancer, the other the wild and witty Nell Gwyn. He soon grew tired of Davies, who had borne him a daughter; but Nelly, whom he appointed of the bed-chamber to his insulted queen, retained her hold on his affections through life, and the noble house of St. Albans derive their pedigree from this union of royalty with the stage. With the aid of Shaftesbury, it is said, he seduced the daughter of a clergyman named Roberts; but her early principles retained their hold on her mind, and Burnet says that she died a sincere penitent. A further accession to the royal mistresses was Mademoiselle de Querouaille, a favourite maid of the duchess of Orléans, on whose sudden and mysterious death shortly after the interview at Dover, Charles invited her maid over to England, appointed her of the queen's bed-chamber, and added her to the roll of his mistresses. He afterwards (1672) created her duchess of Portsmouth, and Louis conferred on her the royal

domain of Aubigni, which went to her son the duke of Richmond.

As to Castlemain (now duchess of Cleveland), she still retained her place as a royal mistress; and if Charles was faithless to her, she was equally so to him.

In the debate on the supplies in the commons, it was proposed to lay a tax on the play-houses. To this it was objected, that the players were the king's servants and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether "his majesty's pleasure lay among the men- or the women-players?" This was reported at court, and the king, though earnestly dissuaded by the duke, resolved on a base and cowardly vengeance. The duke of Monmouth was the chief agent, with his lieutenant Sands, and O'Brien, son of lord Inchiquin; and as Coventry was returning one night (Dec. 21) to his lodgings, Sands and O'Brien, with thirteen of the guards, fell on him in the Haymarket. Coventry snatched the flambeau from his servant, and with it in one hand and his sword in the other, and placing his back against the wall, he defended himself stoutly. He wounded O'Brien in the arm; but they overpowered him, threw him on the ground, and slit his nose with a penknife. They then repaired to the duke of Monmouth to boast of what they had done. When the commons re-assembled, they were outrageous at this base assault on one of their members, and they passed an act banishing the perpetrators without pardon, unless they surrendered, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to maim or disfigure the person. This act is named the Coventry-act.

A still more atrocious attempt had lately been made on a more illustrious person. As the duke of Ormond was returning in the dark (Dec. 6) from a dinner given by the city, his coach was stopped in St. James'-street, he was dragged out of it, set behind a man on horseback and fastened to him by a belt. The man urged his horse and proceeded toward Hyde-park; but on the way the duke put his foot under the rider's, and leaning to the other side they both fell to the ground; the sound of footsteps being heard, the assassin loosed the belt and fired a pair of pistols at the duke but without effect; he then fled away and escaped. An inquiry was instituted by the house of lords, a reward of 1000*l.* and a pardon to any of the party who would turn informer, was offered by the king, but to no purpose*.

* Some suspected Buckingham; and Ormond's son, Ossory, on coming

Some time after, a person wearing a cassock formed an acquaintance with Edwards the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. He proposed a match between a nephew of his and Edwards' daughter. At seven in the morning of the 9th of May, the pretended clergyman came with two companions and asked to see the regalia. While they were in the room they suddenly threw a cloak over Edwards' head and then put a gag in his mouth, and when he struggled they knocked him down and wounded him in the belly. The clergyman then placed the crown under his cloak, another put the globe in his breeches, and the third began to file the sceptre in two to put it into a bag. Edwards' son happening to come by, the alarm was given; the robbers ran and had nearly reached their horses at St. Catherine's gate, when they were secured. From curiosity or some other motive, the king himself attended their examination. The chief said that his name was Blood; that it was he that had seized the duke of Ormond, with the intention of hanging him at Tyburn; that he was one of a band of three hundred sworn to avenge each other's death; that he and others had resolved to kill the king for his severity to the godly, and that he had one time taken his station among the reeds at Battersea to shoot him as he was bathing, but the awe of majesty overcame him, and he relented; the king might now take his life if he pleased, but it would be at the risk of his own; whereas, if he pardoned him, he would secure the gratitude of a band of faithful and resolute spirits. Charles pardoned him, nay, more, gave him an estate of 500*l.* a year in Ireland, of which country he was a native, and kept him at court, where he rose to the possession of much influence: he also requested Ormond to pardon him, saying he had certain reasons for asking it. The duke replied that his majesty's command was a sufficient reason. What are we to infer from all this? Was Charles a coward? or is it true that some one of those who were in his confidence was the secret instigator of the attempt on the life of the duke? The latter supposition is most probably the truth.

to court some time after and seeing him standing by the king, said to him, "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father. But I give you warning. If by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider *you* as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you I will pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance."

The next event was the death of the duchess of York (May 31). She died a catholic: her protestantism had been little better than popery; the secret efforts of her husband had had their effect, and she had been reconciled in the preceding month of August. Her father wrote, her brother remonstrated; but their efforts were fruitless; she received the last sacrament from the hands of a Franciscan friar. Her conversion was known, it is said, to but five persons; but the secret gradually transpired and caused the religion of the duke to be suspected. She had borne him eight children, of whom two daughters, Mary and Anne, alone survived.

During the last year the young prince of Orange had come over to visit his royal uncle. Charles, who had really a regard for him, wished to draw him into his projects; but he found him, as the French ambassador says, too zealous a Dutchman and protestant to be trusted with the secret. It is curious enough, that as the prince told Burnet, the king gave him to understand that he was himself a catholic.

The war with the States being decided on, the Cabal prepared to commence it with robbery at home and piracy abroad. To have a good supply of money to begin with, the fertile brain of Ashley, it is said (but he always denied it), suggested to shut up the exchequer. To understand this, we must observe that since the time of Cromwell the bankers and others had been in the habit of advancing money at eight per cent. to the government, receiving in return an assignment of some branch of the revenue till principal and interest should be discharged. The new plan was to suspend all payments for twelve months, and to add the interest now due to the capital, allowing six per cent. interest on this new stock. This was approved of by the privy-council, and the public was informed of it by proclamation (Jan. 2, 1672). The consequences were, the ministers had a sum of 1,300,000*l.* at their disposal; many of the bankers failed; trade in general received a severe shock; numbers of widows, orphans, and other annuitants were reduced to misery.

There had been no declaration of war against the Dutch, with whom Charles was actually in alliance; but their Smyrna fleet would be coming up channel in March, and it was known to be wealthy, and it was supposed would suspect no danger. Holmes was therefore sent to intercept it; he was desired to take with him all the ships of war he should meet; but anxious to have all the glory and profit to himself, he let sir Edward

Spragge's squadron, returning from the Mediterranean, pass him by. Next morning (Mar. 3) the Smyrna fleet of sixty sail came in sight. But the States had suspected the designs of their royal neighbours, and put their naval commanders on their guard. Many of these ships were well-armed, and Van Nesse, who was convoying them with seven men of war, disposed his force so well as completely to baffle the English. Holmes, being reinforced during the night, renewed the attack next day, and he succeeded in capturing one ship of war and four merchantmen, two of which were very valuable. This piratic enterprise (of which the disgrace was aggravated by its failure) was condemned both at home and abroad.

The next measure was to issue a declaration of indulgence (15th), in order to gain over the dissenters to the side of the court, and to pave the way for a general toleration. The measure itself, had it originated in good motives, was beneficent; but it proceeded on the principle of an arbitrary dispensing power in the crown that might be carried to a dangerous extent. A portion of the dissenters received it with gratitude, and presented an address of thanks to the king; but the orthodox took alarm, and the pulpits resounded with arguments and declamation against popery.

Both kings now formally declared war against the States. Louis merely said that it did not consist with his reputation (*gloire*) to put up any longer with insult from them. Charles (17th) enumerated several petty causes of hostility, "and surely," says Hume, "reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty." The king of Sweden, the bishop of Münster, and the elector of Cologne were drawn into the confederacy against the States.

While preparations were being made to put the land-forces of the States into a condition to resist the troops of France, De Ruyter got to sea with seventy-five men of war and a number of fire-ships to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets; this, however, he was unable to effect, and the combined fleet having vainly tried to bring him to action off Ostend, returned to Southwold-bay. De Ruyter, learning that they were occupied taking in men and provisions, resolved to fall on them while thus engaged. He was near surprising them (May 28); but though the wind and tide were adverse, the duke of York, who commanded, got about twenty of his ships in line of battle, being part of the red squadron under himself and of the blue under the earl of Sandwich. D'Estrées, with

the French fleet, was to the southward, opposed to the ships of Zealand. Though the disparity of numbers was great, the battle was obstinate. Sandwich, in the *Royal James*, took a ship of seventy guns and killed admiral Van Ghent; but his own vessel having been much damaged, a fire-ship grappled on her larboard and set her in flames, and the earl and all on board but two or three hundred perished. The duke, when his ship, the *Prince*, was disabled, shifted his flag to the *St. Michael*; and this vessel being also disabled, he finally hoisted it in the *London*. In the afternoon the other ships came into the action, and the Dutch finally fled with the loss of three ships: the English lost but one: the French had taken no part in the action.

Meantime Louis, at the head of 100,000 men, had burst like a flood over the frontiers. His disciplined legions were directed by the genius of Condé and Turenne, while the Dutch troops were raw levies and ill-officered. Fortress after fortress opened their gates, making hardly a show of resistance. The season happening to be very dry, the rivers were low, the passage of the Rhine therefore offered no difficulty (June 2), and in the space of three weeks the French monarch had reduced three of the Provinces, and advanced to within three leagues of Amsterdam. Resistance appearing nearly hopeless, ambassadors were sent to learn on what terms peace might be obtained. Buckingham, Arlington, and lord Saville (now earl of Halifax) were sent on the part of Charles to Utrecht, where Louis had fixed his quarters, and the demands of the two sovereigns were there communicated to the Dutch ministers. Louis required large cessions of forts and territory; seventeen millions of livres; a gold medal every year; the churches in the towns to be shared with the catholics, and a provision made for their clergy. Charles demanded the honour of the flag in the narrow seas; 10,000*l.* a year for the liberty of fishing; a million sterling for the expenses of the war; the dignity of stadtholder for the prince of Orange.

This prince, though only in his twenty-second year, had been made general and admiral of the commonwealth; De Witt, who was his guardian, had, though hostile to his family, given him an excellent education; and the character of the prince himself was such as, joined with the remembrance of the services of his family, enabled him to gain the popular favour. The people were clamorous for the repeal of the

Perpetual Edict which had been framed for his exclusion ; they rose in arms at Dort and then in the other towns, and everywhere established the unlimited authority of the prince. An attempt was made to assassinate John De Witt ; and his brother Cornelius being charged by an infamous wretch, named Tichelaer, with an endeavour to induce him to poison the prince, was put to the torture. A sentence of banishment was passed on him ; his brother, the pensionary, came to the prison to convey him to his place of exile in his coach ; instantly an infuriated rabble surrounded the prison, burst open the doors, seized the two brothers, despatched them by a multitude of wounds, and offered every species of indignity to their dead bodies. Such is the rabble in every country—brutal, bloody, and unreflecting : against their sudden fury neither private virtue nor the greatest public services are a protection.

The prince, by means of an atrocity which he abhorred, was now left uncontrolled. He urged the people not to despair, but to reject the humiliating conditions offered to them, and to resist to the utmost. Their patriotic ardour revived ; the sluices had already been opened, and the generous resolution was taken to fly, if all should fail, to their settlements in the East, and there to found a new empire. When Buckingham urged the prince to abandon the cause of the Provinces, as their ruin was inevitable, "There is one certain means," he replied, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin ; I will die in the last ditch." The affairs of the Provinces, under the guidance of their young hero, soon assumed a brighter aspect. A combined English and French fleet, with a land-force on board, approached the coast ; but winds and tide acted so opportunely to keep them off, that it was regarded as a special interference of Providence. Louis, weary of the toils of war, returned to the pleasures of Versailles, and the French arms became inactive. Spain had sent some forces to the aid of the prince, and the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg were preparing to impede the progress of the French monarch.

Charles, however, adhered firmly to his engagements with Louis ; he also gave his own ministers proofs of his satisfaction with their conduct by bestowing honours on them : Buckingham and Arlington had the garter, and the latter an earldom ; Clifford was made lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Ashley earl of Shaftesbury. This last, on the lord-keeper Bridgeman's

hesitating in some matter, represented him to the king as a mere old dotard, and the seals with the title of lord-chancellor were transferred to himself. In his new office he displayed the levity and eccentricity of his character. He rode himself, and made the judges and law-officers ride in ancient-wise in procession to Westminster; he sat on the bench in "an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced;" he prided himself on his despatch of business; made his orders with rapidity and after his own fancy; but so many applications were made to him by counsel for explanations, that he soon became quite tame and humble in his court. Clifford at this time was made lord-treasurer.

It was now nearly two years since parliament had met; and the king, however willing, could no longer dispense with its services, as the only means of obtaining money. When it assembled (Feb. 5, 1673), he addressed it himself. He spoke of the war as just and necessary; and as to his declaration of indulgence, at which some cavilled, he told them plainly he was resolved to stick to it; he also mentioned the army, which with their aid he intended to augment. Shaftesbury then spoke. He told them that the Dutch aimed at an empire as extensive as that of ancient Rome; that they were the eternal enemy of this country; that *Delendu est Carthago* was the maxim of the parliament, and a wise one; and that he had no doubt but that they would be liberal in their supplies.

Though the members were the same, the house was now different from what it had been. The fervour of their loyalty had cooled, and they saw clearly whither the court was tending. Their first care was therefore to vindicate their own authority. Ever since 1604 it had been the practice in case of a vacancy in the house for the speaker to issue a writ for a new election; but Shaftesbury had taken on him, as chancellor, to issue the writs, and thus to introduce his dependents into the house. The legality of these was questioned (6th); the elections were voted void, and the speaker was directed to issue new writs. As the king made no opposition, Shaftesbury saw plainly that he could not be relied on, and he took his measures accordingly.

The very next day the commons voted a supply of no less a sum than 1,260,000*l*. They then proceeded to their grand attack on the Declaration of Indulgence, to which Charles had affirmed he would 'stick,' and after a long and adjourned debate, in spite of all the efforts of the courtiers, it was resolved

(10th), by a majority of 168 to 116, that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." An address to this effect was presented to the king (14th); he replied (24th), asserting his ecclesiastical authority, but expressing his willingness to assent to any bill for carrying the intents of his declaration into effect. This was voted insufficient, and in a second address they assured him that he was mistaken in supposing himself to possess that power. Charles was indignant, and talked of a dissolution; the duke, Clifford, Shaftesbury, and the more violent applauded his spirit; now was his time or never, they said—concessions had ruined his father and would ruin him; Ormond and Arlington in vain advised him to yield. It was resolved to oppose the lords to the commons. The king solicited the advice of the peers (Mar. 1); Clifford addressed them with his usual violence; but Shaftesbury said that though his own opinion was in favour of the prerogative, he would not presume to set it against that of the house of commons. The lords resolved (4th), that the king's was a good and gracious answer. Charles' resolution, however, had already begun to give way; the French ambassador counselled him to yield for the present; the women too, it is said, interfered. He sent for the declaration, and in the presence of his ministers broke off the seal, and next morning (8th) assured the two houses, that "what had been done should never be drawn into consequence." Acclamation followed, and at night bonfires flamed all through the city.

A few days after (12th) the Test-act, as it is named, passed the commons. In the lords, the earl of Bristol, though avowing himself a catholic, spoke in favour of it; the king gave a ready consent to it; and what is most strange, it is said to have originated with Arlington. Its object was to exclude the catholics from places of honour and profit. It required that every person holding any office of trust or profit should, beside taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Immediately the duke of York waited on the king, and with tears resigned to him all his commissions; his example was followed by lord Clifford, lord Bellasis, and others.

It is remarkable that the dissenters actually supported this bill, which excluded themselves as completely as the papists. But they willingly joined to oppose the common enemy; and in return a bill for *their* relief was passed and sent up to the

lords (17th). Here however it received amendments to which the commons would not agree; Sheldon and his party too, it is said, exerted themselves to defeat it; a sudden prorogation (29th) put an end to it, and the patriotic disinterestedness of the dissenters was thus ill-rewarded.

As the parliament had given the means, a fleet was got to sea under prince Rupert; and combined with that of D'Estrées it sailed over to the coast of Holland where De Ruyter gave it battle (May 28). The action was indecisive, and the fleets again encountered within a few days (June 4) with a similar result. An attempt to land an army under count Schomberg on the coast of Holland also failed. The duke's party threw all the blame on the prince, as being too closely connected with the country-party to act with energy; the prince in return complained that his powers were limited and his ships ill-supplied. The mouth of the Texel witnessed (Aug. 11) the last naval encounter between the Dutch and English for many years. It was fought with great obstinacy (the French squadron, as usual, only looking on): sir Edward Spragge, the second in command, was drowned as he was quitting the second ship in which he had hoisted his flag, in order to raise it in a third. In this action also the victory was doubtful.

The reduction of Maestricht was the only advantage gained by Louis this year. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden, and he afterwards eluded the French generals and formed a junction with the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, who were besieging Bonn. The surrender of that town and some other places gave them the command of the electorate of Cologne, and the French troops in the Provinces were thus cut off from communication with home. A congress for peace was meantime sitting at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but the States, now backed by the house of Austria, spurned at the conditions offered by the allied monarchs.

The first question that engaged the attention of parliament when it reassembled in the latter end of October, was the marriage of the duke of York, who had lately (Sept. 30) espoused, by proxy, Maria D'Este, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess only fifteen years of age, of great personal attractions, but of course a catholic. They addressed the king, praying him not to allow the marriage to be consummated. Charles pleaded his honour. They forthwith passed votes for refusing supplies, imposing a severer test, etc., when the king came to the house of lords and prorogued the parliament (Nov. 4).

As he considered that Shaftesbury had played him false, he took the great seal from him (9th), and committed it to sir Heneage Finch. Shaftesbury forthwith assumed the character of a patriot, and became the secret leader of the opposition. Sir Thomas Osborne, now lord Latimer, had obtained the white staff resigned by Clifford.

When the parliament met (Jan. 7, 1674) the king addressed them with his usual affability; the lord-keeper then followed, in a long speech, the object of which was to obtain an immediate supply. The commons first passed an address praying the king to enjoin a public fast, that the nation might implore Heaven to preserve "the church and state against the undermining practices of popish recusants," and to adopt certain measures of precaution against them; they then voted the removal from office of persons "popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous;" and, following up this vote, they proceeded to assail the individual members of the Cabal.

The first attacked was the duke of Lauderdale. He was charged with having raised an army in Scotland to be employed in setting up arbitrary power in England, and with having said to the king in council, "Your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place." It was resolved to address the king to dismiss him from his employments and from the royal presence and councils for ever. Buckingham, aware that his turn would come next, asked leave to address the house of commons. His defence however was feeble; his chief object was to shift the blame from himself to Arlington; one expression which he used seemed to go higher: "Hunting," he said, "is a good diversion; but if a man will hunt with a brace of lobsters, he will have but ill sport." An address was voted for his removal from the royal presence and councils. Arlington came off the best; he also defended himself before the commons, and with more spirit than was expected; and the motion for an address against him was lost.

All this time the commons were silent on the subject of a supply; and as the States just then made, through the Spanish ambassador, an offer of peace, which Charles, with the advice of both houses, resolved to accept, sir William Temple was appointed to negotiate, and in three days the affair was brought to a conclusion (Feb. 19). The honour of the flag was yielded to England; colonial and commercial questions were to be settled by arbitration; and the Dutch agreed to pay 800,000

crowns in four annual instalments. The parliament was then prorogued (24th).

Two further attempts at weakening the influence of the duke were made; the one in the commons, by a more comprehensive test; the other in the lords, by an amendment to a bill brought in for restraining popery. This last was lost, and the prorogation stopped the other. The duke took alarm; his first thought was a dissolution, but to that course the king was very adverse, and the result of it was quite uncertain. He then bent his thoughts to delay the meeting of parliament; but for this purpose it was necessary that the king should be supplied with money. Fortunately for him, Louis XIV. was as anxious as himself to keep the king and parliament asunder, for he feared that England might now join the confederacy against him. The duke therefore proposed that Louis should give the king 400,000*l.*; the usual chaffering took place, and Charles was obliged to be content with 500,000 crowns. The parliament was then prorogued from November till the April of the following year.

The advantages of the campaign this year were on the side of France. Louis recovered Franche Comté; Turenne was successful against the Imperialists in Alsace, and forced the allies to repass the Rhine. The prince of Orange, who was opposed to Condé in Flanders, resolved, as his troops were superior in number, to make an attempt to penetrate into France. Condé avoided fighting, but, at a place named Seneffe, observing that the prince had exposed one wing of his army, he made a furious attack on it. A general action ensued, which was continued, when the daylight was gone, by that of the moon. The loss was nearly equal, and each side claimed the victory. "The prince of Orange," said Condé, "has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life like a young soldier." The campaign concluded by the taking of Grave by the prince of Orange.

Of the persons who had been accused by the commons, Buckingham alone was abandoned by the king, and he forthwith, as a matter of course, joined Shaftesbury and the opposition. Arlington, who saw his influence fading before that of the treasurer (now earl of Danby), sold, by the royal command, his place of secretary to sir Joseph Williamson for 6000*l.*, and was raised to the higher but less influential post of lord chamberlain. To prop his falling power, he proposed to the king to negotiate a match between the prince of Orange and Mary

the eldest daughter of the duke of York. As the prince was well known to be a stanch protestant, this measure, he said, would eminently serve to allay the apprehensions of the nation on the subject of religion, and be in fact advantageous in many respects. The king approved warmly of the project; the objections of the duke of York were overruled; and in the beginning of the winter lord Arlington and lord Ossory, who were married to two sisters of a noble Dutch family, went over to the Hague under the pretext of visiting their wives' relations. The proposition, when made to the prince by lord Ossory, was however but coldly received; he said that, as circumstances were at present, he was not in a condition to think of taking a wife. After a short stay the envoys returned to England.

During the winter, the court and country parties were busily engaged in preparing their plans for the ensuing campaign in parliament. In the lords the crown had a decided majority; but the minority, headed by Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, was formidable from its talent and its union. The country party was strong in the commons, where it possessed lord William Russell, esteemed for his probity and integrity; lord Cavendish, less correct in morals, but far superior in parts; sir William Coventry, deeply skilled in affairs, and free from passion and private resentments; Powle (Powell), learned in precedents and parliamentary usages; Littleton, the ablest in debate; Birch, rough and bold and powerful above all men of the day to sway a popular assembly; the veteran senators Lee and Garroway, together with Vaughan, Sacheverell, and many other able debaters. Their plan was, to urge the king to join the allies against France; to impeach the earl of Danby; and to refuse the supplies while he remained in office.

The plan of the court was to unite with the church, and thus deprive their opponents of their advantage in appearing as the champions of religion. A council was held at Lambeth, at which several prelates attended; they were assured of the king's attachment to the church, and called upon to give him their support; measures were devised for crushing popery, and a severe proclamation against recusants and non-conformists was forthwith issued. The duke of York remonstrated in vain; in contempt of his parental authority, the princesses Mary and Anne were led to church by their preceptor Compton, bishop of London, and confirmed.

When parliament met (Apr. 13, 1675), the address against

Lauderdale, of which the king had taken no notice, was renewed, but to as little effect. Seven articles of impeachment were then exhibited against the earl of Danby. He had however, like his predecessors, made large purchases of votes in the house, but on a more economical plan, we are told; for while they bought leading men at high prices, he looked out for those who had only their votes to sell, and consequently disposed of them more cheaply. The articles were therefore all thrown out. The grand attempt of the ministers was made in the lords, where a bill for a new test was introduced. By this, every member of either house, and every person holding any office, was required to swear, that it is unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the king; that it is traitorous to take up arms by the king's authority against his person; and that he will not endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. The debate on this bill lasted seventeen days; the king occupied his usual place at the fire-side; but Shaftesbury and the other opponents of the bill, heedless of his presence, employed all their eloquence and all their powers of reason against it. It was carried by a majority of only two; had it come to the commons, it had probably been rejected by a much larger majority; but a question of privilege happening just then to arise between the two houses, the king took advantage of it to prorogue the parliament (June 9).

When parliament met again (Oct. 13), the king required money for the navy, and also a sum of 800,000*l.* which had been borrowed on the revenue. This last was refused, but a sum of 300,000*l.* was voted for the building of twenty ships of war, to which it was strictly appropriated. The contest with the lords was renewed; and such was the heat with which it was carried on, that it was moved in the lords to address the king to dissolve the parliament. This was opposed by the ministers, but supported by the duke of York and his friends. A prorogation for the long period of fifteen months was the result (Nov. 22).

The campaign of 1675 was favourable to the allies. Condé's army in Flanders was rendered inactive by the able conduct of the prince of Orange; and Turenne having been killed by a random shot while commanding beyond the Rhine, his army was obliged to repass that river, and it was followed by the Imperialists into Alsace. The allies having laid siege to Trèves, marshal Créqui advanced to its relief; but at Consabrie he was

fallen on and routed, and the garrison of Trèves, whither he had escaped, having mutinied, capitulated and delivered him into the hands of the allies. The king of England, when he had concluded peace with the States, made an offer of his mediation to the other powers. Though from various causes they were all but the Dutch desirous of continuing the war, they could not decently reject the proposal of the British monarch. The place fixed on for the congress was Nimeguen, whither the lord Berkeley, sir William Temple, and sir Leoline Jenkins repaired as the English ministers. After many delays the congress met in the summer of this year; but, as was to be expected, the ministers were more anxious to raise than to remove difficulties. The great object of the allies was to prevail on Charles to join them against France; but to this course he had many objections, of which not the least was the state of dependence on his parliament to which it would reduce him. Louis took advantage of this feeling; the ambassador Ruvigni received directions to offer the same amount of pension as before for his neutrality. An agreement was made between Charles and Ruvigni for a pension of 100,000*l.* a year to be paid to the former; in return for which he was to sign a treaty, by which the two monarchs were to bind themselves to enter into no engagements but by mutual consent, and to aid each other in case of any rebellion in their respective dominions. This was communicated to no one but the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Danby. The two former approved of it of course; Danby hesitated and advised to consult the privy council; but the king removed all difficulty, by writing out the treaty with his own hand and setting his private seal to it (Feb. 17, 1676). He then delivered it to Ruvigni, who forthwith set out for Paris in order to have it signed by Louis. It would be difficult in the whole of history to meet a more disreputable transaction than this barter of honour and independence for lucre by the sovereign of a great and powerful nation.

Charles, thus enjoying the pension, the price of his dishonour, lived on indolently till the time came for the meeting of parliament (Feb. 5, 1677). The opposition had discovered what they regarded as a vantage-point against the court. There were two statutes of Edward III., which ordained that a parliament should be held "once a year or oftener if need be," and as fifteen months had elapsed since the last meeting, the parliament, they asserted, had in fact ceased to exist. This view was maintained with much boldness and ingenuity in the lords

by Buckingham, supported by Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; but Finch (now lord-chancellor and earl of Nottingham) showed, in opposition to them, that the triennial act of the 16th of the late king, and the act of the present king repealing that act, had extended the term to three years. Buckingham's motion was therefore negatived by a large majority; the four lords were required to acknowledge that their conduct was ill-advised, and to beg pardon of the king and the house, and on their refusal they were committed to the Tower*.

In consequence, it is said, of the bribes which he liberally bestowed, the minister had a majority on finance questions in the commons. Money therefore was granted for the navy; but it was appropriated, and none of it came into the treasury, so that the king had still need of his pension. The parliament now began to urge him to war; for Louis had entered Flanders at the head of a large army, taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and defeated the prince of Orange at Cassel. The king, in order to do so, demanded an additional 600,000*l.*, pledging his royal word † not to break trust with them, or employ the money for any other purposes but those for which it was granted. But the commons knew him too well to trust him. They voted an address (May 25), praying him to enter into an alliance with the States-general and other powers for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles affected great anger at this, as an encroachment on his prerogative, and he commanded both houses to adjourn till July. The court of France was still uneasy, and its envoy Courtin was urgent for a dissolution, or at least a prorogation till the following April. For this service Charles demanded an addition of 100,000*l.* a year to his pension. The usual chaffering took place, but the French were finally obliged to come into his terms, and also to consent that the increased

* They remained there till the meeting of parliament in the following year, when the others took their seats, merely asking pardon. Shaftesbury, who had had himself brought before the court of king's bench by *Habeas Corpus*, was obliged to ask pardon for it on his knees.

† Hume, having noticed the secret treaty with Louis which Charles had signed, calls his pledging of his word on the present occasion "one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne." Lingard most strangely says, that the reason given by Hume is "because he was then negotiating for money with the French ambassador;" and on this ground attempts to defend Charles. He has either misread or misrepresented Hume.

pension should be reckoned from the commencement of the current year. The parliament was therefore prorogued from July to December, with a promise to Courtin that if the money was regularly paid it should then be further adjourned to April. What Englishman can refrain from blushing at this disgraceful bargain? for Charles, though the highest, was not the only criminal at this time; Courtin also bribed sundry members of the parliament to engage to forward the views of the two monarchs.

The prince of Orange had long looked forward to a union with his cousin the princess Mary; but the opposition-party in England, who feared that this match might unite him more closely with his uncles, had endeavoured to divert him from it. Now however, seeing the necessity of an effort to induce the king of England to aid in checking the career of the French monarch, he resolved to seek the hand of the princess. We must not be so unjust to the memory of this great prince as to suppose him actuated solely by political motives in this proceeding; on the contrary, in the spring of the preceding year, he had held a serious conversation on the subject with sir William Temple, in which he stated, that situated as he was, he knew he must marry one time or other; but that at the same time, no considerations of political expediency would induce him to marry a woman with whom he could not look forward to a reasonable prospect of domestic happiness, and he begged that Temple would give him his candid opinion respecting the princess. The ambassador urged him to the marriage, and made so favourable a report of the lady Mary, that the prince wrote to his uncles on the subject and requested permission to come over about it at the end of the campaign. These letters were brought to England by lady Temple.

The prince does not seem to have taken any further steps till the present year, when, having obtained the king's permission*, he set out at the end of the campaign, and landing at Harwich proceeded to Newmarket, where his uncles then were (Oct. 9). He was very kindly received by the king, to whose surprise, however, he seemed disinclined to enter on discourse of business. Charles desired sir William Temple to try to find out the cause, and the prince told him that he was resolved to see the princess before he proceeded any further, and also to settle the affair of his marriage previously to entering on that of

* Danby wrote to him, by the king's order, to come over. Burnet, ii. 120, *note*.

the peace. The king, when informed of this, very kindly left Newmarket sooner than usual ; the prince, on seeing the lady Mary in London, was so pleased with her that he made his proposals at once to her father and uncle, by whom they were well received ; but they insisted that the terms of the peace must be previously settled. The prince would not give way on this point ; he said that " his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost ; and for his part he would never sell his honour for a wife." The king was equally obstinate on his side, and Temple and Danby, who were both zealous for the match, were beginning to despair ; the prince declared that he would remain but two days longer in England, a resolution which he desired Temple to communicate to the king. Temple, on doing so, represented to Charles the ill consequences of a breach between him and the prince. Charles listened attentively. " Well," said he, " I never was yet deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks ; and if I am not deceived in the prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife ; and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 't is a thing I am resolved on." The duke, when Temple waited on him, seemed surprised, but declared his readiness to obey the king. Danby, when informed by Temple, undertook to adjust all the remaining points ; and that evening the match was declared in the committee, and next day in the council. The king's mode of announcing his intention to the prince was characteristic ; " Nephew," said he, " it is not good for man to be alone ; I will give you a help meet for you : " he then added, that he would give him his niece ; the duke consented in very obliging terms. On the fourth of November this auspicious marriage was solemnised by the bishop of London. It is deserving of note, that six days after the duchess of York was delivered of a son*.

The king, the duke, the prince, and Danby and Temple, now took into consideration the question of the peace. The prince, convinced that Louis would never abstain from war, insisted on a strong frontier on both sides of Flanders ; the king

* This perhaps may refute the insinuation of Dr. Lingard (xii. 53, *note*): " When the offer of marriage was made (by Arlington in 1674), the prince knew that the duchess of York was in an advanced state of pregnancy, a circumstance which considerably lessened its value." The duke of Cambridge, the child now born, died the following month (Dec. 15).

was of opinion that Louis was weary of war, and would devote himself to ease and pleasure; Temple thought with the prince. They were, however, obliged to give way a little, and it was agreed that Louis should be obliged to resign all his conquests from the empire, and restore Lorraine to its duke; that France and Holland should mutually give back the places they had taken, but that Louis should retain all his conquests in Flanders, except Ath, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, which would form a frontier between the French dominions and the United Provinces. The lord Duras, a Frenchman and attached to the duke (now created earl of Feversham)*, was sent over to Paris with this treaty. He was to demand a positive answer in two days, but pretexts were made for detaining him, and meantime the prince was obliged to return to the continent. Louis was in fact, highly indignant at the marriage of the princess Mary; Charles excused himself to Barillon the ambassador by saying, "I am the only one of my party, except my brother:" and the truth was, that he could not get any minister to join cordially in his projects of union with Louis. This monarch seemed resolved to listen to no terms but such as he should dictate, and though the winter had commenced his army forthwith took the field and invested Guislain. Charles then (Dec. 3) appointed the parliament to meet on the 15th of January; Louis (17th) stopped the payment of his pension, offering at the same time, if he would consent to his retention of Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai, to send him the value of them in bars of gold, concealed in silk; and Danby was promised, if he would give his influence, any reward he should name in diamonds and pearls. Danby, however, was not to be bought; the king and duke were also displeased with Louis, and the duke looked forward to the command of an army and the acquisition of military fame. It is also likely, that the royal brothers thought their schemes of arbitrary power would be more likely to be effected by the force of a native army, than by the insidious aid of Louis.

When the parliament met (Jan. 28, 1678), Charles informed them that he had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the States for the protection of Flanders, and that he should require a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of from thirty to forty thousand men. After a good deal of opposition, a supply for that purpose was voted (Feb. 5). The king, however, was still desirous of peace; but the success of Louis, who

* Duras was brother to the great Turenne.

had now reduced Ypres and Ghent, exasperated the English nation, and the commons hastened (Mar. 8) to pass a bill for a part of the supply. Charles forthwith sent a body of 3000 men to the defence of Ostend, and he issued money for raising 20,000 more, to be accomplished within six weeks.

The troops when raised were, king James assures us, "as good as any where were to be seen." The commons, who, as the same prince tells us, "were in reality more jealous of the king's power than of the power of France," took alarm, and passed a resolution (Apr. 29) not to grant any more supplies till full satisfaction was given on the subject of religion. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, forthwith prorogued the parliament and commenced negotiations with Louis, with whom he subscribed (May 17) a secret treaty, engaging, in case the States would not accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, to withdraw his troops from the continent, for which he was to receive from Louis 450,000*l.* in four quarterly payments. When parliament met (23rd), an address was made that war should be declared or the army be disbanded. The king's reply was evasive, and the commons resolved (June 4) that all the forces raised within the last seven months, "ought to be paid off and disbanded forthwith," and voted money for the purpose. The king, however, was not willing to part with his army. Urged by the duke of York, the council resolved to enter on the war; a corps of 4000 men was sent over to Flanders, and 4000 more, to be commanded by the duke, were in readiness for embarkation. At the same time (July 16) a new treaty was concluded with the States, unless Louis should abandon some pretensions which he had lately made in favour of Sweden.

Louis knew when to recede as well as advance. During a fortnight his ministers employed all the resources of diplomatic tactics against those of the States, and then, when all men looked for a renewal of war, suddenly yielded (July 31), and the peace between France and the States was signed the same day before midnight. Four days after (Aug. 4) the prince of Orange attacked the French army at St. Denis, near Mons, which town they were besieging. As it is not very likely that he could be ignorant of the actual signature of the treaty of Nimeguen, the blood of the 5000 men who were slain in the action may be said to rest on his head. He probably hoped that a victory would prevent the ratification of the treaty, to which he was strongly opposed.

Spain and the emperor found it necessary to agree to the Peace of Nimeguen, which left to Louis a large proportion of his conquests, and put it in his power to renew the war when he pleased with every advantage.

It is not to be denied, that the opposition in parliament this year played the game of the king of France, and thwarted all the efforts of Temple and Danby to urge the king into a war which was equally for the honour and interest of England. It is also well known, that the lords Hollis and Russell, and the other leaders of the country party, were in actual communication with Barillon and Ruvigni, and arranged with them the plan of operations in parliament. These are points which demand some inquiry and explanation.

The country-party had a violent distrust of the king, who they well knew was bent on making himself absolute, and perhaps on changing the religion of the nation; they also knew that he looked to the money or the arms of Louis for aid in accomplishing his designs: it was therefore their object to deprive him of this support, and they probably thought that a few fortresses in Flanders were not to be put in the balance with the British constitution. On the other hand, Louis acted on the usual maxims of state policy, and he wished to see his neighbours weak rather than strong; he had therefore no vehement desire that Charles should be absolute or the nation catholic: he was of course as little desirous of beholding a republic in England. What he wanted was, jealousy and disunion between the king and people, so that he might be able to play the two parties against each other, and thus, be freed from interruption from England in his project of extending the frontier of France to the Rhine, and establishing a dictatorship over the rest of Europe. For this purpose he had, in the beginning of the reign of Charles, kept up a communication with the commonwealth-men; then seeing a prospect of the king's becoming his stipendiary and vassal, he entered into close relations with him; but the marriage of the princess Mary having proved to him that no reliance could be placed on Charles, he resolved to try to form a connexion with the popular leaders. Accordingly, Ruvigni, who was a protestant and first-cousin to lady Russell, came over in the month of March, and he took occasion to assure Russell and Hollis, that his master did not at all conceive it to be for his interest that the king should be absolute, and that he was ready to aid in causing a dissolution of the parliament. They agreed, on their side, to take care

that the grants of supplies should be clogged with such conditions as to be so disagreeable to the king that he would prefer a reunion with France to accepting them. Ruvigni offered to spend a considerable sum in the purchase of members' votes, and begged of Russell to name those who might be gained over. He replied, that he should be sorry to have to do with people who could be bought*. He at the same time gave it as his opinion, that there was no chance of a dissolution but through the king of France, whose aid for that purpose Ruvigni freely promised. Nothing could in fact exceed the straits in which the popular party then were; they knew if the king could get an army at his devotion, he would destroy their liberties; they were dubious of the king of France, and yet he alone could aid them: we therefore need not wonder at their falling into a course of tortuous policy, which, though morally wrong, is what those who engage in politics in difficult times can hardly ever escape. That nothing ultimately injurious to the country and constitution was intended, the names of Russell and Hollis are a sufficient warrant.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1678-1680.

THE kingdom was now at peace, but the army was still on foot; and the country-party was dejected, and beginning to think that further resistance to the court was hopeless. In this state of things, during the recess of parliament, the Popish Plot, as it was named, came to fill the nation with alarm.

On the 12th of August, as the king was walking in the Park,

* Barillon, in 1680, speaks of having given various sums to the popular leaders, as 1000 guineas to Buckingham, and sums of 500 or 300 guineas to Algernon Sydney, sir Thomas Lyttleton, Mr. Garraway, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Foley, and others. See Hallam's discussion of this matter (ii. 547).

a person named Kirby, who used to assist him in his chemical laboratory, came up to him and said, "Sir, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot within this very walk." On being questioned, he said that two men, named Grove and Pickering, had undertaken to shoot him, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. He gave as his authority one Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street. This Tonge was a weak credulous man, and a great alarmist on the subject of popery, against which he published tracts every year. In the evening Tonge was brought to the king, to whom he showed a written narrative of the plot, divided into forty-three heads. He was sent to lord Danby; he said that the narrative had been thrust under his door; that he knew not the author, but had a clue which might enable him to discover him. In a few days he returned, and said he had met the author in the street, who had given him a fuller account, but required that his name should be concealed for fear of the papists. As Danby insisted on seeing some of the papers mentioned in the narrative, after some delay and evasion he was told, that on a certain day a packet of letters, addressed to Bedingfield, a jesuit, the duke's confessor, would arrive at the post-office at Windsor. Danby hastened down to intercept them; but they had already come to hand, and Bedingfield, seeing that they were not the writing of those whose names they bore, and that they contained suspicious matter, showed them to the duke, who took them to the king. Charles at once recognised in the writing a similarity to that of the narrative, and expressed his belief of their being forgeries.

After some days, the person from whom Tonge professed to derive his information came forward. This was a man named Titus Oates, son to a weaver, who having turned anabaptist preacher and been chaplain to colonel Pride, had after the restoration obtained orders in the established church. He sent his son Titus to Cambridge, where, having finished his studies he took orders and became a curate, but being indicted for perjury on some occasion, he got to be chaplain in the navy. Here however he was charged with an odious offence, and was obliged to quit the ship. He then managed to be appointed one of the duke of Norfolk's chaplains, where meeting with many popish priests, he became a real or pretended convert to their faith. He was sent over to St. Omers, and thence to

Spain, whence he was now returned to England. He had long been acquainted with Tonge, by whom and Kirby he was now chiefly supported.

At the urgent desire of the duke to have the matter sifted to the bottom, the king consented to have Oates examined before the council. Previously to appearing there, Oates went before a magistrate named sir Edmund Bury Godfrey (Sept. 6), and made oath to the truth of the narrative, which was now extended to eighty-one articles. He appeared before the council (28th) in a new suit of clothes and a clergyman's gown, and deposed to the following effect.

The Jesuits had resolved by all means to re-establish the catholic religion in the British dominions; they were organizing a rebellion and massacre in Ireland; in Scotland, disguised as presbyterian ministers, they were opposing episcopacy; here they proposed to assassinate the king, and then to offer the crown to the duke, provided he would consent to hold it of the pope, and aid in extirpating protestantism; if not, *To pot James must go*, was their expression. They had abundant funds, having 100,000*l.* in bank, 60,000*l.* a-year in rents, etc. Father Leshee [La Chaise], the French king's confessor, had given them 10,000*l.*, and they were promised an equal sum from Spain. In March last, two men named Honest William [Grove] and Pickering (the latter a lay-brother of the order), were often directed to shoot the king with silver bullets at Windsor, for which the former was to have 1500*l.*, the latter 30,000 masses; and on their neglecting to do so, William had been reprimanded, and Pickering had received twenty lashes on his bare back. On the 24th of April there had been a great meeting of the jesuits at the White-horse tavern, by St. Clement's in the Strand, to deliberate on the assassination of the king; and two Benedictines, named Coniers and Anderton, and four Irishmen, whose names he knew not, were added to the former two: 10,000*l.*, and afterwards 15,000*l.*, had been offered to Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison the king, and he had reason to believe he had undertaken it. He had also learned, since his return, that the jesuits had caused the fire in 1666, on which occasion they had expended seven hundred fireballs; and they would then have murdered the king, but they relented when they witnessed his zeal and humanity. They had secured, amidst the conflagration, diamonds to the value of 14,000*l.*; ten years after they had made

2000*l*. by setting fire to Southwark, and they now had a plan for burning Westminster, Wapping, and the shipping. Finally, the pope had lately issued a bull appointing to all the dignities in the church of England, as the catholic religion was sure to triumph as soon as the king was taken out of the way.

Next morning (29th) Oates was again brought before the council. As it was objected to the Windsor letters that they were in feigned hands, badly spelt, and without any punctuation, he said that such was the practice of the jesuits, that they might say they were forgeries if they were discovered, but that their correspondents knew the secret. As he said he had been introduced to Don John at Madrid, he was desired to describe him. He said he was a tall, thin, dark man. The king, who had often seen him, knew that he was short, fat, and fair. He was also asked where he saw father La Chaise pay the money; he replied, "In the jesuits' house close to the palace." "Man," cried the king, "the jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre."

It is to be observed, that though Oates, by his own account, had feigned to be a convert with the sole purpose of discovering the secrets of the jesuits and betraying them; though, as he said, he was so highly in their confidence that numerous documents had been in his hands; he had not retained a single one of them, and there was nothing but his bare assertion for the truth of the incredible facts which he related. His only chance, therefore, was that something confirmatory might be found among the papers of those who were committed on his information, and here fortune stood his friend.

Among those named by Oates was Coleman, the secretary of the duchess of York. Coleman, the son of a protestant clergyman, had become a catholic; this naturally gained him the favour of the duke of York; and with the usual zeal of a convert, he exerted himself to the utmost for the advancement of his new creed. For this and for other purposes he was in correspondence with La Chaise and his successor in office, St. Germain. When, therefore, he heard of his danger, he put all his papers out of the way; but he unluckily forgot a drawer containing his correspondence in 1674 and the two following years, which was found. In one of these letters he says, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were

never such hopes of success, since the days of our queen Mary, as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can." Elsewhere he says, "I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince, in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety as not to regard anything in the world in comparison of God Almighty's glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other places he speaks of the interests of the crown of England being inseparable from those of France and the catholic religion, and he describes the king as inclined to favour the catholics, but at the same time as being thoroughly venal.

When we consider this language of Coleman, and add to it the other proofs which we possess, we think we may venture to say that the following assertion of Hallam is perfectly correct:—"There was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal, but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established protestant religion in England. In this plot the king, the duke of York, and the king of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the jesuits, were eager co-operators."

The mysterious disappearance of sir Edmund Bury Godfrey next came to increase the public alarm. Godfrey, as we have seen, was the magistrate who had taken Oates' deposition. Though he was a zealous protestant, he was on good terms with the catholics, particularly Coleman, whom he had warned of his danger. He seems to have had an idea that some mischief would befall him on account of this business, for Dr. Lloyd, the rector of his parish, heard him say, "I am told I shall be knocked on the head;" and he said the same to Dr. Burnet. To a gentleman who asked him if he had any hand in taking the informations touching the plot, he replied in the affirmative, adding, "I know not what will be the consequence of them, but I believe I shall be the first martyr." To another he said, "I must not talk much, for I lie under ill circumstances. Some great men blame me for not having done my duty, and I am threatened by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much."

On Saturday morning (Oct. 12) Godfrey left his home at an

early hour, and went to different parts of the town. He was met in St. Martin's-lane by persons of whom he inquired the way to Paddington-woods; he was seen by others in Soho and Marylebone-fields. He was in the Strand at one o'clock, and was afterwards seen in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and a person supposed to be him was seen in Red-lion-fields, and on the way to Primrose-hill, and finally in a field near that hill.

His absence from home (for he did not return) caused great uneasiness to his family and friends, and various conjectures were made to account for it. Some thought he was gone out of the way from his creditors; others gave out that he was married, and "that not very decently," or that he was run away with a harlot; but the most prevalent report was that he was murdered by the papists. For some days no account could be got of him; but on Thursday evening (17th), as two men were going toward the White-house at Primrose-hill, they saw a cane and pair of gloves lying on a bank by a ditch, and, on searching further, they found in the ditch the dead body of a man, with a sword run through him. His rings were on his fingers, and his money was in his pocket. There was a double crease round his neck, which was so limber that the face might be turned round to the shoulder. The body was at once recognised to be that of the missing justice. A coroner's jury, swayed by the opinions of two ignorant surgeons, brought in a verdict that he had been strangled, and it was supposed that the assassins had run his own sword through him, that he might be supposed to have killed himself. That the papists had done the deed, was a point about which few had any doubt; and those who had, thought it most prudent to confine their suspicions to their own bosoms.

The plain truth, however, appears to be, that in this instance the unfortunate papists were perfectly innocent, and that Godfrey died by his own hand. There was an hereditary melancholy in his family, and for some days before his disappearance a strangeness in his manner and behaviour had been observed. The apprehension of being brought into some trouble on account of having taken the deposition of Oates probably led to the catastrophe. As by the law the property of a *Felo de se* was forfeit to the crown, it was the interest of his brothers to have it believed that he was murdered. The report, laying the guilt on the papists, was traced to them; they kept back important evidence; and they dealt with the coro-

ner and the surgeons. It is, however, not to be supposed that they foresaw the judicial murders that were to ensue*.

When parliament met (21st), the ferment was great. The king's usual application for money was neglected; but an address was voted, praying him to appoint a solemn day of fasting and humiliation for imploring the Divine protection for himself and his loyal subjects. A second address followed for the removal of all popish recusants from London and its vicinity, and proclamations were made accordingly. Committees, with extensive powers, were appointed to search out the plot. The country-party, animated and directed by Shaftesbury, became now omnipotent in both houses. Full credit was given to everything Oates asserted; and he now added, that the pope, treating England as his kingdom, had appointed to all the great offices, civil and military: lord Arundel was to be chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, lord Bellasis commander-in-chief, with lord Petre for his lieutenant, sir Francis Radcliffe his major, and Lambert his adjutant-general; lord Stafford was to be paymaster-general, sir William Godolphin privy-seal, and Coleman secretary of state. Similar arrangements were made for Ireland. Some of those named were disabled by age, others by infirmity, but these objections were unheeded; warrants were issued against them all, and the lords Arundel, Powis, Stafford, Petre, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower. Both houses finally passed a resolution (31st), that "there had been, and still was, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

On the last day of the month the funeral of sir Edmund Bury Godfrey took place, at St. Martin's-in-the-fields. Seventy-two of the London clergy, in their gowns, walked two and two before the coffin, and it was followed in the same order by more than one thousand gentlemen in mourning, of whom many were members of parliament. The funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Lloyd, the rector. At each side of him stood a tall athletic clergyman, for his protection. His text was, "As a man falleth before the wicked, so fellest thou;" and he endeavoured to show that Godfrey had been murdered by the

* See L'Estrange's 'Brief History of the Times,' etc., where all the depositions are given.

catholics on account of his zeal in discharging the duties of his office.

Oates was now styled The Saviour of his Country: he had lodgings assigned him at Whitehall, with a pension of 1200*l*. No one ventured to call the truth of the plot into question. All precautions were adopted against the rising of the catholics which he had announced: the trained-bands were constantly on duty, the guards were doubled at the palace, and the city put up its posts and chains, in order to be prepared for defence*.

A reward of 500*l*. having been offered for the murderer of Godfrey, a letter came the day after the funeral to the secretary of state, dated from Newbury, requesting that William Bedloe, the writer of it, might be arrested at Bristol and conveyed to London. This was done accordingly, and Bedloe was examined in presence of the king (Nov. 7). He said he had seen the body of Godfrey at Somerset-house (the residence of the queen), where he had been smothered between pillows by two jesuits, and that he had been offered two thousand guineas to help to remove it. At a subsequent examination (11th) he said that Godfrey had been inveigled into Somerset-house about five in the evening, and there strangled with a linen cravat. But it happened that at that very hour the king was visiting the queen, and the place was full of guards, and the room in which he said he saw the body was that appropriated to the queen's footmen, who were always in it. At first, too, he knew nothing of the plot; but having read Oates' narrative, his memory brightened, and he called to mind many circumstances which he had learned from English monks, nuns, and other religious persons, whom he had met on the continent, all corroborating it.

Bedloe was, if possible, more infamous than Oates. He had been originally a servant of Lord Bellasis; he had travelled, chiefly as a courier, over much of the continent; had been guilty of many acts of robbery and swindling, had been often the inmate of a prison, and was but lately come out of Newgate.

The popular leaders had caused a bill, for a test which would exclude catholics from parliament and from the royal presence,

* North tells us (*Examen*, p. 206), that sir Thomas Player, the city chamberlain, said to the citizens, that "he did not know but that next morning they might all rise with their throats cut." This is alluded to in *Absalom and Achitophel*. Part ii. v. 308.

"Protesting that he dare not sleep in 's bed,
Lest he should rise next morn without his head."

to pass the commons (Oct. 28). While it was in the house of lords, an address was moved there by Shaftesbury, and in the commons by lord Russell, for excluding the duke of York from the presence and councils of the king. The efforts to have it rejected in the commons having proved abortive, the duke, at his brother's desire, resigned his place at the council-board; and Charles then having addressed the two houses in complacent terms, the lords resumed the discussion of the bill, and it was passed with a proviso that it should not extend to the duke of York (30th). By this bill twenty catholic peers lost their seats, and for a century and a half their descendants continued to be excluded.

The two informers (urged on, as was suspected, by the enemies of the duke, who wished to revive the project of a royal divorce) now proceeded to accuse the queen. Oates swore that, going one time with some jesuits to Somerset-house, he remained in the antechamber while they went in to the queen, and, as the door was ajar, he heard her exclaim, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed. I am content to join in procuring his death, and the propagation of the catholic faith." Yet, when sent to Somerset-house, he could not find the room in which he had been. Bedloe too deposed to a conference between the queen, Lord Bellasis, and some jesuits and other priests, which he had overheard. Oates appeared at the bar of the commons (28th), and in a loud voice cried, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, queen of England, of high treason." An address was voted to remove the queen and her attendants from Whitehall; but the lords having examined the two witnesses, positively refused to concur in it, and the absurd and unfounded charge was dropped. The king in this matter behaved well, and expressed his determination not to let her be oppressed. He told Burnet that, "considering his faultiness to her in other respects, he thought it a horrible thing to abandon her."

The impeachment of lord Danby, which had long been brewing, was now effected. Montague, the ambassador at Paris, came over without asking permission, and got himself chosen a member of the house of commons. His object was the ruin of Danby, and he entered into relations for this purpose with the popular leaders and with Barillon, from which last he was to receive 100,000 crowns in case of success. Danby, having had secret information of his project, and knowing that he had documents which might be used to his

been extinct, had revived; the protestant feeling, then characteristic of the nation, had been alarmed; and instead of a submissive body of loyalists, it had become an assembly suspicious of the court, and not to be managed by intrigue or daunted by power.

The courts of law were meantime proceeding in the trials of those charged by Oates and Bedloe with being concerned in the plot. Space does not allow of our entering into the details; suffice it to say, that the witnesses against them were in general men of the worst character; that chief-justice Scroggs and his brethren on the bench acted with the most flagrant partiality and injustice, always assuming the guilt of the accused, silencing the witnesses for the crown when embarrassed, explaining away their contradictions, and browbeating, sneering at, and insulting those for the defence; and that consequently conviction was no proof whatever of guilt.

Coleman was the first tried (Nov. 27): the witnesses against him were Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters. In the eyes of the court and jury Oates' testimony was not invalidated by his not having even known the person of the prisoner when first confronted with him. Coleman was found guilty, and died (Dec. 3), asserting his innocence to the last.

Grove, Pickering, and a jesuit named Ireland were next brought to trial (17th). Though the last made it clear that he was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in London, it availed him not: "You have done, gentlemen," said Scroggs to the jury, "like very good subjects and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good protestants; and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them," alluding to Pickering's reward. These men also died asserting their innocence (Jan. 14, 1679).

Hill, Green, and Berry, persons employed at Scmerset-house, were charged by Bedloe with the murder of Godfrey. As the law required two witnesses, one Miles Prance, a catholic silversmith, whom Bedloe had also charged, was treated with so much rigour in Newgate, and so worked on by promises and threats, that he was at last induced to confess his guilt, and appear as a witness against the other prisoners (Feb. 10). Bedloe's evidence and his contradicted each other in the grossest manner, but this was of no avail to the accused. The three were condemned and executed, protesting their innocence to the last. Berry, it is to be observed, died protestant.

An auxiliary to Oates and Bedloe had appeared in the person of one Carstairs, a profligate Scot. He swore that, in an eating-house near Covent Garden, he heard Staley, a catholic banker, say in French to another person, that the king was a rogue, and that he himself would stab him if no one else would. It was probably at first only a project to frighten money out of the banker, for Carstairs and another waited on him next day, and offered to hush up the matter for 200*l*. Staley only laughed at the charge. They then resolved to go through with the business; and he was seized, brought to trial forthwith, found guilty on their evidence, and hanged. When Burnet first heard of this business, he lost no time in informing the chancellor and attorney-general of the infamy of Carstairs' character, but the latter took it ill of him to disparage, as he said, the king's evidence*.

At the elections for the new parliament, the court-candidates were almost everywhere rejected. To express the slightest doubt of the plot deprived a man of all chance of a seat, and the new parliament therefore, it was expected, would prove still more unmanageable than the last. As a means of averting the storm which he saw preparing, the king commissioned the primate and some other prelates to make an attempt to bring back his brother to the protestant faith. But all their efforts were vain on the sullen obstinate mind of the duke, and Charles then required him to quit the country for a time. To this James consented, provided the king gave him a written order for that purpose, and also a solemn promise not to sacrifice his rights in his absence to the duke of Monmouth. Charles gave the order in an affectionate letter, and then solemnly declared before the council that he had never given any contract of marriage, or married any woman but his queen. He subscribed this declaration, and ordered it to be enrolled in chancery. The duke then set out with his family for Brussels.

As soon as the duke was gone, the parliament met (6th). Seymour, the former speaker, was re-chosen; the king rejected him, and proposed another; the commons insisted on *their* right, the king on *his*: the dispute was terminated by appointing a third person. Henceforth it became a principle, that

* Dr. Lingard adds, "and the timid divine shrunk from the frown of the barrister, and left the unfortunate man to his fate;" for which he had no authority in Burnet's narrative. The odious spirit of theological and political rancour will not allow any merit to a protestant divine and a whig.

the house should choose but that the crown may reject the speaker presented to it.

The commons now prepared to proceed with the impeachment of Danby; but the king, having previously dismissed him from his office, summoned the two houses to his presence, and told them that what Danby had done had been by *his* orders, and he had therefore granted him a pardon, and would do so a dozen times if necessary, but that at the same time he had some reason to exclude him from his presence and council. The commons however viewed this pardon as illegal, and resolved to proceed; the lords, fearful of opposing them, directed that the earl should be taken into custody. Danby concealed himself at Whitehall; the lords passed a bill for his banishment, but the commons rejected it and passed one for his attainder unless he surrendered against a certain day: the lords altered it; the commons were determined, and the lords had to give way again, and pass the bill of attainder. Danby then surrendered (Apr. 16), and was committed to the Tower. Some days later (25th) he gave in his answer, denying the charges and pleading the pardon he had received from the king. The commons acted with great and indecent violence; the peers vacillated; a prorogation took place, and the impeachment was never renewed.

At this time, the king, acting under the advice of sir William Temple, made a completely new organisation of his council. It was now to consist of thirty members (instead of fifty as before), one half to be the great officers of state, the remainder the leading popular members in both houses, so chosen that the annual income of the members of the council should amount to 300,000*l.*, to balance that of the commons, which was estimated at 400,000*l.*; for it was then a maxim in politics, that influence invariably follows property. It was expected that the hostility of the popular leaders would thus be mitigated, and with this view Charles himself nominated Shaftesbury president of the council.

The hopes of the king however were deceived; the protestant spirit of the commons was not to be lulled, and Shaftesbury continued to direct their movements. A resolution minatory of the duke of York having been voted unanimously by the commons (Apr. 27), Charles, in order to divert the blow which he saw coming, proposed such limitations on the power of a popish successor as seemed to leave him without the means of doing mischief. But the commons took no no-

tice of the proposal, and the committee which they had appointed to search for evidence against the duke having made their report, they proceeded (May 15) to bring in a bill for excluding him from the throne, and notwithstanding the efforts of the court-party, the duke's friends, and the supporters of hereditary right, it was passed by a majority of seventy-nine.

The passing of this vote secretly determined the king to get rid of his house of commons without delay. There were several of their other measures which showed the spirit which actuated them. In their animosity to Danby, they had voted, that if any member of their house should without permission support the validity of his pardon, he should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of Englishmen; and to diminish the influence of the crown in the house of peers, they maintained that the bishops had no right to sit and vote in capital cases. Their arguments however were refuted, and it was decided that in such cases the prelates have a right to stay in court "till the question of guilty or not guilty were put." The commons had moreover appointed a committee, of which the chief object was to discover the pecuniary corruption of the late parliament. The king accordingly, without advising with his council, prorogued the parliament (27th) for ten weeks. This proceeding so disconcerted Shaftesbury, that he openly vowed he would have the heads of those who advised it.

One most meritorious act distinguishes this parliament, and does credit to Shaftesbury, by whose influence it was passed. Hitherto the operation of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* had been so ineffective, that the boasted security which it offered mostly proved illusory. By the *Habeas Corpus* act now passed, it was made imperative on the judges to grant the writ when applied for; the practice of sending persons to a prison beyond sea was abolished, and it was directed that every prisoner should be indicted in the first term after his committal, and tried in the succeeding term.

During the recess, the public attention was occupied with more trials on account of the Plot. Five jesuits, named Whitebread (the provincial of the order), Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, were placed at the bar; the witnesses against them were Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and a man named Dugdale, who had been steward to lord Aston, a catholic nobleman. The evidence against the prisoners was of the usual kind; in their defence they impeached the veracity of the witnesses;

they produced sixteen students from St. Omers to prove that Oates was there at the time he swore he was at the meeting of the jesuits in London. Against these Oates produced six or seven persons who swore that they had seen him in London at that very time. The court gave credit to these last, and the prisoners were all found guilty. The next day (14th) Langhorn, an eminent lawyer and the law-agent of the jesuits, was put on his trial. When he appeared in court, the crowd set up a hooting at him ; his witnesses were insulted and beaten, and when the jury brought in their verdict of guilty, a shout of exultation was raised.

The jesuits were first executed (20th) ; they died solemnly asserting their innocence. Langhorn was respited for some time, in the hopes that he might be induced to make discoveries ; but as he persisted in denying all knowledge of the plot, he shared the fate of the other victims (July 14).

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Corker, Marshal, and Rumby, Benedictine monks, were next put on their trial (18th). They had advantages however which the others had wanted. Though it was generally believed that the catholics held that it was lawful to lie for the good of their cause, the solemn protestations of their innocence made by those who were executed had produced a favourable impression on the minds of many ; the cause of Wakeman moreover was in reality that of the queen, of whose innocence few could have a doubt. The king's feelings on this point were no secret, and Scroggs, now at length assuming the character of an impartial judge, treated Oates and Bedloe as they deserved. The jury acquitted the prisoners, and the two baffled informers had the audacity to declare that they would never more give evidence in a court where Scroggs presided, and actually exhibited articles against him to the council.

Seven or eight priests were executed in different parts of England on the old laws for exercising their spiritual functions. Two of them are said to have been upwards of eighty years of age. As this practice had been connived at for so long a time, they surely should have got notice and been allowed to quit the kingdom. But the spirit of fanaticism (whether political or religious) is wild, impetuous, and overwhelming ; no mounds of justice or equity can withstand it until it has spent its force. Perhaps when we consider how universal and strong was the belief in the Plot, and how art-

ful the modes adopted by some profligate politicians to exaggerate its atrocity*, we shall find here, as in the Civil War, grounds for admiring the freedom from bloodthirst characteristic of the English people.

We must now turn to a people of a different character. In Scotland, as we have more than once observed, every act of injustice or atrocity assumes a deeper die than in the southern part of the island. The religious persecutions of the reign of Charles exemplify this position.

When episcopacy was re-established in Scotland (1662), an act of indemnity containing nearly one thousand exceptions was introduced, and Middleton and his friends looked forward to a copious harvest of confiscations. The speedy disgrace of that profligate minister however averted the storm for a season. The bishops meantime held their synods; in the north the clergy in general submitted, but those of the west resolved not to acknowledge their jurisdiction. They proposed to offer a kind of passive resistance; but Middleton, in one of his drunken orgies at Glasgow, made an act of council for displacing all ministers who did not obtain induction from the prelates. Not less than three hundred and fifty ministers were in consequence ejected in the beginning of the winter, and they and their families were turned out of their houses, their stipends for the last year remaining unpaid. A set of ignorant vicious *curates* were brought up from the north to supply the vacant churches. But the people would not attend to them; they crowded every Sunday to the abode of their former pastor, and as that was generally too small to contain them, the conventicles began to be held in the open fields. To put an end to this practice, the council ordered the ejected clergy not to approach within twenty miles of their former parishes, and the people were forbidden under severe penalties to contribute to their support.

If Middleton was bad, his successor Lauderdale was still worse. The prelates now (1663) were dominant; severe acts were passed against the ejected clergy and their adherents, and a miniature inquisition, named an Ecclesiastical Commission, was appointed to enforce them. The jails were filled; num-

* Sir William Temple says, respecting the execution of the priests, "Upon this point lord Halifax and I had so sharp a debate, that he told me, if I would not concur in points that were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist, affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it was so or no."

bers went over to Ulster ; the lay-commissioners at length in disgust refused to act, and the odious commission was suffered to expire. But a severer scourge succeeded (1665). A body of troops, commanded by sir James Turner, a dissolute, ferocious Englishman, was sent into the west, to punish the people for deserting their churches. The curates were accusers, the soldiers judges ; enormous fines were the penalties, which were exacted with rigour, accompanied by every species of insolence and insult. Numbers of the gentry as well as peasantry fled from their habitations, and took shelter in the mountains and moors. At length an incident, similar to what caused a secession in ancient Rome, gave occasion to an insurrection. An indigent old man being unable to pay the fines imposed on him, was bound and laid on the ground to be conveyed to prison. The sight exasperated the peasantry ; they disarmed the soldiers and released him (Nov. 13, 1666). Despair now made them resolve on resistance ; others joined them ; they advanced to Dumfries (15th), where they surprised and captured Turner ; but on reading his instructions, and finding that, barbarous as he was, he had not acted up to them, they gave him his life. At Lanark, where their numbers amounted to 2000, they renewed the covenant. They then advanced toward Edinburgh, and came within two miles of that city ; but finding preparations made for defence, and that their friends within could not join them as they had expected, they set out on their return home, their number being now reduced to 800 or 900. At the Pentland hills they were overtaken by general Dalziel (28th) ; they drew up on the summit of a hill ; their ministers preached and prayed to encourage them, and they sang the 78th Psalm. They repelled the first charge of the royal troops, but at sunset they broke and fled ; the darkness befriended them, and not more than 130 were taken ; the slain did not exceed fifty. Cowardice is always cruel, and the two archbishops, who had been in the utmost consternation, now breathed nothing but vengeance : twenty of the captives were executed in Edinburgh as traitors ; thirty-five were hung at their own doors in the country. At length an order came down from court to stop the slaughter. Archbishop Burnet, who was the bearer of this order, had the barbarity to keep it back till Maccail, a young preacher, had been executed, after undergoing with undaunted resolution the horrid torture of the *boot*. Maccail's last words were, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars ; farewell, kindred and friends ; farewell,

world and time ; farewell, weak and frail body : welcome, eternity ; welcome, angels and saints ; welcome, Saviour of the world ; and welcome, God, the judge of all."

Dalziel and Drummond, two brutal soldiers who had long been in the Muscovite service, were sent to the west ; Dalziel's threats to spit and roast men were justified by his deeds. Some persons were put to death on the highway without trial, others were tortured by having lighted matches fastened to their fingers ; a son was executed for refusing to discover his father ; a wife was tortured till she died for aiding her husband to escape. Rape, robbery, and murder desolated the unhappy country for the space of seven months. The clergy abetted all the excesses of the soldiery, whom they caressed as their friends and patrons, and they spoke of the present times as a golden age.

A change in the Scottish ministry (1667) brought some repose to the country ; but with the return of Lauderdale to Scotland (1669) the persecution was renewed. The laws against conventicles acquired new vigour, and these in their turn assumed a more formidable appearance, as those who attended carried arms for their defence and frequent affrays took place between them and the military. The Scottish law having a civil excommunication, similar to the *Interdictio aquæ et ignis* of the Roman law, named Letters of Intercommuning, these were issued in great numbers against those who were known to frequent conventicles or absent themselves from church ; among whom were not only ministers and gentlemen, but even ladies of distinction. These and the other severities drove many to adopt a vagrant life, and gradually to acquire the feelings and habits of outlaws.

Some years before an attempt had been made on the life of Sharp. The assassin had escaped ; but six years after, Sharp, observing a man to eye him frequently, thought that he recognised the features of the person who had fired at him. The man was arrested ; he proved to be a fanatic preacher named Mitchel. On the solemn promise of Sharp and the council that his life should be safe, he confessed to the attempt on the archbishop. It was proposed to cut off his hand ; but having got a hint from a friendly or humane judge not to confess in court unless his limbs were secured as well as his life, he baffled the vengeance of the primate. A pretext, however, was made for putting him to the torture, and he was then confined in the prison on the Bass-rock, where he languished for four

years. His trial was then renewed at the instance of Sharp, who with Lauderdale, Rothes, and Hatton did not scruple to declare on oath that no promise of life had been made to him. A copy of the act of council was produced; but Lauderdale refused to allow the books in which it was registered (and where it still remains, a witness of their baseness and perjury,) to be examined, and the court condemned the prisoner. Lauderdale would have respited him, but the primate was inexorable; "Nay, then," said Lauderdale scoffingly, "let him glorify God in the Grass-market," the usual place of execution, and the prisoner accordingly was executed.

The great object of the king as we have seen was to obtain a standing army, as the only sure step to arbitrary power. Lauderdale had in compliance with his desire raised an army in Scotland; but it was necessary to have a pretext for keeping it up, and there is strong reason to suspect that it was concerted at court to drive the Scottish fanatics into insurrection with this view. Accordingly the landlords in the west were required to enter into bonds for the good conduct of all persons on their lands with respect to conventicles, etc., and on their refusal, Lauderdale declared the western counties in a state of revolt. Troops were therefore marched on all sides toward them, and by the express orders of the king a body of 6000 ferocious Highlanders were invited from their mountains, and in the middle of winter (1678) let loose on the unhappy counties to exercise all the atrocities of free quarters. Their ravages lasted for a space of three months, but failed to goad the people into rebellion.

At length the desired occasion was presented. One of the commissioners for suppressing conventicles, named Carmichael, had exercised great severities in Fife. Nine of those who had suffered lay in wait for him one day (May 3, 1679) on Magusmoor, near St. Andrew's, intending to fall on him while out hunting. But he had gotten information and retired to Cupar. When they were about to separate, a coach and six came in sight, and a boy cried out, "There goes the bishop!" The fanatics saw the hand of God in this event, and believing that Heaven had thus delivered the arch-persecutor into their hands, they mounted their horses, and led by John Balfour, a violent enthusiast, they crossed the moor and came up with the carriage, in which were only Sharp and his daughter. They fired into it, and as their shots did not take effect they dragged their victim out; to his offers, remonstrances, and entreaties,

they replied that they bore him no personal malice, but were only obeying the command of God. With their swords they barbarously slew him, and left his body on the road. They then retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they passed several hours in prayer.

Sharp may be called the Laud of Scotland. Like him, he was regular in his conduct in private life, a tyrant and a persecutor in public. But Sharp was an apostate and a traitor to those who had trusted him, and he seems to have had little religion of any kind. No one, we should hope, who has read the preceding History, will suspect us of being the apologists of crime; but we cannot avoid discerning the justice of Heaven, which permits even the irregular punishment of offenders who are not amenable to earthly tribunals.

Rewards were offered for the murderers, and conventicles were declared to be treasonous. The assassins were now in the west, where, in conjunction with sir William Hamilton's brother Robert, a stern fanatic, they urged the people to resistance. On Friday the 29th of May, a party entered the burgh of Rutherglen and publicly burnt the acts restoring episcopacy. On the following Sunday, colonel Graham of Claverhouse, with three troops of horse, attacked their conventicle at Drumclog by Loudon-hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty of his men. The troops abandoned Glasgow to the covenanters, whose numbers gradually swelled; but the time which should have been devoted to action was employed in religious controversy, and those whose only hopes lay in union were split into parties.

When the news reached London, the duke of Monmouth was sent down as commander-in-chief. His first instructions were, to treat or to fight; but Lauderdale induced the king secretly to alter them, and to direct him not to treat, but to attack the rebels wherever they were found. Monmouth advanced from Edinburgh at the head of 10,000 men; he found (June 21) the whigs, to the number of 4000 or 5000, posted at Bothwell-bridge, near Hamilton, on the Clyde. They sent to treat, but were required to surrender at discretion. The bridge was defended for some time against the duke; but when his troops had crossed it, the insurgents broke and fled at the first discharge of cannon; 400 were slain; 1200 surrendered; their lives were saved by the humanity of Monmouth, whose gentle and clement conduct in this expedition won the applause of

even the fanatics themselves*. On his return to court he became their advocate: but the influence of Lauderdale finally prevailed; the sanguinary Claverhouse was let loose on the devoted country, and the court of justiciary almost ruined the gentry by unjust and enormous fines.

Soon after the return of Monmouth, the king, with the advice of the lords Sunderland†, Essex and Halifax, dissolved the parliament (July 16). The following month he was attacked by a fever at Windsor, and by the advice of the same ministers and some other members of the council he recalled the duke from Brussels (Aug. 23). James came without delay, travelling under a feigned name. The king was convalescent when he arrived, and it was soon after deemed advisable that both James and Monmouth should quit the kingdom. They went to the Low Countries; but before long, the duke of York returned and got permission to reside in Scotland, whither he repaired without delay.

When the new parliament met (Oct. 17), it presented the same composition as the preceding one, and Shaftesbury, whom the king had just deprived of his office in the council, looked forward to vengeance on the court by means of it. But to his dismay, the king prorogued it the very day it met; and successive prorogations prevented its reassembling for a twelvemonth. Charles, before he ventured on this step, had agreed with Louis for a pension of a million of livres a-year for three years, and thus thought himself independent. But the treaty had not been signed, and Louis now wanted to add some more conditions. These Charles rejected, and he had therefore no alternative but to follow the advice of his brother and economise his income; and this he endeavoured to do rather than meet his parliament.

Shaftesbury now tried various expedients to rouse the popular feeling. The old ceremony of burning the pope was performed in London (Nov. 17) with more than usual pomp and expense. Immediately after, Monmouth returned without permission; and though the king ordered him to depart and deprived him

* They were, however, on arriving in Edinburgh, penned up in what is called the Little Church-yard of the Grey Friars, where they remained for months exposed to the weather, nearly starved, and obliged to lie on the bare ground under the canopy of heaven. Such barbarity could not have been exercised in England at almost any time.

† Son of him who fell at Newbury, and of lady Dorothea Sidney, Waller's Sacharissa.

of all his employments, he remained in defiance of him and went on in his endeavours to gain the popular favour. A pamphlet called an Appeal from the Country to the City, etc. was also put forth, in which the claims of Monmouth were warmly advocated, and great stress was laid on the maxim that "the worst title makes the best king."

But the grand expedient was, to pour in petitions from all parts to the king to allow the parliament to sit at the end of the first prorogation. To stem this torrent, when it began to appear formidable, the king put forth a proclamation (Dec. 12) threatening with punishment all who should subscribe petitions in any manner contrary to the law of the land. The immediate effect was extraordinary; the dormant loyalty of the nation was awakened, and from all sides counter-addresses poured in, expressing the deepest respect for, the royal prerogative and *abhorrence* of the practices of those who sought to limit it. The two opposite parties were at first named Petitioners and Abhorrrers; but these soon gave place to the titles of Whigs and Tories, which have continued to designate the two rival parties in the state down to the present day. The popular party were called by their opponents Whigs, as being akin in their sentiments to the Scottish fanatics who were thus named; they retaliated by styling them Tories, as resembling the popish robbers of this name in Ireland.

The king was now emboldened to recall the duke of York to court (Jan. 28, 1680). Russell, Cavendish, Capel, and Powle forthwith tendered their resignation as members of the council, which the king said he accepted with all his heart; speaking no doubt most sincerely. The duke's influence immediately appeared. There had long been great talk of a *black-box*, containing the king's marriage contract with Monmouth's mother, said to have been left by the late bishop of Durham in charge of his son-in-law sir Gilbert Gerard, and many persons it was asserted had seen and read the contract. All these persons were now examined before the privy-council, and they disclaimed all knowledge of the box or the contract. Two royal declarations were then published, in which the king solemnly affirmed that he had never been contracted or married to any one but the queen.

Shaftesbury's next measure was a bold one. Accompanied by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russell, Cavendish, and others, among whom was Titus Oates, he went (June 26) to Westminster-hall and presented the duke of York to the grand

jury for recusancy. He was defeated by a stratagem of the chief-justice, who suddenly dismissed the jury: but his principal object was attained; he convinced his party that he was resolved to seek no compromise with the duke.

While these various political intrigues were going on, the lives of persons continued to be endangered on account of the Popish plot. At this time lord Castlemain and the countess of Powis, wife of one of the catholic lords in the Tower, were accused by a man named Dangerfield, and sir Thomas Gascoygne and others of the catholic gentry of Yorkshire by one Bolton.

Dangerfield, a man of infamous character, like most of the informers, had been in the summer of the last year the author of what was called the Meal-tub Plot. This fellow having become acquainted with one Mrs. Cellier, a catholic who followed the profession of a midwife, conceived the idea of fabricating a plot of the presbyterians against the government. Mrs. Cellier, through lady Powis, introduced him to lord Peterborough, who brought him to the duke of York. That prince gave him twenty guineas, and he had forty from the king, with whom also he had an interview. At his instigation the revenue officers were sent to search for smuggled lace in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel, who, he said, was to be quarter-master of the presbyterian army, and behind his bed they found a parcel of treasonable papers. As these were manifest forgeries, Dangerfield was committed to Newgate, and there he said that he had been bribed by the papists to forge the plot, and to assassinate the king and lord Shaftesbury. He asserted that documents corroboratory of his confession would be found hid in a *meal-tub* in Mrs. Cellier's house; and there they certainly were found. The juries however, both on her trial and on that of lord Castlemain, refused to give credit to Dangerfield. The whole affair is, as usual, involved in mystery; the catholics may have endeavoured to get up a counter-plot; the Moimouth-party may have sought by means of a sham plot to cast odium on the duke of York. All parties at this time, in their anxiety about ends, were but too indifferent as to means.

The party opposed to the duke of York was now greatly increased in strength. Two of the ministers, Sunderland and Godolphin*, had joined it; and the duchess of Portsmouth,

* Sidney Godolphin, a younger son of an ancient Cornish family, at this time a commissioner of the treasury.

menaced with impeachment, had, through lord Howard of Escrick, entered into the league, on condition of all proceedings against her being dropt. She was employed to offer the king, over whom she had great influence, a large sum of money and the power of naming his successor.

When the time for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the opponents of the duke of York laboured to impress on the king's mind the necessity of his return to Scotland. To this the duke was very adverse, as he knew that his presence encouraged his friends and kept his brother steady. He was however obliged to yield, and he departed (Oct. 20), the king having promised not to give up any of the rights of the crown, and to dissolve the parliament if it should attempt to impeach him. James, however, did not trust alone to the royal resolution; sooner than forego his right to the succession, he was prepared to rekindle the flames of civil war, and at the head of his partisans in the three kingdoms to bid the king defiance*. Louis, constant to his plan of weakening England, directed Barillon to encourage him by offers of assistance.

The day after the duke's departure the parliament met and no time was lost in proceeding to the grand question of his exclusion from the throne. Dangerfield appeared before them (26th), and his account of the duke's knowledge of his forging the plot and encouraging him to kill the king, found real or affected belief. Lord Russell then moved a resolution "to take into consideration how to suppress popery and to prevent a popish successor." The resolution was unanimously adopted. On the succeeding days, a deposition of Bedloe's made on his death-bed was read, and Dugdale, Prance, and another witness were heard in proof of the duke's knowledge of the late plot, and the house voted (Nov. 2) that a bill should be introduced to disable the duke of York from succeeding to the crown.

Beside the thick-and-thin supporters of the court and country parties, there was in the house a third party, more respectable perhaps than either, named the party-volant, i. e. the independent members whose weight could incline the beam to either side. These united now with the whigs, and to intimidate the court party, the same tactics were resorted to as in the beginning of the parliament of 1640. They caused petitions against their returns to be presented; and having voted that it is the undoubted right of the subjects to petition the

* "Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut rétablir en Angleterre que par une guerre civile." Barillon, Aug. 19, 1680.

king to call a parliament, as if it followed by natural consequence that they had no right to petition for the reverse, they forthwith fell on the Abhorrers. They expelled sir George Withers, for having promoted one of the abhorrent petitions, and appointed a committee to inquire what other members had been guilty of a like offence. They frightened the recorder, sir George Jeffreys, a man afterwards so notorious, into a resignation of his office, which they procured for sir George Treby. Their officers were sent all through England to take Abhorrers into custody. The nation seemed to be once more menaced with the yoke of an arbitrary parliament; but Mr. Stawell, a gentleman of Exeter, having refused to submit to the sergeant-at-arms, the commons discovered that they were exceeding their powers, and they quietly receded from their pretensions.

The bill of exclusion was introduced on the 4th. It was supported by lord Russell and the other popular leaders; it was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, Laurence Hyde, Seymour, Temple, and others. The king sent a message intimating that he would not consent to alter the succession; but no notice was taken of it, and the bill passed (15th) by a large majority. It was carried to the lords (19) by lord Russell. When he read out the title, those behind him gave him a loud cheer. It was supported in the lords by Shaftesbury and Essex, and opposed by Halifax. The king canvassed for his brother the bishops were true to the cause of the prerogative, and the bill was rejected by a majority of sixty-three to thirty*. Shaftesbury then proposed, "as the only remaining chance for liberty and religion," a bill of divorce. But to this Charles was as adverse as ever; he canvassed against it also, and it was not proceeded with.

The commons, to gratify their spleen, addressed the king to remove Halifax from his presence and councils; he replied, *that he did not think they had given sufficient reasons for the adoption of that measure.* They also impeached Seymour for malversation in his office of treasurer of the navy—his real offence was his vigorous opposition to the Exclusion-bill. Their next proceeding was of a more malignant character; they revived the impeachment against the venerable lord Stafford, one of the popish lords in the Tower.

* Monmouth very indecorously voted openly for the bill, saying he knew no other way to preserve the life of the king from the malice of the duke of York. The king, in a loud whisper, likened this to the kiss of Judas.

The trial took place (Nov. 30) in Westminster-hall, which was fitted up for the occasion in the usual manner. The chancellor, Finch earl of Nottingham, acted as lord high-steward; Maynard, Winnington, Treby, and other lawyers were the managers on the part of the commons. Oates, Dugdale, and a new witness named Turberville were the principal witnesses against the accused. The trial lasted five days.

The managers commenced by endeavouring to establish the truth of the plot in general, and then to show that the prisoner was concerned in it. Oates swore that he saw Ireland deliver him a commission to be paymaster-general of the catholic army; Dugdale, that lord Stafford had offered him 500*l.* to kill the king; Turberville, that he had made a similar offer to himself at Paris. Lord Stafford, though a man of very moderate abilities, aided by the power of truth, made an able defence, and showed that the testimony of the witnesses abounded in contradictions and was not to be credited. On the last day (Dec. 4), the managers replied; and three days after, the lords re-assembled to give sentence, and out of eighty-six peers, fifty-five pronounced him guilty. When brought in and informed of the result, he said, "God's holy name be praised! I confess I am surprised at it; but God's holy will be done and your lordships'; I will not murmur at it." He requested to have liberty to see his wife, children and friends during the short time he had to live. His request was granted, and it was added that they would intercede with his majesty to remit all the sentence except the beheading. He burst into tears; "My lords," said he, "it is not your justice, but your kindness that makes me weep."

In the Tower he was visited, at his own desire, by the bishop of London and Dr. Burnet. He listened to their arguments on religious topics attentively, but said that he had no time now for controversy, and they had the good sense not to urge him. He denied all knowledge of any design against the life of the king; but he said he could discover many other things for which the duke would never forgive him. At his desire Burnet spoke to lord Essex, lord Russell, and sir William Jones, and they said that if he told what he knew of the designs of the papists, and "more particularly concerning the duke," they would endeavour to have him excused from confessing what related to himself. He said to Burnet, "What if I should name some who have now great credit, but had once engaged

to serve their designs?" The other advised him to speak the whole truth.

Lord Stafford was immediately brought to the bar of the house of lords (18th). He related the various projects of the catholics for the security and advancement of their religion. As they conceived that this could only be effected by means of a toleration, he said that their last plan had been a coalition with the country-party, which was approved of both by the duke and lord Shaftesbury. But when he named the last, he was ordered to withdraw; the house would hear him no more. He was remanded to the Tower, and that very day the order for his execution was issued to the sheriffs. These were Bethel and Cornish, two Independents, and creatures of Shaftesbury's. They questioned, it is not known why, the validity of the writ, as it was the house of lords, not the king, that had sentenced him. The lords, when applied to (21st), said "the king's writ ought to be obeyed:" but not satisfied with this, the sheriffs caused the commons to be asked whether the king or even the lords can order the execution? and whether the king can remit a part, or if a part why not the whole, of the sentence? The commons got over the difficulty by saying, that "the house was content that the sheriffs should execute William, late viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body *only*." We fear, to the disgrace of our nature, that the mitigation of the sentence at the request of the peers, was the motive of these political and religious fanatics for questioning the undoubted right of the crown*.

Lord Stafford was beheaded (29th) on Tower-hill. When he first appeared a few groans and yells were raised; but the general conduct of the spectators was respectful, and most of them took off their hats. He spoke at some length in vindication of his innocence, and the generous populace cried out, "We believe you, my lord. God bless you, my lord!" He laid down his head, and one stroke terminated his existence.

Of lord Stafford's innocence there cannot, we think, be even the shade of a doubt on any impartial mind. But the whig

* Echard says that lord Russell was "one of those who, with the sheriffs, questioned the king's power in allowing that lord to be only beheaded;" and that on a similar melancholy occasion, Charles said, "My lord Russell will now see that I have a power to change his sentence." Fox expresses no doubt of the truth of this charge against lord Russell, which he ascribes to "his fear of the king's establishing a precedent of pardoning in cases of impeachment."

party are perhaps unjustly loaded with the odium of his death ; for its true cause seems to have been the prevalent delusion which darkened even the clearest understandings*. The whigs, it is well known, were a minority in the house of lords, which condemned him. The chancellor and the duke of Lauderdale and other ministers of the crown, it may be observed, voted him guilty, while Hollis and Halifax voted in his favour. Four of his own kinsmen, the Howards, voted against him ; but another of them, lord Arundel, though at enmity with him, voted in the minority. As for the king, he showed the utmost indifference. The duke of York did perhaps all he could for the unfortunate nobleman.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1681-1685.

THE proceedings of the commons in the present session strongly reminded men of the days of 1641. Thus they refused the king supplies unless he would assent to the exclusion-bill ; they impeached four of the judges ; they resolved that several persons, whom they named, ought to be removed from public employments ; and that any member of their house who should accept a place, or the promise of one, should be expelled, etc. The king and his ministers became alarmed ; a resolution was taken to prorogue the parliament, and it was finally dissolved (Jan. 18, 1681) and another summoned to meet two months thence at Oxford.

Oxford was selected from a recollection of the aid which the commons had derived from the city of London in 1641. A petition, signed by sixteen peers, against the holding of parliament in that city, was presented by lord Essex, but without effect. The king, to ensure his independence of the commons, entered into a new treaty with Louis for a pension for a term of three years. To this he had been strongly urged by the

* The dire magicians threw their mists around,
And wise men walk'd, as on enchanted ground.

Hind and Panther, 2015,

duke of York, who on his part was making every preparation for an appeal to arms.

When the day for the meeting of parliament drew nigh the king set out for Oxford, guarded by a troop of horse. Most of the members who repaired thither were armed, both themselves and their servants. Those of the city of London were followed by a train on horseback, with blue ribands round their hats, inscribed with "No popery! no slavery!" The members returned to this parliament were in general those who had sat in the last.

The king being now in no dread of want of money, addressed the two houses (Mar. 21) in a tone of authority. He spoke in severe terms of the conduct of the late parliament, and declared, that as he would never act arbitrarily himself, he would not suffer others to do so; he expressed his rooted dislike to the exclusion-bill, but added, that he would be "ready to hearken to any expedient by which the religion might be preserved, and the monarchy not destroyed," in case of a popish successor. One of the first measures of the commons, however, was to bring in again the exclusion-bill, but the debate on it was deferred for a few days, and meantime another matter occurred to occupy their attention.

There was an Irish catholic, named Fitzharris, who by means of his cousin, a Mrs. Wall, who was in the service of the duchess of Portsmouth, had become connected with the court. He devoted himself to the discovery of the designs of the country-party, and his services were at one time rewarded by the king with a present of 250*l*. Probably with a view to a similar reward, Fitzharris resolved, in conjunction with one Everard, a Scotsman, to write a libel on the king and the duke of York. When it was written, Fitzharris hastened with a copy to his patroness, perhaps intending to denounce his coadjutor as the author; but the Scot had been too wily for him, having concealed sir William Waller, a magistrate, and two others, behind the hangings in the room where they were composing it. Fitzharris was therefore committed to Newgate; and now seeing himself in real danger, he pretended that he could make important discoveries of the designs of the duke of York. The king, observing that the exclusionists were preparing to make use of him, had him removed to the Tower, and directed the attorney-general to indict him for treason. The commons, however, believing, or pretending, that this was a continuation of the popish plot, and that the object of the crown was to de-

prive them of the benefit of Fitzharris's revelations, determined on impeaching him before the lords. The peers, when the impeachment was brought up, decided not to entertain it; and the commons, in a fury, voted their so doing to be a denial of justice and a violation of the constitution.

That very day (26th) the debate on the exclusion-bill came on, and one of the ministers proposed the 'expedient' at which the king had hinted. This was, that the duke should only have the title of king and be banished to a distance of five hundred miles from England, while the princess of Orange should administer the government as regent. After a long debate, the expedient was rejected, and it was resolved to proceed with the exclusion-bill. Two days after, as they were engaged in the second reading, they were suddenly summoned to the house of lords.* They found the king seated on the throne, and, after a brief address, he ordered the chancellor to dissolve the parliament. He then got into his carriage and hurried away to Windsor, leaving the opponents of the court filled with rage and dismay.

By this well-timed act of resolution and dexterity Charles completely overthrew the country-party. Their conduct now appeared to most men to have been purely factious, and calculated to convert the monarchy into a republic. Loyal addresses poured in from all quarters; the pulpits everywhere resounded with declamations in favour of the duke, and against the nonconformists. The declaration which the king put forth, stating the causes which induced him to dissolve the two last parliaments, was, on the proposal of the primate, Sancroft, read out in all the churches.

The first proof which the court gave of its power was an order to the attorney-general to proceed with the trial of Fitzharris. He was found guilty, and executed at Tyburn (July 1). It would appear that he was dealt with by agents of the court to declare with his dying breath that he had been suborned by the recorder and sheriffs to make the depositions which he had made.

Fitzharris was a profligate scoundrel, and deserved his fate; but on the same day with him suffered a man of blameless and innocent life, sacrificed at the altar of the king's pretended zeal for protestantism. This was Oliver Plunket, titular prelate of Armagh in Ireland, accused of a share in what was called the Irish plot for setting up popery in that country by means of a French army. The witnesses against him were mostly priests

whom he had censured for their lewdness and profligacy. Though five weeks were given him to bring over his witnesses, various circumstances concurred to delay them, and he had nothing to oppose to the evidence against him but his simple assertion. With his last breath he solemnly declared his innocence, and no one, we believe, has ever doubted of it. We cannot conceive anything more appalling than the conduct of the king in signing the warrant for the death of this upright prelate, with no other view than the retention of his present popularity, for he had now no Shaftesbury and his party to fear: he had completely stricken down his foes.

The very next day Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower, and (such is mob-popularity!) he was hooted at as he passed thither by the rabble who so lately had adored him*. The witnesses against him were some of the scoundrels whom he had himself encouraged in the affair of the Irish plot. The court-party lent all the aid in their power to crush this formidable intriguer, and the witnesses swore most manfully; but the grand jury ignored the bill. The hall rang with shouts of applause, and bonfires and the ringing of bells succeeded (Nov. 24). It is true, that the sheriffs, who were of the country-party, had been careful in selecting the jury, but it is equally true that the evidence was utterly incredible.

The greater part of the gang of informers had now veered round to the court. On the trial of one College, Turberville and Dugdale were arrayed against Oates and others of the crew. College, named the Protestant Joiner, from his zeal and his trade, was charged with having gone armed to Oxford, in conjunction with others, with the design of seizing the person of the king. The London grand jury ignored the bill; but that of Oxfordshire having found a true bill against him, he was taken to Oxford, tried, condemned, and executed (Aug. 31). It is almost needless to add that he was innocent.

The prince of Orange came over this summer, and visited the king at Windsor (July 24). His objects were to induce his uncle to succour Holland and Flanders, and for that purpose to summon a parliament. He strongly, it is said, expressed his dislike of restrictions on the rights of the crown, but, with the king's permission, he undertook to confer on the subject with the popular leaders. What was the result of the conferences is not known. The prince was, as usual, invited to dine with the city; but the king, on being informed of it, summoned

* Life of James II. i. 688.

him down to Windsor, so that he was unable to take advantage of the invitation. After a short stay in England he returned to the Hague (Aug. 5)*.

During the last year there had been an outbreak of religious fanaticism in Scotland, which gave occasion to the exercise of the usual barbarities on the part of the government. Cargill and Cameron, two of the ministers who had escaped to the continent after the affair of Bothwell-bridge, having returned, collected some of their followers, who, from the latter, have been named Cameronians. At Sanquahar (June 22), Cameron read, and then affixed to the market-cross, a declaration stating that Charles Stuart had, by his perjury and tyranny, forfeited all claim to their allegiance. About a month after (July 20) they and sixty or seventy of their followers were surprised by three troops of dragoons at Aiadsmoss, in Kyle. Cameron and his brother fell bravely fighting back to back; seven more were slain, and sixteen made prisoners, all of whom, of course, were executed. Cargill, who had escaped, soon after, at a conventicle in the Torwood, solemnly excommunicated their principal persecutors by name, the king himself included. The persecution was redoubled, and both men and women were executed. Tyranny was met by enthusiasm; and when the duke of York, on his return, offered their lives to the Cameronians, if on the scaffold they would cry "God bless the king!" the very women refused to lose the crown of martyrdom by compliance.

After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, James obtained permission from his brother to hold one in Scotland. Its first act was to confirm all the laws in favour of the protestant religion, and against popery; it next passed one asserting the unalterable right of succession to the crown. A test, to be taken by all persons, was then framed: the Confession of Faith of the first reformers was adopted as the definition of the protestant religion, and "a long inconsistent oath," says Laing, "was prescribed, to adhere, according to this obsolete confession, to the protestant faith, yet, by the recognition of supremacy, to conform to whatever religion the king might appoint; to preserve the former presbyterian discipline, yet to attempt no alteration in the present episcopal form of the church; to abjure the doctrines and renounce the right of

* The prince told Burnet that the king said to him, "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end." Burnet, ii. 415, where see the note.

resistance, but at the same time, as a religious duty incumbent by the Confession on good subjects, to repress the tyranny and resist the oppression of kings."

No conscientious man of any party could take this oath in its literal sense. By dint, however, of explanations, the episcopal clergy, with the exception of eighty honest men, who valued their souls more than their livings, were induced to subscribe this presbyterian engagement. The presbyterians mostly declined it, and the duke of Hamilton resigned his office rather than take it. The earl of Argyle subscribed it, with an explanation that he did not consider himself precluded from attempting any alteration "which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty." This was accepted at the time; but he was called on to qualify a second time, and his explanation was then refused, and he was committed to the castle (Nov. 9). A charge was made against him of treason, perjury, and *leasing-making*; and with the bare-faced iniquity characteristic of the Scottish state-trials in that century, a jury, of which the marquis of Montrose was foreman, pronounced him guilty of treason and *leasing-making* (Dec. 12). The king sent down directions that judgement should follow, but execution be stayed. Argyle, however, saw reason to think that the duke and his party were resolved on his death, and he contrived to effect his escape, disguised as a page in the train of his daughter-in-law, lady Sophia Lindsay. He made his way to London, where he remained concealed for some time, and then got over to Holland. Some members of the council had the fiendish barbarity to propose that lady Sophia Lindsay should be publicly whipped through the streets of Edinburgh! The duke, however, who had some of the feelings of a gentleman, replied that "they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in *his* country."

Laing truly observes, that "there was nothing similar to the corruption of the peers and jurors of Argyle, except the venal evidence allotted in England to the vilest of mankind." The objects really sought were the ruin of that nobleman as the head of the presbyterian party, and the division of his spoils among the duke's friends. The pretext employed was, the necessity of wresting from him his hereditary jurisdictions, but these he had already offered to surrender. They were now, together with those of Monmouth and Hamilton, who would

not take the test, parceled out among the creatures of the court. Argyle's estates were given to his eldest son.

An affair of no slight importance in the royal mind, the settling a pension on the duchess of Portsmouth, caused the duke of York to be invited to Newmarket early in the following year (1682). When that necessary matter had been arranged, and he had obtained permission to reside in England, he returned to Scotland to settle the administration in that country. But the Gloucester frigate which carried him, struck on the Lemon-and-Ore bank (May 6) and was lost, with about two hundred persons. The duke, with some of his friends, escaped in the barge, and the generous sailors, though certain of their own death, gave a loud cheer when they saw him in safety*. He brought his family up to London, and resumed his residence at St. James's (25th).

In the plan of despotism which was now matured, there were two important points to be attained; the one was to be able always to have juries who, heedless of the evidence, would find a verdict for the crown; the other, in case it should be necessary to return to the use of parliaments, to possess the power of nominating a majority of the members. These objects were both to be compassed by obtaining the appointment of the officers of the corporations. It was resolved to begin with the city of London, whose zeal for liberty, it must be confessed, has always contained a sufficient alloy of turbulence and faction.

It had been the custom for the lord-mayor to designate one of the sheriffs for the ensuing year by drinking to him at the Bridge-house feast, and this choice was always confirmed by the livery. This however was only a courtesy on their part, for by the charter the right lay in the citizens at large. The practice however had ceased, and since 1641, both the sheriffs had been chosen by the common-hall. Now, however, at the king's desire it was renewed, and sir John Moore, the mayor, drank and sent the cup to Dudley North, an eminent Turkey merchant, and brother to the chief-justice of the common pleas. On the day of election, the whig party proposed two citizens, named Papillon and Dubois, and demanded a poll. The lord-mayor, insisting on his right to name one, refused, and adjourned the court; but the sheriffs most irregularly continued

* James gave money to their widows and children. It was said, but with more malice than truth, that his chief care had been to save his dogs and priests.

it and commenced a poll, for which they were sent next day to the Tower. The contest was continued for some months, each party maintaining its claim. Though the popular candidates had immense majorities at the polls, the court nominees, North and Rich, were finally sworn in; and at the next election for lord-mayor, the court succeeded in having one of its party placed in office, so that it now had both mayor and sheriffs, and consequently juries at its devotion. As a proof of its power and its vengeful spirit, Pilkington, one of the late sheriffs, being charged with saying, when he heard that the duke was returning, "He has already burnt the city, he is now coming to cut all our throats," was sentenced to pay 100,000*l.* damages. Sir Patience Ward, a former lord-mayor, for having sworn that he did not hear Pilkington use those words, was sentenced to the pillory for perjury.

But a more deadly blow was aimed soon after at the city. A writ of inquiry, or *Quo warranto*, was issued against it, as having forfeited its charter by illegally imposing a toll, and by making scandalous reflections on the king in the petition against the prerogation in 1679. The case was argued in the court of king's-bench. The advocates for the city showed, that a corporation never had been, and could not be, subject to forfeiture; that the acts with which the city was charged were both legal, but that at all events, the persons who did them should be punished, and not the innocent corporation. But the judges were the mere tools of the crown, and judgement was given (June 12, 1683) "that the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." On a petition of the common council, the king consented to leave them their revenues and form of government, provided they gave him a veto on the appointment of their mayor, sheriffs, and other principal officers. The city now was bridled in perpetuity, and what had succeeded in London was tried all over the kingdom; *Quo warrantos* were issued in abundance, and as there were few corporations which had not been guilty of some irregularities, most sought to make terms by voluntary surrenders of their charters. They obtained new ones, making them more oligarchic and more under the power of the court. This course of laying the foundation of despotism went on through the remainder of this and a great part of the succeeding reign. The court had soon an opportunity of proving the effects of the influence it had acquired, for another conspiracy was at this time brought to light.

Ever since the dissolution of the last parliament, the leaders of the popular party had been in the habit of holding consultations as to the best modes of resisting the government, in case, as seemed almost certain, it should aim at despotic authority. In contemplation of the necessity of an ultimate appeal to force, they had arranged the project of a simultaneous rising in London and in various parts of the kingdom; but this was little more than hypothetic, for lord Essex and lord Russell were men of too much prudence and virtue to have recourse to insurrection without a stringent necessity, and a chance nearly amounting to certainty. The impetuous Shaftesbury, maddened by disappointment, and fearful of the vengeance of the court, was urgent for immediate action; his party was, as he thought, strong in the city, where he boasted that he had ten thousand 'brisk boys,' as he called them, ready to fly to arms on the motion of his finger. He had of course several subordinate agents, the principal of whom were colonel Rumsey, a man who had served in the republican army, and afterwards in Portugal; Ferguson, a Scottish independent minister; West, a lawyer; and Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff to Bethel; but these men had little or no communication with the other popular leaders. Finding his proposals rejected, Shaftesbury in his rage and fear even ventured to think of a rising in the city alone; but at length, seeing no hope of success, he retired to Holland, in the latter end of the year, and he died at the Hague of gout in the stomach on the 21st of the following January (1683).

Delivered from the dangerous impetuosity of Shaftesbury, the friends of liberty resolved to proceed with deliberation and caution. To conduct their plans, a council of six was formed, consisting of the duke of Monmouth, lords Essex, Russell, and Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great patriot. Howard was a man of no principle, but he was a bold talker, and he had gained on Essex, at whose persuasion Russell (who though he was his first-cousin disliked him extremely) consented to admit him into their association. The marquess of Winchester, Ford lord Grey, and others, though not in the council, were in the secret.

It was proposed, that in case of a rising, it should also extend to Scotland, where the barbarous proceedings of the government were driving the people half-frantic. An agreement was made with the earl of Argyle, who was in Holland, to supply

him with 8000*l.* to enable him to purchase arms and return and raise his clansmen. Several of the Scottish nobility and gentry having resolved to sell their estates and seek a refuge from persecution in the New World, had sent agents up to London to treat with the patentees of the new colony of Carolina. With these men the council entered into communication, and they readily engaged in the project. Such was the state of the conspiracy in the summer of 1683, when it was discovered: nothing had been done, nothing even determined on; all was mere speculation.

The discovery was made in the following manner. Rumsey, West, and the other satellites of Shaftesbury used to hold meetings of their own, in which there was frequent talk of "lopping the two sparks," as West expressed it, that is, killing the king and duke. West spoke of doing it as they were going to or from the playhouse, as then he said "they would die in their calling." There was one Rumbold, an old officer of Cromwell's army, who had married a maltster's widow, and thus become master of a house called the Rye, near Hoddesden in Herts, close by which the king used to pass on his way to Newmarket. He happened to say how easy it would be for a man to shoot the king at that place. West caught at the idea, and hence the plot was named the Rye-house-plot. In this case also, although there was a real conspiracy, nothing would seem to have been actually determined on, and things remained in this state till the month of June, when on the very day (12th) that judgement was given against the city, one Josiah Keeling, a sinking merchant, who was one of the confederates, resolved to turn informer. He went to Legge, now lord Dartmouth, who sent him to secretary Jenkins; and on the information which he gave, rewards were offered for nine of the conspirators; but they had been forewarned by Keeling's brother, and had concealed themselves. Two days after, West and Rumsey came in and surrendered; and on their information, together with that of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, Russell and Sidney were arrested and sent to the Tower. Lord Grey was arrested, but he contrived to escape from the messenger; the duke of Monmouth also escaped, but Howard was taken concealed in a chimney in his own house. To save his life, he discovered all that he said he knew, and on his information lord Essex and Hampden were arrested.

On the 13th of July lord Russell was put on his trial. The moment he was arrested he looked on his life as lost, not so

much from an idea that anything could be proved against him, as from his knowledge of what witnesses were capable of swearing, and of the violent temper of the royal brothers. He had therefore turned his thoughts to another world and passed his hours reading the Scriptures. The duke of Monmouth had sent to assure him, that if it would be of any service to him, he would come in and run fortunes with him; but he replied, that it would not benefit him to have his friends to die with him. Lord Essex would not save himself by flight, lest it might prejudice the cause of lord Russell, and the very morning that his friend was put on his trial, this excellent nobleman terminated his existence. He was constitutionally melancholy, and the circumstance of his having been the means of putting it into lord Howard's power to injure lord Russell had weighed heavily on his spirits. The evening before he sent to assure the earl of Bedford that he was more concerned for his son's condition than even the earl himself. His servant on entering his room the next morning found him lying with his throat cut. There is hardly a doubt of his having done the deed himself; but attempts were afterwards made to prove that he had been murdered. Lord Russell, the day before his own death, described Essex as "the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest, and most concerned for the public, of any man he ever knew."

Lord Russell was tried at the Old Bailey, before Pemberton, chief-justice of the common pleas, and a jury of citizens. His admirable wife, the glory of her sex*, suppressing all womanish fears and scruples, acted as his secretary on this occasion. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, Shepherd, and lord Howard. The first deposed to a meeting at Shepherd's at which lord Russell was present, where there was a conversation about a rising at Taunton, and about seizing the guards at the Savoy and the Mews, in which the prisoner took a part. Shepherd deposed much to the same effect. Lord Howard was next examined; he stated the existence of the council of six, of which lord Russell was a member, and their communication with Argyle and the Scots; and he deposed to two meetings at which the prisoner was present, one being at lord Russell's own house.

Lord Russell, in his defence, acknowledged that he had been at Shepherd's, but accidentally he said, having gone thither for

* Lady Rachel Wriottesley, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, so distinguished for his attachment to the royal family.

the purpose of tasting some wines. Lord Anglesea swore that lord Howard said to the earl of Bedford in his presence, "I know nothing against your son or any body else of such a barbarous design, and therefore your lordship may be comforted in it." Mr. Howard and Dr. Burnet also proved that Howard had denied all knowledge of the plot. Howard was re-examined, and he explained what lord Anglesea had heard, by saying it was his object at that time to outface the king for himself and his party. Pemberton treated the prisoner with much more moderation and decorum than was usual at that time, and his charge was such as might have produced an acquittal from an impartial jury; but the present one had been selected by North and Rich, and they found the prisoner guilty. On the following Saturday (14th) sentence of death by hanging, quartering, etc. was passed on him. The king afterwards commuted this sentence to decapitation, saying sarcastically (if Echard may be credited), "Lord Russell shall now find that I am possessed of that prerogative, which in the case of lord Stafford he thought proper to deny me."

Lord Russell was now placed in Newgate, where he had the constant attendance of dean Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. Every effort was made to save his life; his father is said to have offered the king 100,000*l.* for his pardon; but the reply was, "he would not purchase his own and his subjects' blood at so easy a rate." Lord Dartmouth urged on the king the impolicy of provoking the resentment of so great and numerous a family as the Russell, and hinted that some regard was due to the daughter of Southampton and her children. But mercy, magnanimity, or gratitude had no place in the bosom of Charles; he answered, "All that is true, but it is as true that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine." Yielding to the entreaties of his wife and friends, lord Russell consented to petition the king for mercy, and the duke of York for his intercession. To the former he denied having any thought against his life, or design to change the government; he excused his opposition to the latter on the plea of principle. He offered to live anywhere the king should appoint, and engage never to meddle in the affairs of England. Both petitions were slighted.

The week which passed between the sentence and the death of this virtuous nobleman is a beautiful scene to contemplate. His own serene and cheerful piety, the zealous affection of his incomparable wife, and the sincere attachment of his friends,

all combine to raise our estimate of the worth of our nature. He spoke to Burnet of his death as giving him less apprehension than the drawing of a tooth; it was only, he said, being gazed at by his friends and enemies, and a moment's pain. Lord Cavendish having sent to propose changing clothes with him, and remaining in the prison while he made his escape, he smiled, sent him his thanks, but said he would make no escape. He dined and supped as cheerfully as ever, and talked of the affairs of Europe in his usual easy manner. As Saturday was the day appointed for his execution, he received the sacrament on Friday morning from Tillotson, and Burnet afterwards preached two sermons before him. He said, "he could not pretend to such high joys and longing (as the preacher had spoken of), but an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of his mind." After dinner he saw and took leave of his children; at supper he was so cheerful as to amaze Burnet. He said to his wife, "Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together." A little before she went away, he took her by the hand, and said, "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold." At ten o'clock she rose to depart; he kissed her four or five times; she controlled her feelings so as not to add to his distress, and they parted in silence. When she was gone, "Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is past;" and he continued for a long time dilating on her many virtues and perfections. Observing that it rained hard, he said, "Such a rain tomorrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day."

At twelve he went to bed, desiring to be called at four. He was asleep when his servant came, and he fell asleep again while he was preparing his things for him to dress. He prayed several times with Tillotson and Burnet, and also by himself. He wound up his watch, which he intended to give to the latter, and then said, "I have done with time, now eternity comes." As he came down, he met lord Cavendish, and took leave of him, but then turned back to urge on him the necessity of attending more to his religion. He rode in his own carriage to Lincoln's-inn-fields, where he was to die. Tillotson and Burnet observed that he was singing to himself; on their inquiry, he said it was the 119th Psalm, but he should sing better very soon. As they turned down Little Queen-street, he looked toward his own house, and a tear stood in his eye; he said, "I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now turn to this with greater." He

expressed his wonder at seeing so great a crowd assembled. He addressed the sheriff briefly, and handed him a written speech, prayed by himself, then laid his head on the block, and at the second stroke it was severed from his body. The paper which he gave the sheriff, and which contained the vindication of his conduct, had been already sent to the printer's, and in less than an hour it was sold through the city, to the great annoyance of the court.

From the preceding narrative it is plain that lord Russell was a man of the most amiable and honourable character, and sincerely attached to the religion and constitution of his country. His abilities (like those of his family in general) were only moderate; and his fame is chiefly owing to his death, perhaps not a little to the heroic conduct of his wife. His sentence was hard, if not unjust; for it has been observed that the only overt act of treason that could be regarded as proved against him, was his assent to a rising at Taunton, and that only by a single witness. How much more might have been proved, if Howard was a willing witness (which it would seem he was not), or if the witnesses had been more strictly cross-examined, is uncertain. At all events, if the king had been either wise or humane, a fairer opportunity for clemency could not have presented itself.

On occasions like the present, there will always be found parties ready to seek the favour of the prevailing power, by the sacrifice of truth, justice, and all that is valuable to man. The university of Oxford now took the lead in the career of adulation. The very day on which the blood of Russell was shed, it passed a decree, in which, assuming the truth of the plot to assassinate that sacred person who was the "breath of their nostrils, the anointed of the Lord," they proceeded, "to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity," etc., to decree twenty-four propositions, taken from the works of jesuits and protestants alike, to be "false, seditious, and impious, and most of them heretical and blasphemous, and destructive to all government in church and state." Among these atrocious doctrines are the following: All civil authority is derived originally from the people. There is a mutual compact, tacit, or express, between a prince and his subjects; and if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs. The sovereignty of England is in the three estates, king, lords and commons; the king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be overruled by the other two. It will hardly perhaps be believed that, ere

five years were passed, this loyal university actually made an offer of its plate to aid in dethroning an anointed of the Lord! This should teach learned bodies to use more caution in their public proceedings, and to be sure that the language which they speak be that of truth and soberness*.

Essex and Russell were now removed: the fate of Sidney was next to be decided. Sir George Jeffreys, infamous for his brutality and subserviency, had lately been made chief justice of the king's bench, and it was before him that Sidney was tried (Nov. 21). The only witness against him was lord Howard; but two were required by the law, and the records of legal iniquity will hardly furnish a parallel to the mode in which the deficiency was supplied. Among the prisoner's papers had been a found a manuscript treatise on government, written some time before, and never published; it contained some of the doctrines lately condemned at Oxford, but which, even Hume says, were "such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace." This dumb evidence was pronounced by Jeffreys to be equivalent to two-and-twenty witnesses, and under his direction, the jury found the prisoner guilty. When the sentence was passed (26th), Sidney exclaimed, "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." "I pray God," cried Jeffreys, losing his temper, "to work in you a temper fit to go to the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," replied Sidney, stretching forth his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God, I never was in better temper than I am now."

Sidney did not disdain to petition for mercy, but it was in the tone of one who only asked for justice, and Charles was not a man to be affected by an appeal of that nature. The execution took place on Tower-hill (Dec. 7). Sidney had neither friends nor ministers of religion with him. When asked if he would not address the people, he replied, that "he had made his peace with God, and had nothing to say to man†." He

* Sir Walter Scott thus notices it (Somers' Tracts, viii. 420), "The following piece of adulation and servility was presented to king Charles II., and afterwards burnt by the hangman by order of parliament."

† He had had independent ministers with him in prison.

gave the sheriff a written speech, which concluded with thanks to God that "he died for that *good old cause* in which he was engaged from his youth, and for which God had so often and so wonderfully declared himself." He made a short prayer, and laid down his head, which was taken off at one blow.

The name of Algernon Sidney is invested with a lustre derived from the iniquity of his sentence and the heroism of his death, but his character seems to us in reality not to be deserving of much eulogy. He was a determined republican, and, like most such, he was self-sufficient, arrogant, and impatient of contradiction. To set up his beloved republic, he cared little what mischief he produced, or whether the nation were inclined to it or not. He received money from the French king, the notorious enemy of liberty, and he abetted his designs on the Netherlands. A man of delicate honour too would, we think, have abstained from plotting against the government of a prince who had pardoned and allowed him to return to his country.

The duke of Monmouth had lately been reconciled to the king by means of lord Halifax, who wished to employ him as a counterpoise to the duke of York. As a condition of pardon, he was obliged to acknowledge the truth of the conspiracy. He was required to write a letter to that effect to the king, and, after a hard struggle with himself, he did so; but, ashamed of his weakness, he obtained the paper back, and he was in consequence forbidden the royal presence.

The court was now triumphant; the country-party seemed annihilated, for the people in general, confounding the two plots, believed that they had conspired to murder the king. Loyal addresses, therefore, poured in once more from all parts: charters were everywhere surrendered. Jeffreys, who went the northern circuit this year (1684), we are told by Roger North, "made them all, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him, and returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns." At the same time the king was careful to avoid, as much as possible, the suspicion of an inclination to popery, and chiefly with this view he had given, in the summer of the last year, his niece, the princess Anne, in marriage to prince George, the brother of the king of Denmark, whose only merit was the being a protestant.

The duke of York, in defiance of the test act, was restored to his office of lord high admiral, and to a seat in the council; and his brother's indolence threw the direction of affairs very

much into his hands; but his violence and impatience gave much uneasiness to the king, who was now only anxious for ease and repose, and he was overheard one day saying to the duke, "Brother, you may travel if you will; I am resolved to make myself easy for the rest of my life." There appears, in fact, to have been a complete change of measures projected. Monmouth came over from the Netherlands and had a secret interview with his father, and it was proposed to send the duke of York back to Scotland, under the pretext of holding a parliament in that kingdom. What the result might have been is not to be known, for an event occurred which altered all the existing relations.

The king, who was only in his fifty-fifth year, had naturally a robust constitution, though he had somewhat impaired it by early excesses; but he was now regular in his living, and seemed likely to attain a good old age. On Sunday, however, the 1st of February (1685), he felt rather unwell, and next morning he fell down in a fit of apoplexy. Speedy remedies restored him, but he still languished, and on Wednesday his recovery was considered hopeless. From the first, the queen and the duke of York had been most assiduous in their attendance on him; the primate and some of the other prelates were also constantly about him. On Thursday, Ken, bishop of Bath, announced to him his danger, which he heard with an air of resignation. The prelate then read the office for the visitation of the sick, and the king having expressed his repentance in a general way, he also read the form of absolution. He wished to administer the sacrament, but the king said it was time enough; the elements were brought and laid on a table in readiness, but the only reply the prelate could get was, "I will think of it." The duke of York then motioned the company to retire to the other end of the room, and in a whisper asked his brother if he should send for a catholic priest*: "For God's sake, brother, do," he replied, "and please to lose no time; but," he added, "will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?" The duke was not a man to fear danger in such a cause. He went out, and father Huddleston being the only priest he could find, he brought him up the back-stairs into the king's closet. All were then directed to

* He was urged to this by both the queen and the duchess of Portsmouth! Miss Strickland, who gives here many interesting details from the narrative of Mary of Modena and other MS. sources, attributes the conduct of the duchess to self-interest; but a firm belief in the doctrines of popery is perfectly consistent with the grossest immorality of life.

withdraw, except the duke and the lords Bath and Feversham. The duke then brought in the priest, saying, "Sir, this worthy man once saved your body*, he now comes to save your soul." The king made his confession, chiefly bewailing his having so long deferred his conversion. He pronounced an Act of Contrition with great fervour, and continued making pious ejaculations, such as "Mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy!" till the host, which had been sent for, arrived. The priest, who had already given him extreme unction, then administered the eucharist, and withdrew by the way he came. The chamber-door was opened, and the secret transaction soon transpired.

The king passed an uneasy night. When the queen sent to excuse her absence, and to ask his pardon, "Alas, poor woman," he cried, "she beg my pardon! I beg hers, with all my heart. Take back that answer to her." He spoke in the kindest terms to his brother, wishing him a long and prosperous reign. He had his children all brought to him, and gave them each his blessing. One of the courtly prelates then saying that the king, the Lord's anointed, was the common father of all his subjects, all present fell on their knees, and the dying monarch pronounced a blessing on them. He commended the duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth to his successor, and said to him, "Let not poor Nelly [Gwyn] starve." Before noon next day (6th) he breathed his last.

In person Charles was tall, his complexion was swarthy, his features harsh and repulsive; but his manners were the most gay and affable that could be conceived. He had much wit, and he conversed and told stories with considerable grace and humour. He hated pomp and parade, and found his chief delight in social intercourse. He had both good sense and sound judgement, though he did not always choose to exercise them; nor his brothers, his sisters, his mistresses, and his children he seems to have felt an affection, but only for them, for the selfishness of his character was such that he never attached himself to any friend. His ill qualities were numerous: he was a bad king and a bad man; careless of the national honour, hating liberty, insincere, mean, rapacious, ungrateful, vindictive and remorseless: such was Charles II. The people, caught by his affability, and feeling the advantages of the peace which his base subserviency to France maintained, were partial to him. He was popular in his life, and his death was lamented.

* Huddleston had been chaplain at Moseley, at the time of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester.

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES II.

1685-1688.

IMMEDIATELY on the demise of king Charles the privy council assembled, and the new monarch addressed them, assuring them of his determination to follow the example of his late brother, "especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people;" that "he would make it his endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is by law established;" and "that he would always take care to defend and support the church." His brother-in-law lord Rochester* requested that this address, which had filled them all with joy, might be made public. The king said he had no copy; but one of the council wrote it down from memory, and the king, who had not expected this result, found it necessary to consent to its publication. He was forthwith proclaimed amid the loud acclamations of the populace.

The king's speech gave great satisfaction to those who called themselves the loyal part of the nation. It was regarded as a security greater than any law. "We have now the word of a king, and a word never broken," was the common phrase. The pulpits resounded as usual; loyal addresses poured in from all sides; the university of Oxford promised obedience, "without limitations or restrictions;" the London clergy, more sincere, said, "Our religion established by law is dearer to us than our lives;" and this expression gave offence at court, a proof of what was the real feeling in the royal bosom.

The first act of the new monarch was an illegal, but not unjustifiable, stretch of power. He issued (9th) a proclamation, ordering the duties to continue to be levied on merchandise till the meeting of parliament, which he summoned for the 19th of May.

The funeral of the late king was private (14th), for the successor was unwilling, as he says himself, to communicate with the church of England in spiritual things, as he must have done had it been public.

* Laurence Hyde, created earl of Rochester by Charles II.

James resolved to continue his brother's ministers. To the marquess of Halifax, who apprehended his displeasure, he said that he remembered only his opposition to the exclusion-bill; and, chiefly owing to the representations of the French king, Sunderland and Godolphin, who had supported that bill, in like manner experienced no displeasure. The cabinet was thus constituted; Halifax president of the council, Rochester lord-treasurer, his brother Clarendon privy seal, Sunderland and Middleton secretaries; Godolphin was made chamberlain to the queen. This last, with Rochester and Sunderland, alone possessed the royal confidence. There was also a secret council for catholic affairs, of which Sunderland alone of the ministers had knowledge. It consisted of the earls of Powis and Castlemain, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Jermyn, lord Dover, Richard Talbot, an Irishman, and father Petre, a jesuit, brother to the late lord of that name.

The king was resolved to make no secret of his own or his brother's religion. With respect to the latter, he caused Huddleston to publish an account of the late king's reconciliation, and he gave to the world two papers in favour of popery found in that monarch's strong box, and written by his own hand. For himself, on the second Sunday of his reign, he caused the folding-doors of the queen's private chapel to be thrown open while he was at mass, that his presence there might be seen. On Holy Thursday he was attended to the door of the chapel by his guards and the pensioners, and on Easter Sunday by the knights of the garter and several of the nobility, a proceeding which caused great uneasiness in the minds of zealous protestants. Their suspicions were further excited by a proclamation for the discharge of all recusants. They saw in this a manifest advance to the establishment of popery, which was in reality the object nearest to the king's heart. Meantime every effort was made to get Louis to continue the pension, in order that James might be independent of his parliament.

On the third of May the king and queen were crowned with the usual ceremonies, the only part omitted being the communion. The king of course solemnly swore to maintain the true profession of the Gospel, and the rights and privileges of the church and clergy. Like a true Stuart and pupil of the jesuits, he told Barillon that he did so, as these rights and privileges were those which had been granted by king Edward the Confessor, of whose being a catholic there was not the slightest doubt. During the whole ceremony he had been

usage, to summon his clansmen to arms. But the gentlemen of his name had been secured; the militia was raised and advancing on all sides; only 2500 men joined him, and instead of hastening to the western counties, he lingered in the hopes of being joined by more. His stores and arms, which he had placed in the castle of Ellengreg, fell into the hands of the royalists. When at length he descended into Lennox to pass the Clyde, he found bodies of armed men everywhere opposed to him. His army lost itself by night in a morass; and the greater part of it thus sought safety in flight. Argyle, in the disguise of a peasant, was met and wounded as he was crossing a stream by five militia-men; as he fell he cried, "Alas, unfortunate Argyle!" His captors would fain have concealed his rank, as they durst not release him; but he was recognised by their officer. He was led to Edinburgh, where he was treated with the same indignities as had formerly been the lot of Montrose. As the king had ordered him if taken to be put to death within three days, he was executed on his former iniquitous sentence (30th). He met his fate with piety and fortitude; embracing the instrument of death, he called it (in allusion to its name) the sweetest *maiden* he had ever kissed.

Various circumstances detained Monmouth so long that it was the 11th of June when he landed at Lyme in Dorset. He was attended by lord Grey of Werk, and about eighty other exiles and their attendants. He forthwith raised his standard, and published a declaration styling James a usurper, and charging him with the burning of London, and every atrocity which had been laid to the account of the papists, adding that of poisoning the late king. This declaration drew numbers of the people to his standard, and on the fourth day (15th) he marched from Lyme at the head of 4000 men. At Taunton (18th) he was received with acclamations, and presented with a splendid stand of colours; and twenty young ladies in their best attire came to offer him a naked sword and a pocket-bible. He here caused himself to be proclaimed king (20th); and in proof of his royalty, touched for the king's evil. He thence (21st) proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was also well received. The militia everywhere retired before him, and he proposed to cross the Avon near Bath and advance against Bristol. But it was now ascertained that the royal troops, under the earl of Feversham, were at hand; that project therefore was abandoned, and it was debated in his council whether to march for Salop and Cheshire, where he expected

good support; or to direct their course into Wiltshire, where he was led to hope for powerful assistance. This last was preferred, and the army arrived (26th) at Philips-Norton on the confines of that county, where they had an encounter with a part of the royal forces, in which they had rather the advantage. They fell back however to Frome, and here Monmouth first learned the defeat of Argyle. He had been for some time desponding; for he saw that none of the nobility or gentry, without whose aid no civil movements have ever succeeded in England, had declared in his favour, and he therefore had begun to view his cause as hopeless. It was proposed that the army should be disbanded, and Monmouth and his friends should endeavour to escape by sea; but this course was vehemently opposed by lord Grey and others, and the army was led back to Bridgewater (July 1). As the royal forces were reported to be encamped at no great distance on the edge of a morass named Sedgemoor, it was resolved to try the effect of a nocturnal attack. The duke led out his forces, the horse being commanded by lord Grey, whose courage was very dubious. They reached the moor at about one in the morning (6th), but found themselves stopped by a deep drain in front of the royal camp. Grey, on coming to the ditch, and perceiving the troops to be on the alert, turned after a brief stand and led his men off the field. The whole plan was now disconcerted; a firing was kept up till daylight, when Feversham ordered his infantry to cross the drain, while his horse took the insurgents in flank. The half-armed peasants made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, then broke and fled in all directions. Their loss was 500 slain and 1500 taken; the victors had 300 killed and wounded.

Monmouth fled, it is not known at what time; his first thought was to get over to Wales; but Grey, who was his evil genius, dissuaded him from it, and with him and a German named Busse, he directed his course toward the New Forest. As a reward had been set on his head, an active search was kept up for them. Early the next morning Grey was captured; and though Monmouth and Busse then escaped, the latter was taken the following morning (8th); and as he owned that he had parted only four hours before from the duke, the search for him was made with redoubled activity. In a couple of hours that unfortunate prince was found in a ditch covered with fern and nettles. He was in the dress of a peasant, and in his pockets were some green peas, the only sustenance he

appears to have had. Broken in mind and body, he wrote a most humble letter to the king, entreating a personal interview, and promising to make some important discovery. He was therefore, the very evening he reached London (13th), led into the royal presence with his arms pinioned. He threw himself on his knees, confessed his guilt, casting the blame on others, and implored for mercy in the humblest terms, but made no discovery. James, reminding him of his early education, asked him if he would have a priest. "Is there then no hope?" said he. The king made no reply, but ordered him to be taken away to the Tower, where he was told to prepare for death on the second day. When Monmouth was gone, Grey was brought into the royal presence, and he behaved with more spirit than the unfortunate duke.

James is usually condemned for inhumanity on this occasion. It is said that he should not have seen Monmouth, if he was resolved not to pardon him; but there is no proof of this resolution; he saw the prisoner at his own desire, and was led to expect disclosures which he did not receive. Surely Monmouth, after his invasion, his declaration, and his assumption of the title of king, had no claims to mercy. As to his being the king's nephew, this was a dubious point, and James appears to have always doubted his being his brother's son.

The next morning Monmouth was visited by his duchess, the heiress of Buccleugh, whom he had abandoned to live with lady Harriet Wentworth. The meeting was a cold one; her object was, for the sake of herself and children, to get him to declare that she was ignorant of his projects. On this subject he gave her ample satisfaction, and she then withdrew. He wrote again to the king and to the queen and the queen-dowager (which last kind-hearted princess earnestly interceded for him), and to others, but with no effect. The bishops Ken and Turner came to prepare him for death. When they were announced he was overwhelmed with terror; but it passed away, and thenceforth his mind was serene and composed. They found him in a religious frame of mind in general: but on two points he proved immovable; he strenuously maintained the right of resistance to oppression, and he would not allow that there was anything morally wrong in the connexion between himself and lady Harriet Wentworth, though she had borne him a child; *she*, he said, was his real, the duchess was only his legal wife; his love for her had weaned him from vice; both had prayed to God to root out their affection if displeasing to

him, but it had only increased with time. The prelates therefore declined giving him the sacrament.

In the morning (15th) they returned with Drs. Hooper and Tennyson; but none could make any impression on his mind. The duchess and his children came to take their final leave of him; he was kinder than before; she sank to the ground and was carried away in a swoon. At ten o'clock he entered the carriage which was to convey him to Tower-hill. The concourse was immense; tears, sighs, and groans were succeeded by an awful silence. On the scaffold, the divines conscientiously, but cruelly pressed him on the two above-named points: he was still inflexible. He made no speech, but gave a paper to the sheriff. He laid down his head, telling the executioner to do his work better than in the case of lord Russell. The man, unnerved, it would seem, by the charge, gave but a feeble stroke; the duke raised himself, and turned his head as if to upbraid him; he struck twice more, and then flung down the axe, swearing that his heart failed him. The sheriff made him resume it, and at the fifth blow the head was severed; and thus perished, in his thirty-sixth year, James duke of Monmouth.

Vengeance, both military and judicial, was let loose on the unfortunate adherents of Monmouth. Feversham hanged several of his prisoners without any trial; and colonel Kirke, who was left in command, is said to have acted with unusual barbarity*. The name of Kirke's Lambs, as his soldiers were called from the figure of a lamb which their colours bore†, was long famous in the west. But these military atrocities sink into nothing when compared with Jeffreys' Campaign, as the king loved to call it.

This unprincipled man, being joined in commission with four other judges, commenced operations at Winchester (Aug. 27)

* Thus, it is said, he ordered prisoners to be hung while he and his officers drank the king's health, and, when their feet quivered in the agonies of death, he said he would give them music to their dancing, and ordered the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. Again, a maiden applied to him for the life of her brother; he granted it on condition of her complying with his desires; she consented, and passed the night with him; when she rose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes, on looking out of the window, was the body of her brother hanging from a gibbet. At the sight she lost her reason. This tale, however, rests on very slender evidence, and is probably a fiction. It is the same as that of Rynsault in the Spectator (No. 491). See Mackintosh, Hist. of Revol. ch. i.

† Adopted when the regiment was at Tangiers, and engaged against the Moors; in imitation perhaps of the Templars.

by the trial of Mrs. Lisle, the aged widow of one of the regicides. The charge against her was that of having given shelter to Nelthorpe and Hickes, two of the fugitives from Monmouth's army. Her defence was, that of Nelthorpe she knew nothing, and that she thought Hickes, who was a dissenting teacher, only fled from a warrant against him on that account. Jeffreys undertook himself to examine a peasant who had been their guide to her house, and he so terrified the poor rustic by his vehemence and scurrility, that he admitted sufficient to give reason to think that the prisoner knew of their having been in Monmouth's army. Jeffreys took care to conceal the fact that Hickes had not been convicted or outlawed, till when she could not legally be tried as the receiver of a traitor. The jury long hesitated, but were at length overawed into a verdict of Guilty. "Gentlemen," said the brutal judge, "had I been among you, and had she been my own mother, I should have found her guilty." Next morning he sentenced her to be burnt alive that afternoon, but the clergy of the cathedral obtained for her a respite of three days, during which applications were made to the king in her favour by noble ladies whom she had befriended in the days of her husband's power, and by lord Feversham, who was promised 1000*l.* for her pardon. It was also shown that her son had served in the army against Monmouth; but all was in vain; the king, pleading, it is said, a promise to Jeffreys not to spare her, declared that he would not give her a reprieve for a single day. He consented to change the sentence to beheading, and the venerable matron perished on the scaffold (Sept. 2), praying for the prince who could not pardon the performance of an act of humanity.

The commission thence proceeded to Dorchester, where eighty persons were executed; thence to Taunton and Wells; and the number of deaths in the county of Somerset is said to have been 240 at the least. The whole country presented a horrible and most un-English aspect: everywhere gibbets and the mangled limbs of men met the eye, and the stench that exhaled from them rendered the roads hateful to travellers. The trials were few; men, seeing no hopes of justice, confessed their guilt, as to do so offered the only chance of escape.

But blood alone did not satisfy Jeffreys; he filled his coffers by the sale of pardons. It was also the royal pleasure that the courtiers should improve their circumstances by the rebellion. Sunderland wrote to Jeffreys to say that 1000 prisoners were to be bestowed on certain courtiers, and 100 on a favourite of

the queen's, on their giving security that they should be slaves for ten years in the West India Islands. Against this Jeffreys remonstrated, as they might, he said, be sold for 10*l.* or 15*l.* apiece. The young ladies who gave Monmouth his colours were excepted by name from the general pardon, that they might purchase separate ones, of which the profits were given to the maids of honour! who, it appears, proved hard dealers in the article of mercy.

James received daily intelligence from Jeffreys of his proceedings, which he constantly spoke of to the foreign envoys and others as that judge's campaign; and during the hottest part of it he was amusing himself with horse-races at Winchester. He raised Jeffreys, on his return, to a peerage and the chancellorship; and when that savage judge had, through his habitual drunkenness, brought on a fit of illness, the king was much concerned, and declared that his loss could not be easily supplied. : Jeffreys is said to have declared on his death-bed that he had done nothing without orders, and that he had not been half bloody enough for him that sent him. It is vain, therefore, to attempt to deny James' appetite for blood.

Alderman Cornish, the former sheriff, was tried (Oct. 19) and found guilty for being concerned in the Rye-house plot, on the evidence of Rumsey, though this witness owned that his evidence now was contrary to what he had given on the trial of lord Russell. Cornish was executed, but his limbs and estate were restored to his family; and Rumsey was confined for life,—a clear proof of the king's opinion of the value of his testimony.

On the same day with Cornish, two men, named Ring and Fernley, and a Mrs. Gaunt, were tried and condemned for harbouring rebels. Ring had sheltered his near relation; Fernley one Burton, who had been in the Rye-house plot and with Monmouth; Mrs. Gaunt, who had aided his escape before, visited him at Fernley's, and undertook to save him again; but he was taken, and to save his life, he was base enough to appear against his benefactors. The benevolent Mrs. Gaunt was burnt alive at Tyburn. She settled the straw round her so as to produce a strong flame, and died amid the tears of the spectators.

Hampden was now tried a second time for his share in the Rye-house plot; but it had been secretly arranged that he was to be pardoned, on his pleading guilty and paying 6000*l.* to Jeffreys and father Petre. The drama between him and the

judges was enacted to perfection. Lord Brandon was found guilty on the evidence of lord Grey and of Rumsey and one Saxton, but he was afterwards pardoned. Grey himself was pardoned, as his was only a life-estate, and charges on it had been granted to lord Rochester and others. Wonderful to relate, lord Delamere was actually acquitted by a jury of thirty peers, the perjury of Saxton, the chief evidence against him, being apparent.

The suppression of the rebellion had elated James, and led him to think that nothing now could oppose his will. He had three objects in view as the means of establishing despotism; these were, the abolition of the Test, which would enable him to fill all offices with papists; the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* act, which the late king and himself had often declared to be subversive of government, *i. e.* of despotism; to keep up the army, which now amounted to nearly 20,000 men, and in which there were several catholic officers, as a permanent force. As he knew that Halifax was opposed to all these projects, he lost no time in dismissing him from the council.

When the parliament met (Nov. 9) James addressed them from the throne. Late events, he said, had shown that the militia was inadequate to the defence of the country, and that a permanent force was necessary; he had, therefore, increased the regular army, and he now called on them for the funds for maintaining it. He then noticed the employment of catholics. "And I will deal plainly with you," said he: "after having had the benefit of their services in such a time of need and danger, I will not expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion."

From this haughty tone, it is plain that James reckoned on absolute submission, and that the parliament would simply register his edicts; but here, as on most occasions, his blind fatuity led him astray. The dread and the hatred of popery were implanted in every protestant bosom; and in the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis, at this very time, they had had a specimen of popish good faith and tolerance. The commons, therefore, when voting a supply of 700,000*l.*, coupled with it a bill for the improvement of the militia; and while offering to pass a bill of indemnity for the catholic officers, prayed that they might be discharged. The danger of a standing army and the employment of catholic officers was also strongly exposed in the house of peers by lords Halifax, Nottingham, Anglesea, Mordaunt, Compton bishop of London,

and others ; and in spite of the opposition of Jeffreys, it was resolved to take the king's speech into consideration ; but James prorogued the parliament, and it met no more during his reign, except to be prorogued anew. It was fortunate for the country that James' bigotry led him to assail the Test-act first, for in all probability this subservient assembly would have surrendered the *Habeas Corpus* without a struggle.

James was resolved, come what might, not to part with his army. The annual cost of it was 600,000*l.* ; and, by frugality, by neglecting the navy, by putting off the payment of his brother's debts, and by other expedients, he could defray it without the aid of parliament. To put the chief commands into the hands of catholics was necessary for his ulterior projects, and to effect this he had recourse to the following plan.

It had from very ancient times been a part of the prerogative to grant dispensations from the penalties of particular laws. This had, as usual, been spoken of in exaggerated terms by courtiers and lawyers, even Coke saying that no act of parliament can restrain it. Practice, however, had for many years confined it to merely trifling cases ; but sir Edward Herbert, the present chief-justice, had formerly suggested to the king, when duke of York, that by means of it the Test-act might be eluded, and James now resolved to bring it into action through a legal decision. Of Herbert himself he was sure, and as he could dismiss the judges at his pleasure, he reckoned on the obedience of the others, but, on privately asking their opinions, he found four refractory ; these he dismissed forthwith, and appointed others ; and the bench being now adjusted, a sham action was brought for their decision. Sir Edward Hales, a recent convert, was appointed to the command of a regiment, and his coachman was directed to bring an action for the penalty of 500*l.* incurred by his holding a command without having qualified. Hales pleaded a dispensation under the great seal. The case was tried before the twelve judges, and eleven decided in favour of the dispensation (June 21, 1686). This decision was not, properly speaking, illegal, but it was highly unconstitutional ; and, as it declared that no restraint could be placed on the monarch, and that acts of parliament were mere cobwebs, there being a power paramount to them, men plainly saw that there was no alternative between a tame submission to the overthrow of their religion and liberties and a bold effort to maintain them. In effect this decision sealed the doom of the House of Stuart.

James little thought so; he had gained, he considered, a complete victory; the Test-act and all other barriers against popery could no longer impede him, and the army, the council, and every department of the state might now be filled with catholics. He had even, as he conceived, the power of gradually making the church itself catholic. Early in this year, Obadiah Walker, master of University college, Oxford, and three of the fellows, had declared themselves catholics, as also had Sclater, the curate of Esher and Putney, and a royal dispensation allowed them still to enjoy the emoluments of their situations; Sclater, however, being enjoined to provide for the performance of divine service in his churches. Walker was allowed to have a catholic chapel in his college, and a press for printing catholic books of theology. But the spirit of Compton, bishop of London, gave occasion to a further mode of bridling the church, or rather of accelerating the downfall of the monarch.

Compton, brother to the earl of Northampton, had been a soldier. He was a man of a bold spirit, and a zealous protestant. To punish his late opposition in parliament, the king struck him out of the list of the privy council, and deprived him of his office of dean of the chapel. This only increased his popularity and the suspicion of the king's designs, and the London pulpits thundered with controversy. The king, as head of the church, issued orders for the clergy to abstain from controversy in the pulpit. As only a few obeyed, it was resolved to make an example. Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles', was fixed on, and Compton was ordered to suspend him, but he replied that he must first hear him in his defence. It was then determined to make the bishop himself the victim.

The odious court of High Commission had been abolished in 1641. A part of the act of abolition was repealed at the Restoration, but a clause of it, prohibiting the erection of any similar court, had been retained. James, however, issued a commission, in nearly the very words of that of Elizabeth, to certain persons to act as a court of commission, in ecclesiastical causes. These were the primate, chancellor, bishops of Durham and Rochester, the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and chief-justice Herbert. Three were to form a *quorum*, of whom Jeffreys was always to be one. "God," said James to Barillon, "has permitted that all the laws made to establish protest-

antism now serve as a foundation for my measures to re-establish true religion."

Before this court Compton was summoned. He defended himself with much address. The primate Sancroft was not there to uphold the interests of the church, for he had timidly obtained leave to be absent on the plea of age and infirmity; but the earl and the bishop of Rochester and the chief-justice took the side of Compton, and even Jeffreys, who, in the midst of his excesses, clung to the protestant faith, supported them. The presence, however, and the influence of the king prevailed, and Compton was suspended by a commission, three-fourths of whose members had declared in his favour. The people soon nick-named the commission the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide*.

Of the royal advisers there were two classes, the protestant and the catholic. The former, headed by the earl of Rochester, seem to have been willing to aid the king in all his projects against liberty, but they were steadfast in their adherence to the church. The catholics were divided into two parties; most of the laymen, such as Bellasis and Powis, were for moderation; they saw the difficulties in the way of establishing their religion, and they would have been content with the repeal of the penal statutes, and security for their religion under a protestant successor. The queen herself was inclined to this party; but the king was under the influence of father Petre and the jesuits, and these, with the usual heat and imprudence of political churchmen, urged him on to extreme measures. Sunderland, an ambitious, unprincipled statesman, though still professing himself a protestant, allied himself closely with this party, in the hope of supplanting Rochester; and the influence of father Petre, when all other applications had failed, raised him to the post of president of the council, in the room of Halifax, with which he still retained his post of secretary.

But the protestant party had a supporter who they thought might counterbalance the queen and the priests. James, with all his zeal for his religion, and his anxiety to diffuse it, made no scruple of violating one of its most important precepts. His amours had always been notorious, and neither of his wives could boast of his fidelity. Arabella Churchill*, maid of honour to his first duchess, had borne him two children. His present mistress, Catherine, daughter of the witty, profligate

* Sister to the celebrated John Churchill. The duke of Berwick was her son by the king; she afterwards married colonel Godfrey.

sir Charles Sedley, was a woman so devoid of personal attractions, that king Charles used to say his brother kept her by way of penance; but she had a coarse roystering kind of humour, which pleased her lover, who was a man of no delicacy whatever, though she did not spare to employ it even on his religion and his priests. In the beginning of his reign he had been induced to break off his intercourse with her, but he afterwards renewed it, and, at the suggestion it is said of Rochester, created her countess of Dorchester. The queen, who was a woman of spirit, testified the utmost indignation, and, by Sunderland's advice, she assembled one day in her apartment the chancellor and himself, with the priests and the catholic nobles, and when the king entered it he was assailed by their united reproaches and remonstrances. He promised to separate from the countess, and he sent her orders to retire to the continent; but she asserted her rights as a free-born Englishwoman, and appealed to Magna Charta. She at length consented to go to Ireland, where Rochester's brother, Clarendon, was lord-lieutenant. She returned, however, within six months, and the king renewed his intercourse with her; but it was of no political effect, as the jesuits 'had got the advowson of his conscience.'

It might be supposed that the court of Rome would have zealously co-operated with James in his project of re-establishing the catholic faith; but so adverse were all things to this prince, that even there he found no support. The reigning pontiff, Innocent XI., who had been a soldier, was a man who knew or cared nothing about the disputes and differences of theologians, but he was an able temporal prince and statesman; he was on ill terms with Louis XIV., on account of that monarch's insolence; and he regarded with little complacency both the jesuits and the king of England, whom he looked on as partisans of Louis. James, on his accession, had sent Mr. Caryl as his private minister to Rome to solicit the purple for the queen's uncle, the title of bishop for one Dr. Leyburn, and the appointment of a nuncio to the court of St. James's. Caryl succeeded in the two last points; and the count D'Adda came over in November, 1685, but did not assume any public character. The zeal of the king, however, was not to be restrained, and the following February he insisted on D'Adda's taking the title of nuncio, to which the papal court gave a reluctant consent. The nuncio, a prudent, clear-sighted man, viewed with concern the rate at which the king and his advisers were

disposed to drive matters, and he gave the weight of his authority to the moderate catholic party.

James, being resolved to have a resident minister at the papal court, chose for this purpose, with his usual infelicity, the earl of Castlemain, the husband of the duchess of Cleveland, a man who owed his title to the infamy of his wife. Castlemain behaved at Rome with such indiscretion, that the nuncio was directed to make a formal complaint of his conduct. All the influence of James failed to procure a nominal bishopric for Petre, whom he is thought to have designed to place in the see of York, which he kept vacant. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts to procure for him a cardinal's hat.

If the pontiff was more swayed by politics than religion, we may easily believe the same to have been the case with the courts of Madrid and Vienna; and accordingly we find the Spanish and Imperial ministers co-operating with the Dutch, and opposing the French ambassador. James, who, to his misfortune, had some vague ideas of the dignity belonging to a king of England, and of the line of policy which, as such, he should adopt, irritated Louis by vain assumptions of independence, at the very time that he was receiving his money and relying on him for aid in his projects.

To accustom the public eye to the view of popery, convents were established in various parts of London; that of the Carmelites was in the City, that of the Franciscans in Lincoln's-inn-fields, while the Benedictines were at St. James's; and the jesuits opened a school at the Savoy. They all went about publicly in their habits, and London was gradually assuming the appearance of a catholic city. To awe the tumultuous, the army, of fifteen thousand men, was encamped on Hounslow-heath; and in the tent of lord Dunbarton, the second in command, mass was openly celebrated, and missionaries laboured to convert the soldiers. A paper calling on them to adhere to their religion being circulated through the camp, Johnson, its author, the chaplain of the late lord Russell, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to stand thrice in the pillory and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, which sentence was executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, he being previously degraded from his sacred character.

In the laxity of principle which may be supposed to have prevailed in a court for five-and-twenty years the abode of profligacy and corruption, conversions, real or pretended, might be expected to be abundant; yet the failures of the king were

numerous and mortifying. Lady Dorchester, as we have seen, stuck to her religion, reconciling it, like her royal paramour, with the breach of its duties. A priest came to convert secretary Middleton: "Your lordship believes the Trinity?" began he. "Who told you so? You are come here to prove your own opinions, not to ask about mine," was the reply; and the priest retired in confusion. Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, is said to have replied to a monk, "I have convinced myself, by much reflection, that God made man, but I cannot believe that man can make God." Colonel Kirke is reported to have told the king that he was pre-engaged, having promised the emperor of Morocco to become a Mohammedan, if ever he changed. But the great object was to gain the princess Anne, and for this purpose the lure of the succession was held out to her. Though of weak disposition, she however was firm; the bishop of London had been her tutor; and lord* and lady Churchill, who ruled her, were zealous for protestantism; so that all the efforts made on her proved abortive. Lord Dartmouth, though sincerely attached to James, refused to abandon his religion. When admiral Herbert, a man of loose life and laden with the royal favours, refused him, James said to Barillon, that he never could put confidence in any man, however attached to him, who affected the character of a zealous protestant.

The year 1686 closed with an act which convinced the people that the overthrow of their religion was the object really proposed by the king. This was the dismissal of Rochester from his office of treasurer, effected by the secret influence of Petre and Sunderland. The king was really attached to his brother-in-law, but he now told him that he must either go to mass or go out of office. Rochester's friends and the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors were desirous that he should keep office at any rate. A conference, it was agreed, should be held in his presence on the points in dispute between the two churches. At the end of it he desired a further delay to consider, but as his object was evidently to gain time, the king consented to dismiss him. The treasury was then managed by a board, of which lord Bellasis, a catholic, was the head; and he,

* John eldest son of sir Winston Churchill of Devon. He was at first a page, then an ensign. He served with the French in 1672, and attracted the attention of the great Turenne. Through the interests of the duke of York, he obtained a regiment and a Scottish barony, and when the duke came to the throne, he created him an English baron. In 1681 he married the fair Sarah Jennings, maid of honour to the princess Anne.

Powis, and Dover, were now members of the privy council. The king was also about to appoint father Petre to a seat in it, and he was only withheld from doing so by the entreaties of the queen.

A dismissal of protestants from office and a resignation of commissions in the army soon followed. The king, previous to the meeting of parliament, wishing to ascertain the opinions of the members who held offices, summoned them separately to his closet in order to confer with them. The result of these 'closetings,' as they were named, proving unsatisfactory, they were either dismissed from their offices or they resigned. Their places were generally supplied with catholics.

It being now evident that a sufficient number of the members of the established church could not be induced to betray it, the king was advised to endeavour to gain the nonconformists; not but that there were even on the episcopal bench men who set little value on religion as compared with their interest: such were Crew of Durham, Cartwright and Parker, to whom the king had lately given the sees of Chester and Oxford, knowing them to be men for his purpose, to whom may perhaps be added Sprat of Rochester, and one or two more. A declaration was issued accordingly, suspending the penal laws and forbidding the imposition of tests. Of this the dissenters took advantage, though dubious of the motives whence it proceeded; and many addresses of thanks were presented from them at court. The king, in his self-delusion, congratulated himself on the success of this measure in weakening the church party, and he now thought he might venture to attack them in their strongholds, the universities.

As Oxford had so strongly asserted the doctrine of passive obedience, James commenced his attack on the church in that university. He appointed Massey, a fellow of Merton, and a recent convert, to the deanery of Christ Church, and, true to its principles, the university made no opposition. The king next made trial of Cambridge. He wrote (Feb. 7, 1687) to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Peachell, commanding him to admit to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths, a Benedictine monk, named Alban Francis, who was acting as a missionary in that neighbourhood. Peachell refused, and he was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission; the university supported him, and it ended in the compromise of the appointment of a new vice-chancellor and the withdrawal of the claim of Francis. Shamed or emboldened by the example

of Cambridge, Oxford soon began to shake off its slavish trammels. On the death of the president of Magdalen college, letters mandatory were sent (Apr. 4), recommending Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of low, dissolute habits, but a recent proselyte. The fellows petitioned the king, but to no purpose; they then proceeded to the election, and chose Mr. Hough (15th). They were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and the election was pronounced void. But Farmer was withdrawn, his character being too notorious, and they were directed to choose Parker bishop of Oxford (Aug. 14). They still refused, and when the king came to Oxford the following month on his progress, he chid them severely and insisted on their obedience. Still they would not yield. A commission was then issued, appointing extraordinary visitors of their college (Oct. 21), and Hough and twenty-five of the fellows were expelled and declared incapable of holding any clerical preferment (Dec. 10). The king thus gained a victory, but, as Lingard justly observes, "he had no reason to be proud of it, for it betrayed the hollowness of his pretensions to good faith and sincerity, and earned him the enmity of the great body of the clergy, and of all who were devoted to the interests of the church."

In the summer (July 3) the king had given another intimation of his designs, by publicly receiving D'Adda as the papal nuncio, a measure to which the pope had yielded an unwilling consent. He now advanced a step further, and by the royal command (Nov. 11) father Petre took his seat among the privy councillors, to the grief and dismay of the moderate catholics and the astonishment and vexation of the people.

The king had also dissolved the parliament (July 2). It was represented to him in vain, that in all points but that of religion this was a more compliant assembly than he could ever again expect to obtain; religion was with him *the* point, and he resolved to make the trial. In order to get a more complete control over the corporations, he appointed a board of seven Regulators, all catholics except the chancellor, with powers to appoint and remove officers and freemen at their discretion. To obtain county members to his purpose, the lords lieutenant were directed to inquire of their deputies and the magistrates, whether, if elected to parliament, they would vote for the repeal of the test-act and the penal laws; whether they would support candidates who would promise to do so; and whether they would support the declaration. Loss of

office was to be the penalty of non-compliance. This measure however did not succeed. Fourteen lords-lieutenant were removed, and their places supplied with catholics; a like change was made among the sheriffs and in the magistracy; yet, after all, James saw that he could not have a parliament to his mind, and of the house of lords there was no hope. Sunderland, however, had conceived the then unknown project of *swamping*, as it is termed, this house by a large creation. "O silly!" cried he to lord Churchill, when the opposition of the peers was spoken of, "why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords." This bold measure however was not ventured on; and the king seemed rather inclined, if he could not get a pliant house of commons, to continue to rule by prerogative.

The Scottish parliament had proved as uncomplying as the English on the subject of religion. The king had there in like manner issued a proclamation, granting toleration to sectaries, and suspending all laws against catholics, "by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power," words which he did not as yet venture to employ in England.

In Ireland the lord-lieutenancy had been given to lord Clarendon, but the command of the forces was separated from it for the first time, and entrusted to Richard Talbot, now earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish catholic of the English race, a man of some talent but hardly any judgement, rude and boisterous in manners, with no control over his passions and appetites; handsome and showy in his person: he was in effect a genuine Anglo-Irishman of that day. Being in the confidence of the king, he treated the viceroy with insolence and contempt, and though the object for which he was sent was to raise the catholic interest, he could not refrain from insulting the native Irish by calling them the *O's* and *Mac's*. Having aided Sunderland in overthrowing the Hydes, he bullied him out of the chief government of Ireland, though he was known to be the enemy of the act of Settlement, and the devoted slave of Louis XIV. He was appointed lord-deputy (Feb. 1687), and by the end of the year the catholics formed the majority in the privy council, the magistracy, the army, and the corporations. The chancellor and thirteen of the judges, and all the king's council but one, were of this persuasion. The protestants now began to emigrate in great numbers; the officers sold their commissions for little or nothing, and sought service with the prince of Orange. The object of the king was to make Ireland an asylum for the catholics, and for himself if

needful ; but Tyrconnel had a deeper design, and he proposed to the French envoy, Bonrepaux, that in case of the succession of the prince of Orange, Ireland should become an independent state under the protection of France. To this project Louis gave a most willing consent, but it was studiously concealed from James, and even from Barillon. Yet suspicion was afloat ; and it was one of the objects of Dyckveldt, whom the prince of Orange sent over in the beginning of the year, to ascertain the king's designs with respect to Ireland.

James now fondly deemed that the overthrow of the protestant church was nearly certain. The steadfastness of his daughters in their religion had been to him a source of anxiety, as they might undo all his work ; but an event now occurred which promised to relieve him from all apprehension. The queen, who had ceased from child-bearing for five years, announced that she was pregnant. This event, which the king and his friends ascribed to the efficacy of his prayers at St. Winifred's-well, which he had lately visited, or to the prayers on earth and intercession in heaven of the late duchess of Modena, was hailed by the whole catholic party with transports of joy, and they even, as formerly in the case of queen Mary, ventured to assign the sex of the embryo. The protestants, on the other hand, openly expressed their doubts, and hesitated not to assert that those whose interest it was to have a prince of Wales would be at no loss how to procure one.

We now enter on the year 1688, a year ever memorable in the annals of England, and even in those of the world. To the royal view the whole political horizon seemed calm and unclouded. The king had triumphed in his contest with the church ; in his late progress he had been greeted and cheered by bodies of the dissenters, whom he took for the nation ; he had the prospect of the birth of a son to exclude his heretical daughters, and to go on with the good work of spreading the true faith ; London was even already putting on the appearance of a catholic city ; monks and friars in their appropriate habits were to be seen parading the streets ; a papal nuncio sanctified the court by his presence ; and Corker, a Benedictine, who had been tried for his life during the popish plot, being appointed envoy by the elector of Cologne, the king insisted that he and his attendant monks should come to court in the habit of their order—a piece of bigoted folly which the more sagacious Louis XIV. strongly condemned. Finally, James had filled Magdalen college with popish fellows ; and

on the death of bishop Parker (Mar. 23), Dr. Giffard[?], one of the four catholic prelates whom he had induced the pontiff to consecrate for England, was by the royal mandate chosen to succeed him.

But all this triumph and all this security was fallacious ; the tempest was secretly a-brewing which was to level the fabric of despotism and superstition in the dust. The Tories, who had long been restrained by their notions of unlimited obedience, now alarmed for their religion by the queen's pregnancy, began to unite with the Whigs ; several influential noblemen were in secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, and an armed resistance to the crown with his aid was contemplated.

In this state of the national feeling, the king made his final and fatal step. Having caused (Apr. 25) his declaration for liberty of conscience to be republished with additions, he, by the advice of Petre it was said, afterwards (May 4) made an order of council that it should be read out in all the churches during the time of divine service, and the bishops were enjoined to distribute it for this purpose. The London clergy met and deliberated ; several were inclined to submit or try to gain time ; but the more generous-spirited, being supported by a declaration of the leading nonconformists, calling on them to make a stand for religion and liberty, prevailed. The learned Dr. Patrick had the courage to be the first to put his signature to a refusal to comply ; it was then subscribed by eighty clergymen, and forwarded to Lambeth, where on the 12th, the primate, bishops Compton, Turner, and White, with Dr. Tennison and lord Clarendon, took it into consideration. It was resolved not to read the declaration, but to petition the king and to summon the other prelates to their aid. The call was quickly responded to by bishops Lloyd, Ken, and Trelawny, and on the 18th another meeting was held at Lambeth, at which Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sherlock, and Grove assisted : it was agreed to present without delay to the king a petition written by the primate and signed by himself, and bishops Lloyd, Ken, Trelawny, Turner, White, and Lake. As the primate had been forbidden the court, the six prelates went to Whitehall at 10 o'clock that very night, and were admitted into the royal bedchamber. They fell on their knees, and Lloyd presented the petition. The king when he had read it expressed his surprise, and said it was "a standard of rebellion," and, spite of their professions of unshaken loyalty,

he dismissed them with the assurance that he would maintain the dispensing power which God had given him, adding, "I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal." That very night the petition was printed and distributed through the city, though the bishops had given their only copy to the king, and he had never let it out of his possession.

The next Sunday (20th) was the first day for the reading of the Declaration in the churches. It was read only in seven; the country clergy, countenanced in general by their diocesans, were equally disobedient; and out of a body of 10,000, not more than 200 complied. On the very 20th of May, the venerable Richard Baxter, the renowned nonconformist who had been so often persecuted by the church, praised from his pulpit the bishops for their resistance to that Declaration by virtue of which he was then able to preach publicly. It was thus plain that all hopes from the dissenters were vanished. The whole church-party were firm to the prelates, and the king must now either yield at discretion or engage in a contest with all his protestant subjects.

In the council, Sunderland, the catholic lords, and even Jeffreys, were for moderation; but their opinions were overruled, and it was resolved to prosecute the bishops in the court of king's-bench. They were accordingly summoned before the privy-council, where, after some hesitation, they acknowledged their signatures; they were then required to enter into recognisances to appear at Westminster-hall; they declined, pleading their peerage; a warrant for their committal to the Tower was then made out. As they proceeded to the barges which were to convey them to that fortress, the people vented their feelings in tears and prayers, and earnestly implored their blessing. Both banks of the river were lined with spectators, who fell on their knees and prayed for them. At the Tower the officers and men of the guard asked their blessing; and the men every day drank their health in spite of sir Edward Hales, the catholic lieutenant. The nobility of both sexes resorted daily to the Tower; a deputation of ten nonconformist ministers appeared there one day, and when reprimanded for it by the king, they replied, that they could not but adhere to the bishops as men constant to the protestant religion.

Had the king the prudence to recede, an opportunity was afforded him within two days by the birth of the prince of Wales (June 10). His moderate advisers urged him then to

publish a general amnesty, which would include the bishops; but his priestly guides and his own obstinacy determined him to proceed. On the 15th the prelates were brought up by *Habeas Corpus* in order to plead. The people at their landing received them as before; in the court they were attended by twenty-nine peers, ready to be their securities. Their counsel claimed a delay for them till the next term; but the court decided that they should plead at once. They pleaded Not Guilty, and were released on engaging to appear on the 29th. The popular joy burst forth in shouts and acclamations, and numbers again begged their blessings; when the primate landed at Lambeth, the soldiers also fell on their knees to receive his blessing. Bonfires were lighted in the evening, and some catholics were insulted.

On the appointed day the bishops appeared in court, attended by a numerous troop of the nobility and gentry. Of the four judges, one, Allibone, was a catholic; two others, Wright (the chief) and Holloway, were the slaves of the court; one only, Powel, was impartial and honest: the king had taken pains to have a jury returned that he could rely on; and at court there was not a doubt felt of the result.

The speech of the attorney-general was timid, and there was great difficulty in proving the signatures: a question then arose, whether the petition which had been written in Surrey, and not proved to have been published in Middlesex, could be tried in the latter county. At every failure of the crown-lawyers, the audience set up a laugh, or a shout, which the court was unable to repress. Wright began to sum up; but he was interrupted by Finch, one of the prisoners' counsel. Williams, the solicitor-general, then requested the court to wait for the appearance of a person of great quality. After a delay of an hour, lord Sunderland arrived in a chair, amid the hootings of the populace: he proved that the bishops came to him with a petition, and that he introduced them to the king. But now the counsel for the accused took new ground, and assumed a bolder tone; they arraigned the dispensing power; they maintained the right of the subject to petition. Wright and Allibone charged against, Holloway and Powel in favour of the prisoners. The jury retired at seven in the evening; the obstinacy of Arnold, the king's brewer, one of their number, kept them in debate till the morning, when, at nine o'clock, they came into court and pronounced their verdict Not Guilty. Instantly a peal of joy arose; it was taken up without; it

spread over the city; it reached the camp at Hounslow, and was repeated by the soldiers. The king, who was dining with lord Feversham, on inquiring, was told it was nothing but for the acquittal of the bishops: "Call you that nothing? It is so much the worse for them," was his remark.

The birth of his son might seem a sufficient consolation to the king under this defeat; but here too his usual ill-fortune pursued him. If ever there was a prince about whose birth there would seem to be no reasonable ground of doubt it was this prince of Wales. His mother had long since spoken of her pregnancy; the birth took place in the morning, in the presence of the queen-dowager, most of the privy-council, and several ladies of quality, many of whom were protestants—yet not one in a thousand of the protestants believed in its reality. Some maintained that the queen had never been pregnant; others, that she had miscarried at Easter, and that one child, or even two successive children, had been substituted for the abortion. The princess Anne remained incredulous; so did the learned bishop Lloyd for many years. It was in fact a general delusion, from which neither reason nor good sense preserved men; it was most certainly no party-fiction, though party might, and did, take advantage of it.

The birth of the prince seems to have decided the unprincipled lord Sunderland to make public at this time his apostasy from the protestant faith. He and the earl of Mulgrave, a man as devoid of principle as himself, had been privately reconciled by father Petre a year before.

On the other hand, the birth of the prince decided those who were in communication with the prince of Orange. While the next heir was a protestant, the attempts of James might be borne with patience, as they could only continue for a few years; but now there was born a successor who would be nurtured in popery, and a popish regency under the queen would be formed in case of the king's demise. No time was therefore to be lost; an invitation to the prince to come to the relief of the country was drawn out and signed in cypher (June 30), by the earls of Shrewsbury, Danby, and Devonshire, lord Lumley, the bishop of London, admiral Russell, and colonel Sidney. The bearer of it to Holland is supposed to have been admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a common sailor.

The prince of Orange, by far the greatest man of his time, had for many years devoted all his thoughts and energies to

the humbling of the power of Louis XIV. In 1686 he had succeeded in engaging the emperor, the kings of Spain and Sweden, and several of the German princes, to subscribe the League of Augsburg, or Grand Alliance, of which this was the real object. The following year some of the Italian states, the pope himself included, joined the league, and the greater part of Europe was thus banded, under the prince of Orange, to check the ambition of Louis. The proper place of England was in this confederation; but the policy of her king withheld her from it: hence the prince aspired to the power of directing her councils, and adding her means to the great cause of national independence.

The death of the elector of Cologne, in the spring of this year, proved most favourable to the designs of the prince, as it brought Louis and the confederacy into collision. This elector, who also held the bishopricks of Liège, Münster, and Hildesheim, had proved a most useful ally to Louis in 1672, and all the efforts of this monarch were directed to procure the election of the coadjutor, the cardinal of Fürstemberg, who was his creature, and to whom he had given the bishoprick of Strasburg, of which it was requisite that he should previously divest himself. The pope however, out of hostility to Louis, refused to accept his resignation; and at the election (July 9), though Fürstemberg had a majority of votes over his competitor, prince Clement of Bavaria, he did not obtain the requisite two-thirds. The appointment then fell to the pope, and he named Clement, who was only a youth of seventeen years of age. The candidates of the allies were equally successful at Liège, Münster, and Hildesheim, and both sides now began to prepare for war. This gave the prince of Orange an opportunity of making his preparations for the invasion of England, under colour of providing for the defence of his own country and the empire. A large force was encamped near Nimeguen, cannon and ammunition were taken from the arsenals to be sent to it; soldiers and sailors were engaged; the Dutch navy was augmented, and the different fleets were placed in adjoining ports. These mighty preparations naturally awakened the suspicions of D'Avaux, the French minister at the Hague; but it was long before he could get certain information of their object. When at length he ascertained that they were destined for the invasion of England, and had informed his court, Louis lost no time in communicating the intelligence to James, making at the same time an offer of his aid; but that infatuated

prince refused to give credit to it. Skelton, the English minister at Paris, then proposed to Louis that D'Avaux should declare to the States that there was an alliance between his master and James, and that Louis would regard as a breach of peace any attempt against his ally. This manoeuvre disconcerted the friends of the prince of Orange; but James, instead of seeking to derive advantage from it, in his silly pride took offence, denied the alliance, recalled Skelton, and committed him to the Tower. Had he owned it, Louis would perhaps have made war on Holland, and thus have prevented the expedition of the prince; whereas he now declared war against the emperor alone, put his troops in motion, and laid siege to Philipsburg on the Upper Rhine. All was now tranquil on the side of Holland; the prince found his motions unimpeded, and having arranged with his German allies for the defence of the republic during his absence, he lost no time in preparing for the invasion of England.

The eyes of James at length were opened to his danger, and he attempted to retrace his steps. Almost every day of the month of October was marked by some concession. He asked and graciously received the advice of the bishops; he restored the bishop of London and the president and fellows of Magdalen-college; he gave the city of London and the towns and boroughs back their charters; recalled the writs he had issued for a parliament, etc. Meantime he was active in preparing the means of resistance; a fleet of 37 sail, with 17 fire-ships, was stationed at the Gun-fleet under lord Dartmouth, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion; he called out the militia; gave commissions for raising regiments and companies; recalled troops from Scotland and Ireland; and the army, under the command of lord Feversham, soon amounted to 40,000 men.

The prince of Orange had declarations prepared, addressed to the people of England and Scotland, stating the motives of his coming over, namely, to procure a free parliament; the redress of grievances; the security of the church; a comprehension for dissenters who desired it, and toleration for all others; and to inquire into the birth of the prince of Wales. He also wrote to his catholic allies, disclaiming all intention of injuring the king or his rightful heirs, and assuring them that he would employ all his influence to secure toleration for the catholics. The States issued a circular letter to the same effect.

The fleet collected for the invasion consisted of 60 men of war and 700 transports; the troops were 4500 horse and

11,000 foot. Marshal Schomberg and the counts of Nassau and Solms, with general Ginckel and other able Dutch officers; a band of 800 French refugees; the English exiles, such as lord Macclesfield, Dr. Burnet, and others, and those recently arrived, namely, the earl of Sirewsbury, who had raised 40,000*l.* for the expedition, the sons of the marquesses of Winchester and Halifax and of lord Danby, admirals Russell and Herbert—all prepared to share the fortune of the prince.

The first full moon after the equinox was the time appointed for sailing; but for the first half of October the wind blew tempestuously from the west. Public prayers to Heaven were made in all the churches; on the 13th the storm abated, and William then (15th) took a solemn leave of the States, commending to them the princess if anything should happen to himself. The aged pensionary, Fagel, replied in their name. The whole audience were deeply affected; William alone remained apparently unmoved. A solemn fast was held on the 17th, and two days after the expedition sailed from Helvoetsluis; but during the night a storm came on and dispersed the fleet; and next day the ships were obliged to return to the different ports to repair and to lay in additional stores. At length the Protestant East-wind, as it was termed, came, and the prince again put to sea (Nov. 1). He first sailed northwards, intending to land in Yorkshire; but then changing his course, he passed (3rd) between Dover and Calais; wind and tide prevented Lord Dartmouth from attacking; the people of the opposite coasts gazed with various emotions on the magnificent spectacle of a fleet extending twenty miles in length, and laden with the fate of empires. On Monday, the 5th of November, the fleet safely anchored at Torbay, in Devon.

The king had in the interim been making new efforts to sustain his sinking power. He caused a solemn investigation to be made into the birth of the prince of Wales and the numerous depositions to be enrolled in chancery, in order that his title, in case of his own death, might be put beyond doubt. He dismissed from his council (Oct. 27) Sunderland, whose fidelity, after all the lengths he had gone, was now suspected, and not wholly without reason. Father Petre had already ceased to appear at the council-board. As the prince had stated in his declaration that "he had been invited by divers lords spiritual and temporal," the king called upon the prelates and peers in the capital to admit or deny the truth of this assertion. They all denied it; for none of them had signed the

invitation* but bishop Compton, who adroitly evaded the question by saying, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The king insisted on having their denial in writing, with an 'abhorrence' of the designs of the prince; but this they declined to give (Nov. 6). He then left them in anger, telling them that he would trust to his army.

The prince was now at Exeter, but hardly any one as yet had joined him, for the memory of Jeffreys' Campaign was still fresh in the minds of the people of Devon. He suspected that he was deceived and he began to think of reëmbarking, being resolved on his return to Holland to publish the names of those who had invited him. At length sir Edward Seymour and some of the western gentry came in to him; and at the suggestion of Seymour, a bond of Association was drawn out, engaging the subscribers to support one another in defence of the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms, the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange. They were followed by lord Colchester, lord Wharton, Mr. Russell, and the earl of Abingdon. Soon after (10th), lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of horse that were stationed at Salisbury; but the far greater part of the officers and men proving loyal, he led but a small party to join the army of the prince. The ice was now broken; distrust spread through the whole army; the friends of the prince were emboldened; the lords Danby and Lamley began to raise men in Yorkshire, lord Delamere in Cheshire, and lord Devonshire in Derbyshire and the adjoining counties.

The king was strongly urged to seek an accommodation with the prince, but he still confided in the loyalty of his troops, and he resolved to put himself at their head. Father Petre, anxious, perhaps, for his own safety, pressed him to remain in London, as quitting it had been the ruin of his father. At his suggestion the infant prince was sent to Portsmouth, and he himself made his escape to France after the king's departure for the army.

King James, on reaching Salisbury, reviewed the troops that were there (20th). He was to go the next day to Warminster, to inspect the division of general Kirke, but a violent bleeding of the nose came on him, which continued, with intervals, for three days. During this time a council of war was held (22nd). Lord Churchill, the lieutenant-general, advised to remain at Salisbury; Feversham and his brother,

the count de Roye, proposed to retire behind the Thames. This last course was approved of by the king; and that very night Churchill, the duke of Grafton, a son of king Charles, and others went over to the prince, and they were followed by several of their officers in the morning. It is even said that Churchill, Kirke, and some other officers had conspired to seize the king at Warminster, and deliver him up to the prince.

The king on his return to London stopped the first night (24th) at Andover. He invited prince George of Denmark to sup with him. After supper, that prince, the duke of Ormond, and two others mounted their horses and rode off to the prince of Orange. When James reached London, the first news that met him was that of the flight of his daughter Anne. He burst into tears: "God help me," he cried; "my very children have forsaken me." The princess had left her bed-chamber in the night (25th) with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley; the bishop of London and lord Dorset had a carriage ready for her, and she was conveyed to the bishop's house, and thence to Northampton. Disaffection now spread rapidly over the whole kingdom. Bristol, Hull, York, and other towns, were occupied by the adherents of the prince. The university of Oxford sent him its adhesion and an offer of its plate!

The first act of the king was to hold a great council of the peers who were in London, and by their advice he issued writs for a parliament, and sent lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as his commissioners, to treat with the prince; but some days elapsed before they were admitted to his presence, and meantime a spurious proclamation in his name, menacing all papists bearing arms or holding office, was circulated in London. James was now resolved on placing himself and his family under the protection of the king of France. He had his son brought back from Portsmouth, whence he could not now be conveyed, and, on a dark and stormy night (Dec. 9), the queen with her babe and his nurse, crossed the river in an open boat to Lambeth; but the expected carriage was not there, and they had to stand for some time, only sheltered by an old wall from the torrents of rain. At length the coach arrived, and the queen proceeded to Gravesend, where she got on board a yacht which conveyed her to Calais.

The king had promised the queen to follow her in twenty-four hours. The letter which he received next day (19th) from his commissioners, stating the prince's terms, made no

change in his resolution. He wrote to lord Feversham, dispensing with the further services of the troops; and he called for and burned the writs for a parliament, and then retired to rest. At one in the morning (11th) he rose, and telling lord Northumberland, a son of the late king's, who lay on a pallet in his chamber, not to open the door till the usual hour in the morning, he went down the back stairs, and, being joined by sir Edward Hales, got into a hackney-coach and drove to the horse-ferry, and there getting into a small boat, crossed over to Vauxhall, throwing the great seal into the river on his way. Horses were there ready for them, and at ten in the morning they reached Feversham, where they got on board a custom-house hoy which had been engaged for the purpose.

As soon as the news of the king's flight was known in London, the mob attacked the catholic chapels and the residences of the catholic ambassadors. Those who felt themselves to be obnoxious attempted to fly to the coast, but several were taken and committed to prison. Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping, in the disguise of a common sailor. It was with difficulty that he was saved from the rage of the mob. At his own desire he was committed to the Tower, where he died shortly afterwards. The nuncio, disguised as a footman of the ambassador of Savoy, was seized at Gravesend, but the prince sent him a passport without delay.

The government meantime was exercised by a council of peers, with the lord-mayor and aldermen. They sent a declaration of adhesion to the prince, on condition of his procuring a free parliament; but their deliberations were soon disturbed by tidings of the detention of the king. The hoy, having stopped to get in more ballast, was boarded by three boats, and the crews, taking the king and his companions for jesuits, brought it back to Feversham. The king, being recognised, sent for lord Winchelsea, the lord-lieutenant of the county, and he was placed at the house of the mayor, whence he wrote (14th) to the supreme council at London, who forthwith ordered lord Feversham to take two hundred of the guards for the protection of the royal person. James, on being joined by them, resolved to return to the capital. He sent lord Feversham to the prince, who was now at Windsor, to propose a personal conference; but the envoy was placed under arrest, on the pretext of his having come without a passport.

The king, on reaching London (16th), was received with every demonstration of popular joy: the crowds shouted, the

bells were rung, and the bonfires were kindled, in the usual manner. Next day he held a court, met his council, and exercised other acts of sovereignty. But the prince and his council had decided that James should not remain at Whitehall; and the following evening (17th) count Solms came with a body of the Dutch guards, and, having occupied St. James's, led them to Whitehall. Lord Craven, who commanded the English guards, was preparing to resist; but James, knowing opposition to be useless, repressed the ardour of the veteran of eighty, and the Dutch guards took the place of the English. A little before midnight the king went to rest, but he had not been long asleep when he was waked to receive the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, who were come with a message from the prince. He had them admitted. They told him it was the prince's wish that, for the safety of his person, he should go to Ham-house in Surrey, where he would be attended by his own guards, and that he must depart at ten in the morning, as the prince would arrive by noon. James objected to Ham, as damp and cold, and proposed Rochester. They departed, and returned at nine next morning (19th) with the requisite permission.

At noon the king took leave of the nobility and entered the royal barge, and went down the river, followed by a party of the Dutch guards in boats. The assembled crowds viewed with mournful looks this final departure of their sovereign, a captive in the hands of foreigners. James slept that night at Gravesend, and next day came to Rochester, where he remained for four days, deliberating on his further course. His friends in general urged him not to think of quitting the kingdom, as it was the very course his enemies seemed to wish him to adopt; for, though the front of the house in which he resided was guarded, the rear was neglected. He sent, offering to place himself in the hands of the prelates, if they would answer for his safety; but they declined so delicate a charge. He then resolved on flight, to which he was moreover urged by a letter from the queen; and, having written a declaration explanatory of his motives, and informed some friends of his design, he went to bed as usual (22nd). After midnight he rose, and, with his natural son the duke of Berwick and three other persons, he went out through the garden. A fishing-smack had been hired to convey him to France, but the weather was so rough that he could not reach it. He got on board the *Eagle* fire-ship, where he was received with all marks of respect by

the crew, and next morning (24th) he embarked in the smack. On Christmas-day he landed at Ambleteuse in Picardy, and he hastened to join his queen at St. Germain. His reception by Louis was cordial and generous.

At two o'clock on the day of the king's departure from the capital, the prince of Orange came to St. James's. All classes crowded to do him homage. He summoned the lords spiritual and temporal to meet on the 21st, to consider the state of the nation. They came on the appointed day to the number of about seventy: five lawyers, in the absence of the judges, were appointed to assist them. It was proposed that they should previously sign the Exeter Association: the temporal peers, with four exceptions, subscribed; the prelates, all but Compton, refused. Next day (22nd) they met in the house of peers, and, having chosen lord Halifax their speaker, issued an order for all papists, except householders and some others, to remove ten miles from London. On Christmas-day they resolved that the prince should be requested to take on him the administration of all public affairs till the 22nd of January, and to issue letters for persons to be elected to meet as a convention on that day. The following day all those who had served in any of the parliaments of Charles II., and were in town, with the aldermen and fifty common-councilmen, waited on the prince by invitation, and thence went to the house of commons, where next day (27th) they voted an address similar to that of the peers. The prince accepted the charge, and issued the letters of summons for the convention. Next day, being Sunday, he received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

On the 22nd of January, 1689, the memorable Convention met. A joint address of thanks and praying him to continue the administration of affairs was presented to the prince. After a few days' necessary delay, the commons entered on the great question of the state of the nation (28th); and it was resolved, "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Next day it was resolved, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince."

It is remarkable that this is the very principle of the exclusion-bill which had brought such odium on its supporters.

In the lords, this last vote was unanimously agreed to, but various questions arose on the former. The first was, supposing the throne vacant, whether they would have a regent or a king. It was decided in favour of the latter by a majority of only two. It was then carried, that there was an original contract between king and people. For the word 'abdicated' they substituted 'deserted;' and they struck out the clause declaring the throne to be vacant, as it was maintained that the crown devolved to the princess of Orange. To these amendments the commons refused to agree. Two conferences took place between committees of the houses, which terminated in the lords giving way to the firmness of the commons, though their arguments were clearly superior on the principles of the constitution and of common sense; but the cogent motive was political necessity. The wholesome regard for the forms of the constitution certainly involved the whigs in apparent absurdity, for the word 'abdicated' it was acknowledged was used in an improper sense; 'deserted' was in truth no better, but it sounded softer; the proper word was 'forfeited,' but all parties shrank from employing it.

The throne being vacant, the next question was, by whom it should be filled. The young prince of Wales was passed over by common consent; for his birth should be previously inquired into; and should his legitimacy be proved, as there was no doubt but that he would be brought up a catholic, it would be necessary to appoint a protestant regent, and then the strange appearance might be presented of a succession of kings with the rights and title of the crown, and of regents exercising all its powers. The simple course seemed to be, to make the princess of Orange queen; but the prince signified his dislike of that, saying he could not hold anything by apron-strings, and threatening to return to Holland; the princess had also strongly expressed her disapprobation of it. It was finally resolved (Feb. 12) that the prince and princess of Orange should be king and queen during their lives and that of the survivor, but the sole exercise of the royal power to be in the former; the succession to go to the heirs of the princess, and in default of such issue, to the princess Anne and her heirs, and, in *their* default, to those of the prince of Orange.

The princess landed that very evening, and next day (13th) she and the prince, seated on a throne at Whitehall, received

the two houses. A declaration of rights which had been agreed on having been read to them, lord Halifax, in the name of the two houses, made them a solemn tender of the crown. The prince made a brief reply, accepting the proffered crown, and declaring his resolution to support their religion, laws, and liberties, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom. King William and queen Mary were proclaimed that same day with the usual ceremonies.

Such was the Revolution of 1688, justly, we think, termed GLORIOUS. It terminated the struggle, which had continued from the reign of John, between the crown and people of England. We have seen the barons and commons lay various restraints on the despotism of the Plantagenets; but when the power of the barons had declined, the crown, relieved from the pressure, rose with renovated vigour in the line of Tudor. The Stuarts, with inferior ability, and thwarted by a more formidable opposition, sought to uphold the authority to which they had succeeded; the result was, a civil war, the shedding of royal blood on the scaffold, and a military despotism. Untaught by experience, the restored Stuarts laboured to free their authority from all constitutional check, and, had they left the national religion untouched, they might have long, perhaps, continued to trample with impunity on the national liberties; but James in his folly attempted to overturn the church, and the nation rose and drove him from the throne. For, however men might seek to deceive themselves by specious terms, such was the real fact; James did not *abdicate*, he was *expelled*; and the house of Brunswick now occupies the throne by the choice of the nation, and not by hereditary right. The line of succession was broken when William III. was placed on the throne; indefeasible right was at an end; but the monarchy, with its prerogative, remained uninjured.

It is this last circumstance that appears chiefly to cause our republican writers of the present day to vilify the Revolution, and pour forth their gall on its authors. They are angry that that worst of despotisms, a democracy, was not substituted for the ancient constitution of England, and they are therefore anxious to fix every possible stigma on the memory of king William and the other agents in effecting the change. A measure of policy, however, is not dependent for its moral quality on the characters of those who accomplish it; and we may freely grant that Danby and the other signers of the Invita-

tion were not men of immaculate virtue, and that there were instances of treachery and ingratitude; yet still these men merited well of their country, for the risk they ran, in case of failure, was tremendous; and it ill becomes those who are enjoying the benefit of their services to delight in heaping obloquy on their names.

The progress of the constitution during this period may be thus briefly stated.

When James I. was called to the throne of England, the crown was in possession of an enormous prerogative. All the feudal rights of the Anglo-Norman and Plantagenet monarchs, together with the Star-chamber and court of High-commission and the other despotic institutions of the Tudors combined to strengthen the sovereign against the people and seemed to give him a power nearly irresistible. But the love of liberty innate in the Anglo-Saxon race and the powerful influence of the reformed religion united to compose a check to it; the folly of the first Stuart in advancing claims of divine and indefeasible right to sovereignty, which he had not courage to put to the proof, and the still greater folly of the second in attempting to reduce to practice the theory of his pedantic sire, roused the nation to opposition. The result has been related.

The house of Stuart was restored, but, as we shall see, with greatly diminished powers.

The Courts of Star-chamber and High-commission were swept away; the exercise of the feudal rights of the crown ceased; an end was put to arbitrary taxation, and the revenue of the crown was fixed. All money-bills were to originate in the house of commons, before which estimates were to be laid, and it was to appropriate the supplies. The Habeas-corpus act, which could only be suspended by an act of the legislature, put an end to arbitrary imprisonment, and royal proclamations could no longer infringe on the supremacy of parliament and the rights of the people. It was therefore only by means of compliant parliaments and servile and unprincipled lawyers that the two last Stuarts were able to encroach on the public liberty.

Surely no one, whom nature has not formed to be a slave or a tyrant, will refuse to acknowledge that a great progress was made in this eventful period in the path of true liberty and social happiness. Many evils however still remained. Judges were removeable at pleasure, and could not therefore act independently; juries were still occasionally called to account for

their verdicts. The press was not yet released from its shackles: these had been originally imposed by the Tudors; the number of presses and of men employed at them was limited, and every publication had to be previously submitted to a licenser. This was too powerful an instrument of despotism to be given up by the Long Parliament, and at no time was the press more jealously watched than during the Commonwealth; at the Restoration Clarendon took care that it should not be emancipated. The act for restraining the liberty of the press, however, expired in 1679. From that date it has, with a brief interruption*, been free in England, and the unsightly *imprimatur* no longer disfigures our books.

The great check on oppression by those in authority at the present day is the public press, which gives publicity to every act of injustice and arouses the general indignation against it. But in consequence of the slowness of communication and the want of public journals, the press was of little force in the time of the Stuarts, and numerous victims perished in prisons unknown and unlamented. Imprisonment alone was in those days (and it certainly had not been better in the earlier periods) a most grievous punishment. The prisons were noisome and filthy beyond conception, and the power of the gaoler was uncontrolled. There was no classification of prisoners; the pious sufferer for conscience, the learned minister of the Gospel, was confounded with the robber and the murderer, obliged to lie on straw, and exposed to cold, hunger, and disease. The mortality in the prisons was enormous, and the gaol-fever, as it was significantly named, which often rushed from them at the time of the assizes, has swept away the bench, the bar, and the jury.

* The act was revived in 1685 for seven years, but finally expired in 1693.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF STUART.—PART II.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

1689–1694.

THE new reign was commenced (Feb. 14) with a proclamation confirming all protestants in the offices which they held. The king then nominated the privy-council and appointed to the offices of state; in both cases selecting from the ranks of wigs and tories, with a preponderance however of the former. Danby was made president of the council; Halifax, privy-seal; Nottingham and Shrewsbury, the secretaries of state. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery were put into commission.

Judging it inexpedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to risk the experiment of a new election, the king and council resolved to convert the convention into a parliament. This was effected by the simple expedient of the king's going in state to the house of peers (18th), and addressing both houses from the throne. A bill declaring the lords and commons assembled at Westminster to be the two houses of parliament was then passed, and the royal assent being given (23rd), the convention became a parliament. In this act a new oath, to be taken on the first of March, was substituted for the old ones of allegiance and supremacy. It was refused by

the primate and seven of his suffragans* ; and among the temporal peers, by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin and Stawell. Hence the party of which they were the heads derived the name of Nonjurors ; their principle was a blind, stupid veneration for absolute power, and for the hereditary divine rights of princes—a principle, if followed out, utterly subversive of every kind of liberty.

The settlement of the revenue was an important question. The courtiers maintained that the revenue settled on the late king for life came of course to the present king ; but the commons could only be induced to grant it for one year. They readily granted a sum of 600,000*l.* to remunerate the States for the expense they had been at ; and on information of king James having landed in Ireland, they voted funds for an army and navy.

The coronation took place on the 11th of April ; the bishop of London officiating in place of the nonjuring primate. Several titles and honours had previously been conferred. The marquess of Winchester was made duke of Bolton ; lords Mordaunt and Churchill, earls of Monmouth and Marlborough ; Henry Sidney, viscount Sidney ; the king's Dutch favourite Bentinck, earl of Portland, etc. Shortly after (24th), the earl of Danby was created marquess of Carmarthen. The celebrated Dr. Burnet was also rewarded for his exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty by being raised to the see of Salisbury. The judicial bench was purified and filled with men of sound constitutional principles ; Holt, Pollexfen, and Atkins being placed at the head of the three law-courts ; Treby was made attorney- and the able and patriotic John Somers solicitor-general.

It was the earnest wish of the king and of the more liberal statesmen to reward the dissenters for their meritorious conduct during the late crisis by removing all disqualifications under which they laboured. It was first attempted to have the sacramental test omitted in the new oaths ; but that failing, a bill was brought in to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. This, named the Act of Toleration, was passed : and though the catholics were not included in it, they felt the benefit of it, and William always treated them with lenity. A

* Namely, Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of Norwich, Thomas of Worcester, and Frampton of Gloucester.

bill of comprehension passed the lords, but miscarried in the commons. The attainders of lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle were reversed. Johnson's sentence was annulled, and he received 1000*l.* and a pension.

William's main object, as we have seen, was to engage England in the great confederacy lately formed against the French king. As Louis was now openly assisting king James, the commons presented an address (Apr. 26) assuring the king of their support in case he should think fit to engage in the war with France. William required no more ; he declared war without delay (May 7).

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland at this time.

As Scotland had been the victim of a civil and religious despotism such as the Stuarts had never dared to exercise in England, the friends of William were necessarily the majority in that country. After the flight of James, such of the Scottish nobility and gentry as were in London presented an address to the prince, vesting in him the administration and the revenue, and requesting him to call a convention of the states of Scotland. With this request he of course complied ; and when the convention met (Mar. 14), the whigs had a decided majority. It was voted, that king James "had forfeited [forfeited] the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." On the 11th of April William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, and three deputies were sent to London to administer to them the coronation-oath. The convention was converted into a parliament as in England.

The adherents of the late king, foiled in the convention, resolved to appeal to force ; the duke of Gordon, a catholic, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor ; and Graham of Claverhouse (now viscount Dundee), the ruthless persecutor of the Cameronians, fired with the idea of emulating the fame of Montrose, quitted Edinburgh with a party of fifty horse and directed his course toward the Highlands. General Mackay, who had been sent with five regiments from England, was despatched in pursuit of him. Dundee succeeded in drawing together a good body of Highlanders ; he got possession of the castle of Blair in Athol ; and James sent him from Ireland lavish promises and a corps of about three hundred men. Dundee had retired into Lochaber, when hearing that lord Murray was pressing the castle of

Blair and that Mackay was coming to his aid, he rapidly returned, drove off lord Murray, and as Mackay was now coming through the pass of Killicrankie, he resolved to give him battle in the plain between the pass and the castle (May 26). The superiority in numbers and discipline was greatly on the side of the troops of Mackay; but the highlanders, in their usual manner, having discharged their muskets, fell on with their broadswords and targets, and speedily routed their opponents with the loss of 1500 slain, 500 and all their artillery taken. The victory on the part of Dundee was complete; but he lived not to improve it, as he received a wound in the action, of which he died the next day. There was no one who could fill his place, so the clans gradually laid down their arms and took advantage of the pardon offered by king William. The duke of Gordon also submitted and delivered up the castle of Edinburgh (June 13), and the cause of James became hopeless in Scotland. The abolition of episcopacy and the re-establishment of presbytery took place soon after; and thus finally terminated the struggle between the crown and the people of Scotland on the subject of religion.

It was different in Ireland, where the whole power of the state was in the hands of the catholics. Tyrconnel had at first signified an inclination to submit to William, who had sent over general Hamilton, one of the officers of James' army, with proposals to him; but Hamilton proved a traitor and advised against submission; and Tyrconnel, whose only object had been to gain time, had already sent to assure James of his fidelity. He also disarmed the protestants in Dublin, and he augmented his catholic army. It has always been the fate of the Irish protestants to have their interest postponed to those of party in England; and they were now neglected by William. It is said by some that Halifax suggested this course to him, as if Ireland submitted he would have no pretext for keeping up an army, on which his retention of England depended. But in truth he does not seem to have had an army to send at that time; he could not rely on the English troops, and he therefore could not venture to part with the foreigners.

James embraced a resolution worthy of a sovereign: having obtained from Louis a supply of arms, ammunition, and money, with some officers, and collected about 1200 of his own subjects, he hastened to Brest, and embarking in a French fleet of twenty-one sail, proceeded to Ireland. He landed in safety at Kinsale (Mar. 12). At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel,

This officer, inured to his master's barbarous dealings with his own subjects as well as foreigners, and incensed at the gallant resistance of the besieged, sent out parties of dragoons, and collecting all the protestants, men, women, and children, within a circuit of thirty miles, to the number of 4000, drove them under the walls of Derry, there to perish if the garrison did not surrender. The king, who had given protections to most of these people, sent orders to the general to desist; but his mandate was unheeded; the threat of the garrison to hang all their prisoners was of more avail; and after three days' starvation, the poor people were permitted to return to their homes, which had meantime been plundered by the papists. Several hundreds of them died of fatigue and hunger.

Famine was now raging in the town; horses, dogs, cats, rats and mice, and even starch, tallow, and salted hides, were the only food of the garrison, and these were nearly exhausted, when Kirke, who had retired, re-appeared in Lough Foyle. He ordered two transports and a frigate to sail up the river; the batteries from both banks thundered on them, while the garrison gazed with anxiety from their walls. The Mountjoy transport ran against the boom and broke it, but the shock drove her aground; the enemy attempted to board her; she fired a broadside and righted. The three vessels then sailed up to the town, and that very night (July 31) the besieging army retired, having lost it is said between 8000 and 9000 men before the heroic town; the besieged had lost 3000—nearly the half of their original number. The Enniskilleners showed equal courage, and defeated the papists wherever they encountered them.

The houses of parliament which met in Dublin were filled with popish members, the protestants not exceeding half a dozen in either house. James, in his speech, made his usual parade of respect for the rights of conscience; and in a subsequent declaration, he expatiated on his regard and favour to his protestant subjects. One of his earliest measures, however, was to give his assent to an act for robbing them of their properties. A bill was introduced into the lower house for repealing the Act of Settlement; it was received with shouts of joy, passed at once, and transmitted to the lords. Here the protestant bishop of Meath fully exposed its iniquity, as it made no allowance for improvements, gave no time for the removal of cattle or corn, made no provision for widows, paid no regard to the rights of *bond fide* purchasers, etc. In England

such considerations of equity would have been attended to; in Ireland there has always been a magnanimous contempt for truth, justice, and humanity, when the purposes of party are to be served. Fitton, the popish chancellor, a man who had actually been convicted of forgery, paid little heed to the arguments of the prelate. The bill passed; in vain the purchasers under the Act of Settlement petitioned the king; he replied, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it;" yet he gave his assent to the bill.

The preamble of the bill declared the Irish innocent of rebellion in 1641, and it vested in the king the real estates of all who did not acknowledge him, or who aided or corresponded with those who had rebelled against him since the 1st of August, 1688, that is to say, of nearly every Irish protestant who could write. This was followed by an act of attainder against between two and three thousand persons, by name, of all orders and sexes from the peer to the yeoman, of whom, as Nagle, the speaker of the commons, said to the king on presenting the bill, "many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." By a clause in the act, the king was even deprived of the power of pardoning any of the proscribed after the 1st of November. Moreover the act was carefully concealed from its victims, being kept close in the custody of the chancellor.

As a further means of robbing the protestants, a base coinage of brass, bell-metal, tin and pewter, was issued, at the rates of coin of the precious metals, and ordered to be taken in all kinds of payments. When the protestants attempted to get rid of the base metal thus forced on them, by purchasing with it corn, hides, &c., the king fixed his price on these articles, seized them to his own use, and paid for them in his bell-metal coin. Yet the catholics after all were the chief losers, for they happened to be the principal holders of the base money when James fled from Ireland.

To ruin the protestant clergy, the catholics were directed to pay their tithes to their own priests. As livings became vacant, they were filled with popish incumbents. The fellows of Trinity College having refused to admit a papist named Green into their body, they were all expelled, and their plate and other property was seized. A respectable catholic named Moore was made provost, and he saved the library from the soldiery. Even the protestant worship was suppressed, for an

order was issued forbidding more than five protestants to meet together for any purpose on pain of death.

While James was thus exemplifying his notions of religious liberty, William was preparing the means of recovering Ireland. A force consisting of eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse having been levied, the command was given to duke Schomberg.* But various delays occurred, and it was late in the summer (Aug. 13) when the duke landed at Bangor in Down, with a body of 10,000 men, leaving the remainder to follow. He invested Carrickfergus, which surrendered after a siege of a few days. The enemy continually retired before him, and he reached Dundalk on his way to Dublin. As he had not yet got over his artillery, and he was weak in cavalry, he did not deem it prudent to proceed. He fortified his camp, but the site he had chosen was damp and unhealthy, being surrounded by mountains and bogs. Disease soon spread its ravages among his troops; king James advanced up to the camp at the head of his army, but the cautious marshal would not accept the offer of battle, and the king drew off. At length, after losing one half of his men by disease, Schomberg placed his army in winter-quarters in the northern towns.

This year was marked by only one naval engagement. Louis had sent a Squadron under count Château-Renault, to convoy some transports with supplies to Ireland. Herbert, who had been sent to intercept them, having been driven by stress of weather into Milford-Haven, they got safe into Bantry-bay. When Herbert found them there (May 1), he stood in to attack them though he was much inferior in force. The French however weighed anchor and stood out; Herbert tried but in vain to get the weather-gage, and after a running fight of some hours he bore away, leaving the honour of the day to the French*. On his return to Portsmouth, as the crews were discontented with their want of success, king William came down, dined aboard the admiral's ship, knighted captains Ashby and Shovel, and gave the men ten shillings each. Herbert was soon after created earl of Torrington.

In the spring (1690), Schomberg, having received supplies, and a reinforcement of 7000 Danish troops, and his men being now in good health, besieged and took (May 12) the fort of

* When D'Avaux, the French ambassador, told James that the French had defeated the English, he peevishly replied, *C'est bien la première fois donc.*

Charlemont. James had received 6000 French troops, under count Lausun, in exchange for as many Irish, but they embarrassed more than they served him, and he remained inactive. William meantime, aware of the importance of reducing Ireland, had resolved to conduct the war there in person. He landed at Carrickfergus (June 14), and declaring that "he was not come to let the grass grow under his feet," summoned all his troops to his standard. On reviewing them at Loughbrickland, he found himself at the head of 36,000 effective men. He moved southwards without delay: James, who had left Dublin for his army (16th), advanced to Dundalk, but not thinking that post tenable, he fell back and took a position near Oldbridge, on the right bank of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, with a bog on his left and the pass of Duleek in his rear. His army is said to have numbered 33,000 men*. On the morning of the last day of June, the English army reached the Boyne. William rode out to reconnoitre the enemy; he was recognised, and two pieces of cannon were secretly planted behind a hedge opposite an eminence where he had sat down to rest. As he was mounting his horse, they were fired, and one of the balls having touched the bank of the river, rose and grazed his right shoulder, tearing his coat and flesh. His attendants gathered round him, a cry of joy rose in the Irish camp, the news of his death flew to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the firing of cannon and lighting of bonfires testified the exultation of Louis.

The armies cannonaded each other during the remainder of the day. At nine o'clock at night William held a council, and gave his orders for the battle next day; at twelve he rode by torchlight through the camp; the word given was WESTMINSTER; each soldier was directed to wear a green bough in his hat, as the enemy was observed to wear white paper. The army was to pass the river in three divisions; the right, led by young Schomberg and general Douglas, at the ford of Slane; the centre, under Schomberg himself, in front of the camp; and the left, under the king, lower down toward Drogheda.

Early next morning (Tuesday, July 1) the right division set out for Slane, where it forced the passage, and passing the bog drove off the troops opposed to it. The centre crossed unopposed; on the further bank they met a vigorous resistance, but they finally forced the enemy to fall back to the

* He says himself (Life, ii. 393) it was not more than 20,000, while he makes that of William from 40,000 to 50,000.

village of Donore, where James stood a spectator of the battle. William meantime had crossed at the head of his cavalry; the Irish horse led by Hamilton fought gallantly, but they were broken at length, and their commander made a prisoner*. Lausun now urged James to remain no longer, but to retire with all speed to Dublin before he was surrounded. He forthwith quitted the field; his army then poured through the pass of Duleek, and forming on the other side retreated in good order. Their loss had been 1500 men, that of the victors was only a third of that number, among whom were duke Schomberg, and Walker, the brave governor of Derry.

James stopped only one night in Dublin; he fled to Duncannon, where, finding a French vessel, he got on board and landed safely at Brest (10th).

William reached Dublin on the third day after his victory (4th). He issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inferior people engaged in the war, but excepting the leaders. He then advanced southwards and reduced Waterford; but hearing of a victory gained by the French fleet and a descent on the coast of England, he returned to Dublin, deeming his presence necessary in that country. Finding, however, the danger not to be so great as he had apprehended, he resolved to remain and finish the war. He advanced and laid siege to Limerick (Aug. 9), but his artillery was intercepted on its way from Dublin and destroyed by general Sarsefield, and an attempt to storm (27th) having failed with great loss, he raised the siege and retiring to Waterford embarked for England (Sept. 5), leaving the command with count Solms and general Ginckel. The earl of Marlborough, who had commanded the British troops in the Netherlands this year, having proposed the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, landed at the former place (21st) with 5000 men, and being joined by the prince of Würtemberg with an equal number of his Danes, he in the space of twenty-three days obliged both places to surrender. The French troops in Ireland now returned home, leaving the Irish to their fate.

We now return to England to notice the state of affairs there for the last twelvemonth.

The parliament which had been prorogued having met again (Oct. 19), the king in his speech pressed on them the neces-

* William asked Hamilton if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." "Honour," said William: "*your honour!*"

sity of a supply for carrying on the war; he also strongly urged the passing of a bill of indemnity. They readily voted a supply of two millions; but the whigs, with the natural jealousy of power, wishing to keep the lash over the heads of their rivals the tories, threw every possible obstruction in the way of the indemnity; impeachments were menaced against those who had turned papists; a committee was appointed to inquire who were the advisers, etc. in the *murders* of Russell, Sidney, and others; and as Halifax, who had been then in the ministry, saw that he was aimed at, he retired from office and joined the tories. A bill was brought in for restoring corporations, by a clause of which all who had acted or concurred in the surrender of charters were to be excluded from office for seven years. As there could be no doubt of the object of this clause, the tories put forth their whole strength, and having gained the court to their side, the clause was defeated in the commons and the bill itself was lost in the lords.

The refusal of the whigs to grant him a revenue for life had greatly alienated the mind of the king from them. He was in fact so disgusted with the ungenerous treatment, as he conceived it, that he met with, that he seriously meditated a return to Holland, leaving the queen to reign in England. From this he was diverted by the entreaties of Carmarthen and Shrewsbury; and the tories having promised him lavish supplies if he would dissolve the parliament, he resolved on that measure, and on conducting the Irish war in person. He therefore prorogued the parliament (Jan. 27, 1690), and a few days after (Feb. 6), he issued a proclamation dissolving it, and summoning a new one to meet on the 20th of March.

In the new house of commons the tories had the preponderance; but the whigs were notwithstanding very formidable. This appeared in the settlement of the revenue, as, though the hereditary excise was given to the king for life, the customs were granted only for four years. The great struggle of parties took place on a bill brought into the lords by the whigs for recognizing their majesties as the *rightful and lawful* sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the convention parliament to be good and valid. This was obviously contrary to the principles and professions of the tories; they caused the words *rightful and lawful* to be omitted as superfluous, and they would only consent that the laws of the late parliament should be valid for the time to come. The bill was committed, but the declaratory clause was lost on the report.

A vigorous protest of some of the leading whigs caused it to be restored. The tories now protested in their turn, but the whigs caused the protest to be expunged from the journals. The bill passed the commons without opposition, as the influence of the crown was exerted in its favour. As the tories were thus instrumental in putting the last hand to the settlement of the crown, they had no excuse for ever again opposing it.

A bill requiring every person holding any office to *abjure* the late king and his title was rejected by the commons at the express desire of the king. An act was passed for investing the queen with the administration during the absence of the king, and one for reversing the judgement against the city of London, and finally the bill of indemnity which contained the names of thirty excepted persons, none of whom however were ever molested in consequence of it. The session was then closed (May 21), and the king soon after set out for Ireland.

The situation of the queen was by no means an easy one. Her mind was distracted with anxiety for the fate of both her father and her husband in Ireland; the Jacobites, as the adherents of James were now called, were preparing an insurrection in England and Scotland, and the French were ready to assist them; she had also, a task of no small difficulty, to hold the balance between the two parties in her cabinet. Her difficulties, however, gave occasion to the display of the nobler parts of her character, and she acquired by her firmness, mildness, and prudence, the applause of all.

As it was known that a fleet was getting ready at Brest, lord Torrington proceeded to St. Helens, and took the command of the combined English and Dutch fleets. On the 20th of June, the French fleet of 78 ships of war appeared off Plymouth. Though Torrington had but 56 sail, orders were sent to him to fight. The hostile squadrons engaged (30th) off Beachey-head; the action lasted from nine till five in the afternoon, when a calm came on. As the Dutch had suffered severely, Torrington retired during the night; next day the French pursued them as far as Rye, and then retired. The loss of the English was two, that of the Dutch six ships. Torrington, having brought his fleet into the Thames, repaired to London, where he was deprived of his command and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he was never again employed.

As an invasion was apprehended, the queen issued commis-

sions for raising troops, directed a camp to be formed at Torbay, and caused several suspected persons to be arrested. But the French, after burning the fishing-village of Tintmouth, returned to Brest, and the news of the victory at the Boyne soon dispelled all alarm.

On the return of the king, the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his parliament. They granted four millions for the war, and William having put an end to the session, embarked at Gravesend (Jan. 16, 1691) in order to be present at a congress of the allies at the Hague. All there proceeded to his wishes, it being unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. He stayed a few weeks in Holland and then returned to England (Apr. 13).

A conspiracy in favour of James had been discovered before the king left England. About the end of December, a boat-owner of Barking in Essex, having informed lord Carmarthen that one of his boats had been engaged to convey some persons to France, it was boarded at Gravesend, and lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and a Mr. Elliot, were found in it. A parcel of papers of a suspicious nature were taken on the person of Ashton. Preston and Ashton were both tried and found guilty; the latter, who was executed (Jan. 28), died a protestant. Preston obtained a pardon by revealing all he knew. Lord Clarendon was committed to the Tower; bishop Turner, lord Preston's brother, Graham, and Penn the quaker, being implicated, went out of the way.

It was now beyond doubt that there was a very extensive conspiracy organised for bringing back the late king. Un-
taught by the experience of his whole reign, and of his late doings in Ireland, men were so infatuated as to suppose that he could be content to reign the king of a protestant people. Preston and Ashton were to propose to him to make the majority of his council, even in France, protestant; to assure him that though he might live a catholic, he must reign as a protestant, giving all offices of state to those of this religion, and seeking nothing but liberty of conscience for his own. They were also to require that the French force, which they wished him to bring over, should be so moderate as to give no alarm for the liberties of the nation. A wilder project than this never was conceived, yet in a memorandum of lord Preston's were found the names of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Devonshire, and other whig lords, as if they were participators in it. It is cer-

tain that Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough were at this time in communication with the jacobite agents, though the second was actually at the head of the treasury, and the last had lately done James all the injury he could in Ireland. But Marlborough did not find his ambition sufficiently gratified, and he thought it probable that James might be restored. He resolved in that case to secure his pardon, and therefore pretending the greatest remorse for his base ingratitude, he gave an exact account of the numbers and condition of the army and navy, and of the plans of king William as far as he knew them ; he promised, if the king desired it, to bring over the troops that were in Flanders, but thought it better that he and the rest of the king's friends in parliament should strive to have the foreign troops sent away, in which case the English should be brought back, and the king's restoration might then be easily effected.

William now resolved to keep measures no longer with the nonjuring prelates, for they had refused to perform their functions, even if excused from their oaths. He therefore proceeded to fill up the vacant sees. Tillotson (a name with which that of Sancroft will ill bear comparison) was selected for Canterbury. The names of Cumberland, Fowler, Patrick, Beveridge, and others, do equal honour to the discernment of the king and his advisers. As Sancroft and his brethren gave the most decisive proof of their sincerity, we must respect them as honest men ; but at the same time it is difficult not to feel a contempt for those who were willing to sacrifice the civil (and consequently the religious) liberties of their country on the altar of their false god Passive Obedience. If too, as they maintained, this was the principle of Christianity, that perfect law of liberty, they should have submitted with the meekness of martyrs, and not have poured through the press, from the pens of themselves and their adherents, a continued stream of virulent pamphlets against their opponents.

• On the 2nd of May king William, attended among others by the earl of Marlborough, sailed for Holland, in order to take the field in person against the French. We deem it necessary here to remind our readers, that owing to our narrow limits, our plan has been to be as brief as possible on foreign affairs ; for England is henceforth so mixed up in the affairs of the continent, that to relate in detail those in which she is concerned, would be in reality to write the history of Europe. We will therefore aim at nothing more than to explain the

origin and termination of the various general wars, and occasionally to notice more circumstantially the events, in which the English were immediate partakers.

The war was carried on simultaneously in Flanders, on the Rhine, in Savoy, and Piedmont, but no battle of any note signalised this campaign. At the end of it William returned to England (Oct. 19), where the cheering intelligence of the complete reduction of Ireland awaited him.

Owing to the want of the needful supplies, Ginckel had not been able to take the field till the month of June. He then advanced to lay siege to Athlone, a strong town in the centre of the kingdom, on the river Shannon. Like many of the towns in Ireland, it consisted of two parts, an English and an Irish town; the latter was beyond the river, and at a distance of two miles from it the Irish army, commanded by the French general St. Ruth, lay encamped.

When the English army approached (June 18), the Irish sent to oppose them retired into the town, and when the assault was given to the English town (20th), they fled after a brief resistance into the Irish town, breaking an arch of the bridge behind them. Two attempts to cover the broken arch with wooden work failed, and it was confidently expected that the English would be obliged to retire. It only remained to attempt to pass by a deep stony ford between the towns. Accordingly, a body of 2000 men, led by Mackay, plunged into the river (30th); the batteries on both sides thundered; the troops boldly advanced under the fire, gained the shore, and mounted the breach which had been effected; the rest of the army pressed on over the bridge or by pontoons; the Irish fled to their camp, and within half an hour from the entrance of the troops into the river, the Irish town was won. The adjoining castle made no resistance.

On the 10th Ginckel marched from Athlone to engage the Irish army. He found them (12th) posted on Kilcommodehill, with a bog in their front in which there were only two passes; the one on their left, at the village and old castle of Aghrim, the other on their right; the slope of the hill down to the bog was intersected by hedges and ditches. Their force is said to have amounted to 25,000, that of the English only to 18,000 men.

It was noon when the English advanced to the attack. The pass on the Irish right was first attempted, and at length gained. About five o'clock, an attack was made on the enemy's

right wing, and when St. Ruth had drawn off part of his cavalry from the left to its support, the English cavalry under general Tollemache, pressed forward to gain the pass at Aghrim. At the same time a part of the infantry of the centre plunged into the bog in front, and floundering through, gained the opposite side. But instead of halting as directed for the cavalry to join them from the right, they began to ascend the hill. *Horse and foot now charged them; they were driven back with loss.* "Now," cried St. Ruth, "will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin." But Tollemache pressed forward on one side, and Mackay at the other; St. Ruth came down the hill, and was advancing at the head of a body of horse against the former, when a cannon ball struck him. His death spread dismay through the army; the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsefield, the second in command; and he was uncertain how to act. The English pressed on vigorously, and the Irish broke and fled. In the battle and pursuit 7000 men were slain, and only 450 taken; the loss of the victors did not exceed 700 killed, and 1000 wounded.

Galway surrendered (20th) on honourable terms, and Ginckel now prepared to end the war by the reduction of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish. On his coming before the town (Aug. 25) the batteries were opened in the usual manner; but though breaches were effected, the strength of the garrison was too great to allow him to hazard an assault. The general saw that the town must be invested on all sides in order to ensure success. An English fleet was in the river, and the town was closed in on the Limerick side, but it freely communicated with Clare by Thomond-bridge. A bridge of tin-boats was therefore secretly constructed, and a body of troops got over to the Clare side; but those not proving sufficient, Ginckel himself led over a larger body (Sept. 22), and after a furious conflict the works which covered Thomond-bridge were carried. Next day the garrison proposed a cessation, in order to adjust the terms of surrender. The terms which they required were extravagant; but Ginckel, who knew how much it was for his master's interest to have the war concluded, agreed to give very favourable ones. The Irish were to exercise their religion as in the time of Charles II.; all included in the capitulation were to enjoy their estates and follow their professions as in the same reign; their gentry were to have the use of arms, and no oaths were to be required but that of allegiance; all persons wishing to retire to the continent should be

conveyed thither, with their families and effects, at the expense of the government. These articles were drawn up and signed (Oct. 3), and the war in Ireland, after having inflicted three years of calamity on the country, was at length terminated. Sarsefield and about 12,000 men passed over to France, and were taken into the pay of the French monarch.

A barbarous deed enacted in the Highlands of Scotland opens the occurrences of the following year (1692). An order had been issued for the Highlanders to submit and take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. The chiefs all obeyed; the last was M'Donald of Glenco, and the snows and other impediments prevented him from reaching Inverary, the county-town, till the day was past. The sheriff, however, administered the oath, and certified the cause of delay. But the earl of Breadalbane was M'Donald's bitter enemy, and the Dalrymples of Stair, the president and secretary, thirsted for blood. Both the oath and certificate were suppressed, and William was assured that Glenco was the great obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands. An order countersigned by the king was obtained "to extirpate that sect of thieves," and Dalrymple forthwith wrote to the commander-in-chief ample directions how to perpetrate the massacre in the most barbarous manner.

A detachment from Fort-William, under Campbell of Glenlyon, to whose niece one of Glenco's sons was married, came to the Glen, where they were hospitably received and quartered among the inhabitants. In about a fortnight (Feb. 12), orders to fall on and massacre all the men of the clan in the night arrived. Glenlyon passed that evening at cards at his nephew's, and all were to dine at Glenco's the next day. But that night when the people of the vale were buried in sleep the massacre began. The young M'Donalds, overhearing the discourse of the soldiers, suspected danger and made their escape, but they were unable to warn their father, and at break of day the old man was shot in his bed; his wife was stript naked, and she died the next day of terror. Of the men of the glen, two hundred in number, thirty-eight were massacred; the remainder hearing the shots fled to the hills; for a storm providentially came on and hindered the march of the troops that were to have seized the passes to prevent their escape. The houses were all burnt to the ground, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the women and children stript naked, and left to perish in the snow.

Of Scottish barbarity and ferocity we have seen abundant instances, and certainly the great offenders here were those two detestable men, Breadalbane and Dalrymple: but the king himself was not guiltless; he should have inquired more accurately before he signed such an order. Judging, however, by his general character, there can be little doubt but that he was deceived, and thought he was only sanctioning a wholesome act of severity*. Political necessity will perhaps account for, though not justify, his not punishing the authors of the massacre.

A great outcry at this deed was raised all over Europe by James and his adherents, which certainly came with a good grace from the party which had to boast of Jeffreys' Campaign, and the torturings and massacres of the Cameronians!

Early in the spring the king returned to Holland to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The exiled monarch meantime had made his arrangements for the invasion of England. The jacobites and catholics secretly enlisted men and formed regiments; the princess Anne had lately written to implore her father's forgiveness, which he regarded as a proof of the inclination of the church party; Marlborough continued to give him assurances of his fidelity; and even Russell, out of pride and pique, became a traitor to the cause of the revolution. Louis gave James some troops, which, with the regiments from Ireland and the Scotch and English exiles, forming a force of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, were encamped at La Hogue, where a large fleet was assembled to convey them to England. At the same time James issued a declaration, offering pardon and indemnity to his subjects (with, however, a long list of exceptions), and promising to protect the church.

The queen, on intelligence of these preparations, caused Marlborough and other suspected persons to be arrested; a camp was formed near Portsmouth, and Russell, who commanded the fleet, was ordered to put to sea. As reports were very prevalent of disaffection in the navy, lord Nottingham, by the queen's direction, wrote to the admiral to say that she gave no credit to them; and a most loyal address from the officers was the result of the royal magnanimity.

Russell, when joined by the squadrons of admirals Delaval and Carter, and by the ships of Holland, found himself at the head of a fleet of 99 ships of the line. The count de Tourville,

* He had however rather an antipathy to the Scots, as was shown in his treatment of their unlucky Darien Company.

who commanded the French fleet, had only 63 ships; but Louis had sent him positive orders to fight, reckoning that the Dutch would not have joined so soon. The engagement commenced off Cape Barfleur (May 19), and lasted from ten o'clock till four, when a dense fog came on. About six it cleared off, and the French were seen towing away their ships. The English gave chase, and Carter, with part of the blue squadron, came up with them; he engaged them for half an hour, till he received a mortal wound; and the French then got off with the loss of four ships. The chase was kept up the two following days. On the morning of the 22nd, part of the French fleet being seen near the Race of Alderney, chase was again given, and Tourville's own ship, the *Soleil Royal*, of 120 guns, and two others, were driven ashore near Cherbourg, where they were burnt by Delàval; a part made their escape through the Race to St. Malo; eighteen ran aground at La Hogue; vice-admiral Rooke immediately manned his boats to attack them, and, despite of the cannon which thundered from all sides, the brave British tars succeeded in burning thirteen sail of the line and a number of transports. James, who from his camp beheld this frustration of all his hopes, could not, it is said, refrain from exclaiming repeatedly, "See my brave English!" He dismissed his troops for the present to their quarters, and returned himself to St. Germain. The correspondence was still kept up with Marlborough and Russell, who professed to be as zealous as ever in his service.

The principal events of the war in Flanders this campaign were, the taking of Namur by the French (June 5), and the battle of Steenkirk (July 24) between king William and marshal Luxemburg. The latter, deceived by one of his spies, suffered himself to be surprised; but the ill-conduct of count Solms in not supporting the van of the allies, and the arrival of marshal Boufflers with a large body of French dragoons, caused the beam finally to turn against the allies. They retired, with the loss of 3000 slain (among whom were generals Mackay and Lanier) and an equal number wounded and taken. The loss of the French was not inferior.

Shortly after a plot to assassinate king William was discovered: the agents in it were, the jacobite colonel Parker, Grandval a captain of French dragoons, and a M. Dumont. King James is said to have both known and approved of it. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and Grandval, who

had been inveigled into the quarters of the allies, was executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Fortune was everywhere favourable to the French the following year (1693). They reduced the strong towns of Huy (July 23) and Charleroy (Oct. 11). In the battle of Neer-Winden, or Landen (July 29), the honour of the day remained with them, but their loss was equal to that of the allies. The loss of a part of the rich Smyrna fleet was, however, more severely felt in England than that of the battle of Landen. Louis had made incredible efforts to renew his navy, and when sir George Rooke was sent to the Straits to convoy the great Smyrna fleet of England and her allies, consisting of 400 vessels, he fell in with a French fleet of 80 ships of the line off Cape St. Vincent. There was now no escaping. Two Dutch men-of-war were taken, and a Dutch and an English ship burnt; forty of the merchantmen were captured, and fifty sunk. The total loss was estimated at a million sterling.

In the commencement of this year one of the jacobite agents, a priest named Cary, went over to James with eight proposals from some of the English nobility, on his agreeing to which they would undertake to restore him. James sent them to Louis, and by his advice assented to them; and a declaration based on them having been drawn up by those lords, James published it (April 17). In this he promised pardon and indemnity to all who would not oppose him; engaged to protect and defend the church of England, and secure to its members all their churches, colleges, rights, immunities, &c.; pledged himself not to dispense with the test, and to leave the dispensing power in other matters to be regulated by parliament; to assent to bills for the frequent meeting of parliament, and the freedom of elections, &c., and to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James owns that in this document he put a force on his nature, which he excuses by the necessity of the case. He consulted both English and French divines of his own communion about the promise to protect and defend the church; the former thought he could not in conscience do it, the latter (including Bossuet) that he could; but the king says that these last finally coincided with the others in thinking that he could only promise to maintain the protestants in their possessions, benefices, etc.

This declaration did no service whatever to the cause of James. Those who proposed it became doubtful of his sin-

cerity when they saw him so readily agree to it; the leading jacobites* were offended at it, saying, that if he came in on these terms it would be the ruin of himself and his loyal subjects; they therefore sent him word, "that, if he considered the preamble and the very terms of it, he was not bound to stand by it, or to put it out *verbatim* as it was worded," with more to that purpose. Marlborough wrote pretty much to the same effect; and indeed James owns that he did not consider himself bound by it.

The machinations of the court of St. Germain were continued through the following year (1694). Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin were as profuse as ever of their professions of devotion, yet James observes that they performed nothing. He very properly judged that they regarded only their own interest; and he even seems to have suspected that Russell was only deluding him. It is much to be regretted that the name of lord Shrewsbury should be mixed up in these traitorous intrigues. It is a curious fact, but one for which there seems to be sufficient authority, that William made use of his knowledge of Shrewsbury's communications with the jacobite agents to oblige him to accept the post of secretary of state. Shrewsbury was a man of honour, and William had no reason ever to regret his magnanimity.

On the 11th of May the king sailed for Holland. He had previously made several promotions in the peerage. The earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created dukes or the same name; the marquess of Carmarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle; the earl of Mulgrave marquess of Normanby, and lord Sidney earl of Romney.

No action of importance took place in this campaign. The allies recovered Huy, and the advantage in general was on their side. William returned to England in the beginning of November.

Early in the month of June a combined fleet of 30 sail, under lord Berkeley, with 6000 troops on board, commanded by general Tollemache, had sailed with the intention of destroying the fleet and harbour of Brest. The fleet, however, had already sailed for the Mediterranean, and they found all due

* James (Life, ii. 514.) names the nonjuring bishops of Norwich (Lloyd), Bath (Ken), Ely (Turner), and Peterborough (White), the marquess of Worcester, and earl of Clarendon. "A decisive proof," observes Hallam, "how little that party cared for civil liberty, and how little would have satisfied them at the revolution if James had put the church out of danger."

preparations made to receive them. Their attempts to silence the guns of the castle and forts having proved unavailing, Tollemache made a desperate effort to land his troops. In this attempt he received a mortal wound, and 700 of his men were slain or taken; it was then found necessary to abandon the enterprise. Tollemache declared that "he felt no regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed;" and betrayed he certainly was. On the 4th of May Marlborough had written to king James an account of the strength and destination of the expedition, and Godolphin, one of William's ministers, is said to have done the same; yet, ere the fleet sailed, Marlborough, through Shrewsbury, had offered his services to William, "with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable*!"

After the failure on Brest, Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre, and damaged Calais and Dunkirk. Russell meantime rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and his wintering by the king's express command, against his own will, with his fleet of 60 sail, at Cadiz, ensured the preponderance of England both in that sea and on the ocean.

Shortly after the return of the king, the excellent archbishop of Canterbury died (Nov. 22). Sancroft, his nonjuring predecessor, had paid the debt of nature just a year before him. Both were emphatically good men, though differing in opinion. It is greatly to Sancroft's honour that he never engaged in any of the intrigues against the government; but, giving allegiance for protection, he lived and died a peaceful subject. Dr. Tension succeeded Tillotson in the primacy.

The death of the primate was followed by that of the queen, an event which plunged the nation into affliction. She was attacked by the small-pox (Dec. 21), and being improperly treated by Dr. Ratcliffe, she was carried off in about a week (28th), in the thirty-third year of her age. She bore her illness with the greatest piety and resignation, and died in the sincere profession of the protestant faith. Her character was every way amiable, and no one could have better sustained the difficult part she was called on to act in the drama of the world, where the most sacred duties came into collision†. By her husband she was loved with an intensity of which his nature

* This act of Marlborough's is not to be defended or even palliated. See Dalrymple, iii. P. 3, p. 60.

† Hallam beautifully applies to her Virgil's well-known line,

"Infelix utcumque ferent ea facta minores."

was hardly thought to be capable, and his grief at her loss was so great as to cause apprehensions for his health. The obsequies of the queen were celebrated with great magnificence (Mar. 5, 1695), and her remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey*

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM III.

1695-1702.

THE princess Anne, a weak woman, entirely guided by lord and lady Marlborough, had been for some time on ill terms with the king and queen. When the latter was on her death-bed, the princess sent expressing her desire to see her; but the physicians objected, and the queen sent her her forgiveness. Lord Sunderland, who was now in favour with William, seized the occasion of his grief to effect a reconciliation between him and the princess; Anne therefore wrote to him; she was then received at court, and the king gave her St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the late queen's jewels.

The most important bill passed this session was that for triennial parliaments, by which it was enacted that every parliament should determine within three years from the time of its meeting. The king had twice refused his assent to a similar bill, but he now thought it expedient to yield.

Charges of bribery and corruption were made against various persons. Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the house of commons, was expelled for having received a bribe of one thousand guineas from the city of London. It having appeared that the East-India company had employed an unprecedented sum in secret-service money during the last year, their governor was called on to account for it, and it was proved to have been spent in bribes to influential persons, for the purpose of procuring the renewal of their charter. On the information which was elicited, the commons impeached the duke

* A jacobite divine had the brutality to preach at this time on the text, "Go now see this accursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter."

of Leeds; but an important witness having gone out of the way, and a prorogation having taken place, the matter fell to the ground. The stigma of course adhered to the duke's character, and his name does not appear in the regency which the king appointed when departing for the continent.

The great event of the campaign of 1695 was the taking of Namur by king William in person (Aug. 29), after a siege of seven weeks, in face of a French army of 100,000 men. The intelligence diffused joy all over England, and the king was received on his return (Oct. 11) as a glorious conqueror.

William's first act was to dissolve the parliament and summon a new one to meet on the 22nd of November. He then visited Newmarket, and made a progress through the midland counties in order to increase his popularity. In the new parliament the whig interest preponderated. A bill for regulating trials for treason, which had failed before, was now brought in by the Tories, and it was passed unanimously. It enacted that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and of the panel of the jury, and the aid of counsel; that every overt act should be proved by two witnesses; that the prisoner should be enabled to compel his witnesses to appear, and be allowed to challenge peremptorily thirty-five of the jury, etc. As the silver coinage was in such a wretched state that a golden guinea was worth thirty shillings, a new coinage was resolved on, and was carried into effect by Mr. Montague the chancellor of the exchequer, aided by sir Isaac Newton the master of the mint, and Mr. John Locke. A third measure caused much annoyance to the king. His Dutch favourite, Bentinck earl of Portland, who was somewhat rapacious, had begged and obtained three royal lordships in Denbighshire. The gentry of the county petitioned against the grant; the commons addressed the king to recall it, and William complied with their wishes; but he forthwith conferred on the favourite manors and honours in no less than five several counties.

The discovery of a nefarious plot against the life of the king soon engrossed the whole attention of parliament and the nation. One captain Fisher called on lord Portland (Feb. 11, 1696), and informed him of a plot for assassinating the king and invading the kingdom; and he afterwards (13th) gave the particulars of the conspiracy to sir William Trumball the secretary. The attempt on the king, who was in the habit of going on Saturdays to hunt in Richmond-park, was to be made in a

lane leading from Turnham-green to Brentford, through which he used to pass. He was therefore urged not to hunt on that day; but he laughed at the idea of the plot, and declared his resolution of taking his sport as usual. On Friday evening however (14th), an officer named Prendergast came to lord Portland, and advised him to persuade the king to stay at home the next day or else he would be assassinated. He gave the same details as Fisher had done; but both refused to name any of the parties. Prendergast said that he was an Irishman and a catholic, but though his religion was accused of sanctioning such deeds, the thought of it had filled him with horror. Portland went to the king that very night; and William, now thinking there was something in the matter, put off his hunting for that week. Next day a third witness, named De la Rue, gave exactly similar information, and he and Prendergast being examined personally by the king, were prevailed on to name the conspirators. These had deferred their project to the following Saturday (22nd); when finding that the king did not go to Richmond, they suspected that the plot was discovered and thought of providing for their safety. That night, however, several of them were arrested in their beds, and next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for each of the persons who had escaped.

On Monday (24th) the king went in person and informed both houses of the discovery of the plot. They made in return a most loyal and affectionate address, empowered him to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act; and drew up a form of association, binding themselves to the support of his person and government against the late king James and his adherents, and in case of his coming to a violent death to revenge it on his enemies, and to maintain the Act of Settlement. All the members of both houses signed this bond. As some of the tories scrupled at the words *rightful and lawful king*, a slight change was made to content them.

The plot seems to have been as follows. King James had sent sir George Barclay, a Scottish catholic officer of his guards, over to England with a commission authorising and commanding all his loving subjects to rise in arms and make war on the prince of Orange and his adherents. About two-and-twenty officers and men of James's guards came over to aid in the project, which was communicated to several of the king's friends in England. Various places were proposed for making the attempt, and the above-mentioned lane was finally

fixed on. Meantime a French fleet and army were to be assembled at Dunkirk and Calais, of which James himself was to take the command. The principal persons charged with this conspiracy were the earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, sirs George Barclay, John Fenwick, John Friend and William Perkins, major Lowick, captains Charnock, Knightley and Porter, with messieurs Rookwood, Cooke, Goodman, Cranbourne, and others. Of these, Porter, Goodman and some others were admitted as witnesses; and on their evidence, with that of Fisher, Prendergast and De la Rue, Friend, Perkins, Charnock, Lowick, King, Cranbourne, and Rookwood, were found guilty and executed. Cooke and Knightley were also found guilty; but the former was banished, the latter pardoned.

At the execution of Friend and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier and two other nonjuring divines gave them absolution in sight of the people with a solemn imposition of hands. For this they were indicted, but not punished. The two archbishops and twelve of the bishops (all that were in town) published a declaration strongly censuring their conduct, as the dying persons had made no confession and expressed no abhorrence of the crime for which they suffered.

King James, who had come to Calais, after remaining there some weeks, returned disconsolate to St. Germain. He utterly denied all knowledge of the assassination-plot; but there seems to be sufficient evidence of his having sanctioned this and other attempts on the life of king William.

Sir John Fenwick was arrested at New Romney, on his way to France (June 11). He instantly wrote a letter in pencil to his lady, saying that nothing could save him but the endeavours of her nephew lord Carlisle and others with the king and his friends, or the bribing some of the jury to starve out the rest. This letter was intercepted, and on Fenwick's assertion of his innocence before the lords-justices it was produced to his utter dismay. When he heard that the grand jury had found the bill against him, he prayed for a delay, offering to tell all that he knew provided he got a pardon and was not required to appear as a witness. The king, when this proposal was transmitted to him in Flanders, refused to accede to it. Fenwick then threw himself on his mercy, and wrote him an account of the plots of the jacobites, in which he mentioned the secret dealings of lords Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bath, and admiral Russell with the court of St. Germain; but the duke of Devonshire told him, "that the king was acquainted

with most of those things before." An order therefore was issued to bring him to trial unless he made fuller discoveries. Fenwick then took to tampering with the witnesses Porter and Goodman; the former betrayed the intrigue to government, but the latter was induced to go to France. As he could not now be convicted by law, his enemies took another course. Admiral Russell, with the king's permission (Nov. 6), laid before the house the informations of Fenwick against himself and others, and desired that they might be read in order to give him an opportunity of justifying himself. Fenwick was brought to the bar and examined; but as he had had his information only at second-hand, he could not prove his assertions, and he thought it the wiser course not to repeat them. His papers therefore were voted to be false and scandalous, and it was resolved to bring in a bill to attain him. The bill was founded on Porter's evidence, supported by the production of Goodman's examination before the privy-council, and by the evidence of two of the grand-jury as to what he had sworn before them; proof was also given of his having been tampered with by lady Mary Fenwick. The bill was vigorously opposed in all its stages; but it finally passed the commons by a majority of thirty-three. In the lords the divisions were still closer, the majority being only seven. In the minority voted the dukes of Leeds and Devonshire, and lords Pembroke, Sunderland, Bath and Godolphin; the duke of Shrewsbury was absent; Marlborough voted in the majority, revenge proving stronger than his toryism. A vigorous protest signed by forty-one peers, including eight prelates, was entered, in which it was justly said, that Fenwick was "so inconsiderable a man as to the endangering the peace of the kingdom, that there needs no necessity of proceeding against him in this extraordinary manner." It is to be regretted that bishop Burnet should have been one of the most strenuous supporters of the bill. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower-hill (Jan. 28, 1697).

In the course of the proceedings against Fenwick, a circumstance came to light which covered lord Monmouth with disgrace. Finding himself not named in Fenwick's discoveries, he wrote a paper of instructions for him to found his defence on, so as to implicate Godolphin and the others; and on Fenwick's not doing so, he came and spoke for two hours in favour of the attainder. Fenwick then on a re-examination told the whole story, and Monmouth was committed to the Tower and deprived of his employments. The king however did not wish

to drive him to extremity; he sent bishop Burnet to soften him, and made up his losses secretly*.

Before the king left England this year he raised to the peerage the celebrated John Somers, who had been for some time lord-keeper, and made him chancellor. Admiral Russell was created earl of Orford, and lord Sunderland was now made lord chamberlain.

The war had languished of late, and in the course of this year it was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (Sept. 20). Louis gave up all his late conquests except Strasburg, and he acknowledged William as king of England. James published manifestoes in assertion of his rights; but they were unheeded. It appears that Louis had proposed to William to have the crown settled on the prince of Wales after his death, and that the latter, who had no great affection for the princess Anne, had consented to it. But the princess had a sure ally in the bigotry of her father and his queen. The idea of their son being reared a protestant, as in such case he must be, filled them both with horror, and they rejected the proposal without hesitation.

The peace was on the whole an honourable one, considering that all the advantages of the war had been on the side of France; it was also absolutely necessary from the exhausted state of the English finances. But William knew that it was likely to be little more than a truce, and in his speech to the parliament (Dec. 2) he gave it as his opinion, "that for the present England cannot be safe without a land-force." The necessity however of reduction and economy was strongly felt, the war having caused a debt of seventeen millions, and a dread of standing armies as the instruments of despotism pervaded the minds of most people, not considering that in the mutiny-bill and the necessity of annual votes of supply, they had abundant security against those dangers. It was therefore voted that all the troops raised since 1680 should be disbanded, and it was finally resolved (18th) that 10,000 men should be the force for the ensuing year. To gild the pill for the monarch, and prove that they were not wanting in gratitude and affection to him, they voted (20th) that a sum of 750,000*l.* should

* Monmouth was afterwards the celebrated earl of Peterborough. Speaker Onslow says of him on this occasion, "I wonder any man of honour could keep him company after such an attempt. He was of the worst principles of any man of that, or perhaps of any age; yet from some glittering in his character he hath some admirers."

be granted him *for life* for the support of the civil list. The king however neglected the former vote, and when he was next going to Holland, he left sealed orders with the regency to keep up a force of 16,000 men.

During the king's absence (1698) a new parliament was elected. The members were mostly men of Revolution principles, attached to the government, but not very courteous to the king. When on his return from the continent the parliament met, he hinted in the speech from the throne (Dec. 9), his opinion of the necessity of a large land-force. But the commons, irritated at his neglect of the vote of their predecessors on this point, forthwith resolved that it should not exceed 7000 men, and these to be his majesty's natural-born subjects. As this last clause went to deprive him of his Dutch guards, to which he was so much attached, and of the brave regiments of French protestants, the insult, coupled with ingratitude (as he deemed it), sank deep into his mind. He seriously resolved to abandon the government and retire to Holland, and he had actually written the speech which he intended to make on that occasion, when he was diverted from his purpose. He therefore gave his assent to the bill (Feb. 1, 1699). Ere however he dismissed his guards, he made a final appeal to the good feelings of the commons. He sent them (Mar. 18) a message in his own hand-writing, to say that all the necessary preparations were now made, and that he would send them away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable, and the guards departed. We feel it impossible to approve of this conduct of the commons; for though it was termed national feeling, it showed more of party-spirit. They should have recollected, that had it not been for these troops, who won the battle of the Boyne, *they* would probably have no power over them or any other troops*.

In the following session (1700) the commons proceeded a

* "The foreign troops," says Hallam, "had claims which a grateful and generous people should not have forgotten; they were many of them the chivalry of protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen, who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own; they were the men who had terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance, which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves, or which at least we could never have achieved without enduring the convulsive throes of anarchy."

step further in making the king feel their power. The lands of those who had fought on the side of James in Ireland were forfeited, and, in a legal sense, were at the disposal of the crown; yet still in all equity they should be applied to the public service. But William, who was of a generous temper, and who never could divest himself of the idea that as king he was entitled, to all the prerogative exercised by his predecessors, had granted away the far greater part of them, chiefly to his mistress, Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, to the insatiable Portland, to Ginckel earl of Athlone, to Sidney lord Romney, and to another Dutch favourite, Keppel, who had been page, then private secretary to the king, and who now had eclipsed Portland in his favour, and had been created earl of Albemarle. Still he had only exercised a lawful prerogative, and the commons were not justified in the act of resumption which they passed, and still less in *tacking*, as it was termed, its provisions to a money-bill in order to prevent the lords from altering them.

The king was tolerant in his own temper, and he was pledged to the emperor and his catholic allies to indulge his catholic subjects. But the commons now, on the resort of priests to England and their usual imprudence, brought in a terrific bill to check the growth of popery. By this act any one informing against a priest exercising his functions was to receive 100*l.* reward, and the priest to be imprisoned for life; every person professing the popish religion must, after attaining the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, or become incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands, and during his life, his next of kin, being a protestant, was to enjoy them. The lords and the king gave no opposition to the will of the commons; but the spirit of liberty and equity rendered the barbarous enactment of nought effect, and no properties were lost by it.

The earl of Sunderland, foreseeing the coming storm, had already resigned his office of chamberlain, much against the wishes of the king. Lord Orford, fearing the commons, followed his example; the duke of Leeds was dismissed from his post of president of the council. But the tories had managed to persuade the favourites Albemarle, and Villiers lord Jersey, that it would be for the king's advantage to employ them instead of the whigs. The king himself seems to have thought that course necessary, and in compliance with the wishes of

the tories, he consented to take the great seal from lord Somers, the leader of the whig party. William wished him to resign it of his own accord, but this Somers declined doing, as it might appear to be the result of fear or guilt. The earl of Jersey was then sent (Apr. 7) to demand it; he delivered it up, and it was committed to sir Nathan Wright. The duke of Shrewsbury immediately resigned.

When the king returned from the continent this year, he modeled the ministry to the content of the tories. Godolphin was set again over the treasury, lord Grey of Werk, now earl of Tankerville, was made privy seal, and Rochester lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and to diminish the power of the whigs in the commons, their leader in that house, Charles Montague, was raised to the peerage under the title of baron of Halifax. The ministers having advised a dissolution, a new parliament was summoned, and when it met (Feb. 10, 1701), Mr. Robert Harley, a man, who though of a presbyterian family and connexions, had constantly acted with the tories, was chosen speaker.

The two great measures which were now to occupy the attention of the parliament were the succession and the partition treaty.

Of all the children which the princess Anne had borne, only one had survived. This was William duke of Gloucester, born in 1689. When this young prince had attained his ninth year, the king assigned him a peculiar establishment, and appointed the earl of Marlborough to be his governor, and bishop Burnet his preceptor. But the prince having over-exerted himself on his birth-day (July 24, 1700), took a fever of which he died. The next heir to the crown was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I.; but her religion excluding her, the nearest protestant to the throne was Sophia, dowager-electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne, the subject was pressed on the attention of parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a bill for the purpose.

The Act of Settlement which was now passed, limited the succession of the crown to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body being protestants. It further provided, that no foreigner should hold any place of trust, civil or military, or take any grant from the crown; that the nation should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England; that the sovereign should

join in communion with the church of England, and not go out of the country without the consent of parliament; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment; that no person holding an office or pension under the crown should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that judges' commissions should be made *quandiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries be ascertained; that all business properly belonging to the privy-council should be transacted there, and all the resolutions be signed by the councillors present, etc.

The regard for liberty shown in this important bill certainly does honour to the tories. Some of the articles seemed no doubt to reflect on the king, but recent experience had shown their necessity, and future experience proved their utility. There was, however, one fatal omission in the bill; the foreign prince coming to the throne should have been required to surrender his former dominions.

The affair of the treaty of partition was much more intricate. Charles II. of Spain was childless; the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and the king of France had all married daughters of Spain. Louis' queen, it is true, had at her marriage solemnly renounced her right of succession, but the ambition of Louis, it was well known, would not be held in by so slender a cord; and if he could add the Spanish dominions to his own, his power, it was feared, would be irresistible. In 1698, William having seen, from the temper of parliament, how little chance there was of prevailing on the English nation to engage in a war, resolved if he could not avert the evil entirely to diminish it as much as possible. Louis too was, or pretended to be, satisfied to be secured in a part rather than have to fight for the whole. Accordingly, when William returned to Holland that year, a secret treaty was concluded between the kings of England and France, and the states of Holland, for partitioning the Spanish dominions, by which the dauphin was to have Naples and all the other Italian dominions of the crown of Spain, except the duchy of Milan, which was to go to the emperor's second son, Charles. The dauphin was also to have the province of Guipuscoa, in the north of Spain; but the crown of Spain, with all its other dominions, was to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria. The death of this young prince having frustrated this arrangement, a new one was concluded (Mar. 15, 1700). By this the archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, while the dauphin should have Guipuscoa and all the Italian

dominions, but Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine. The object proposed by William and the States was, to preserve the balance of power as much as possible; but it was certainly a bold step thus to parcel out the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the crown or people of Spain. Accordingly, the pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and through the arts of the French ambassador and his party, aided by the Jesuits, the king, when on his death-bed (Nov. 1), was induced to make a will, leaving all his dominions to Philip, the second son of the dauphin. Louis, after an affected hesitation, allowed his grandson to accept the splendid bequest. He then used all his arts to obtain the acquiescence of the king of England and the States, but finding them unavailing, he had recourse to stronger measures. By what was called the Barrier treaty, Namur, Antwerp, and some other places in the Netherlands were garrisoned by Dutch troops; and by a secret and rapid march, the French in one night surprised and captured all these garrisons, which amounted to 12,000 men. The States, to free their soldiers, and urged by the clamour of a large faction at home, and the terror of the French arms now at their doors, acknowledged Philip, and king William found it necessary to follow their example (Apr. 17, 1701).

It is asserted that Louis scattered his gold with no sparing hand among the members of the English parliament, in order to avert the danger of a war. Be this as it may, his game was played effectually in that assembly. The peers (Mar. 21) presented an address condemnatory of "that fatal treaty" of partition, and the commons, after a furious debate, in which Mr. Howe, a zealous jacobite, termed it a "*felonious* treaty," made a still stronger address, and then proceeded to impeach the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax for their share in it. Disputes, however, arising between the two houses, the commons refused to go on with the impeachments, under the pretext that they could not expect justice, and the lords then acquitted the accused peers.

The war-spirit, however, was on the increase in the country, and the king on his return to the continent was party (Sept. 7) to a second Grand Alliance with the emperor and the States for procuring the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of the crown of Spain for the emperor, and for preventing the union of France and Spain under the one government. Just at this time, an event occurred which roused the indignation of the whole English nation against Louis. King James died (16th),

and Louis, who had promised the dying monarch to recognise his son as king of England, performed that promise under the influence of the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, in opposition to his wisest ministers. William immediately ordered his ambassador to quit the court of France without taking leave, and the French secretary of legation was required to depart from England. The city of London made an address, expressive of their indignation at the conduct of the court of France, and their resolution to stand by the king in the defence of his person and just rights; and similar addresses soon poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

The current had evidently set in against the timid antinational policy of the tories, and the sagacious Sunderland when consulted by the king strongly advised him to discard his tory ministers and bring in the whigs. William wrote to lord Somers, their acknowledged leader, for his advice, and that statesman urged him to dissolve the parliament, and to rely on the present temper of the nation. Accordingly, the king soon after his return acted in conformity with that counsel.

When the new parliament met (Dec. 30), the tories proved stronger in it than had been anticipated, but many of them were of that moderate party which was headed by Harley, whose election to the office of speaker was carried by a majority of either four or fourteen. The speech from the throne, the composition of Somers, was a most able piece, showing the danger of England and of Europe, and calling on the parliament to act with vigour and unanimity. The two houses responded to the royal call; they voted 90,000 men for the land and sea-service; a bill was passed for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and another obliging all persons employed in church and state to *abjure* him, and swear to William as rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement.

The nation had not been so united or the king so popular at any time since the Revolution; but William was not fated to enjoy the happy results. He felt his constitution to be so greatly broken, that he had told lord Portland this winter, in confidence, that he could not expect to live another summer. Toward the end of February (1702), as he was riding through Bushy-park, on his way to Hampton-court, he put his horse to the gallop on the level sod; but the animal stumbled and fell, and the king's collar-bone was broken. It was set immediately, and he was brought back to Kensington. For some

days he seemed in no danger whatever; but one day (Mar. 3), after walking for some time in the gallery, he sat down on a couch, and having fallen asleep, he awoke with a shivering-fit. A fever ensued; he grew worse daily; on Sunday (7th) he received the sacrament from archbishop Tennison, and at eight o'clock next morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-second year of his age. A black ribbon with a ring, containing some of his late queen's hair, was found tied round his left arm, a proof of his sincere affection for that estimable woman.

William was slender in person and delicate in constitution. His countenance was grave and manly, his nose aquiline, his eye bright, his forehead large. He had a strong sense of religion, and was generally correct in his conduct. His manner was dry and unpleasant, and those who had been used to the affability of Charles found his court intolerable; and his retiring to Holland every summer, and usual residence at Hampton-court for the sake of privacy and hunting, tended very much to alienate the minds of the public. He was also charged with want of humanity and with indifference as to what might become of the world when he was out of it. King William was an able though not successful general; the great object of his life was the abasement of the power of France; it was only with a view to this that he sought the throne of England; and he is the last monarch of superior talents who has occupied that throne. He had the high glory of having saved, first his own country and then England, from civil and religious despotism; and had Providence added a few years to his life, he might have had the satisfaction of completely humbling the power of Louis XIV., and have averted from England the disgrace of the treaty which concluded the war.

CHAPTER III.

ANNE.

1702-1714.

THE successor to the throne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had always been remarkably firm in her attachment to the protestant religion, and her inclination was strong

to the tory party. This, however, was much controlled by the great influence exercised over her mind by lady Marlborough, who was a whig*, which led to a hope that the high-tory party would not be dominant during her reign. When waited on by the privy-council the day of William's death, she spoke with great respect of that monarch, and announced her intention of treading in his steps. She renewed this declaration in her speech to the parliament, and her resolution was communicated without loss of time to the States-general, who had been overwhelmed with affliction at the news of the king's demise.

King William, with that noble spirit of patriotism and regard for the interests of Europe in general which distinguished him, though aware of the treachery of Marlborough to himself, had destined him to the command of the English troops in the approaching war, for of his military and diplomatic talents he had the highest opinion. For this reason he had confided to him the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough's conduct of it had fully justified his anticipations. The queen now declared that nobleman captain-general of the land-forces in England, and appointed him her ambassador at the Hague, whither he repaired without delay (28th) to assure the States of the intentions of his royal mistress, and to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

The commons settled on the queen for life the revenue of 700,000*l.* a-year enjoyed by the late king, 100,000*l.* of which she assured them she would annually devote to the national service. The oath of abjuration was taken by all persons without any difficulty.

In forming her ministry queen Anne gave the preference to the tories. Godolphin was made treasurer, Nottingham, and sir Charles Hedges secretaries, Normanby privy-seal, and sir Nathan Wright chancellor; while of the whigs the duke of Somerset was president of the council, and the duke of Devonshire lord-steward. Anne made her husband, prince George, generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and other tories also obtained employments.

On the very same day (May 15), as had been previously arranged, war was declared against France at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the beginning of July Marlborough took the command of the allied army in Flanders. He forthwith

* In her familiar intercourse with lord and lady Marlborough, the queen called herself and was called by them Mrs. Morley, and they were Mr. and Mrs. Freeman.

crossed the Meuse and advanced to Hamont. The caution of the Dutch field deputies restraining him from action, no battle was fought in Flanders this campaign; but by the capture of Venloo and other places on the Meuse, and finally of Liège, the navigation of that river was completely opened. With this last acquisition the campaign closed.

It had been the plan of king William to send an expedition against Cadiz. The queen's ministry, in pursuance of that design, fitted out a fleet of 30 ships of the line, which, joined with 20 Dutch men-of-war, with frigates and transports, and carrying a body of 14,000 men, was destined for that service. The supreme command was given to the duke of Ormond; sir George Rooke commanded the fleet under him. On the 23rd of August the expedition arrived off Cadiz; but instead of landing at once, three days were spent in debates and discussions about the place of landing and other matters which should have been arranged long before. By this delay time was given to the marquess Villadarias, the captain-general of Andalusia, to store the city with provisions, and to place a boom across the mouth of the harbour. The English commanders resolved to reduce the forts on the mainland, instead of debarking in the isle of Leon; they therefore landed in the Bay of Bulls, and advanced to Rota, which was given up by the governor; they thence moved to Port St. Mary's, a wealthy town, and finding it deserted, they fell at once to the work of plunder and destruction, not even sparing the churches. By this conduct they completely alienated the minds of the Andalusians from themselves and their cause; and seeing but slender hopes of any final success, they resolved to abandon the enterprise. They departed (Sept. 30), as Stanhope, one of those in command, expressed it, "with a great deal of plunder and of infamy." The naval and military commanders charged each other with the blame of the failure.

Fortune, however, seemed resolved to save them from the popular indignation at home. They learned on the coast of Portugal that the great Cadiz plate-fleet had put into Vigo-bay, in Galicia, and they resolved to attempt its capture. On reaching that bay (Oct. 22) they found the entrance defended by a boom and two ruinous old towers; while the convoying ships of war, of which ten were French, lay moored along the shore, and the peasantry were all in arms. Ormond landed with 2000 men, and reduced the towers; the English ships broke the boom; but while the ships of war gave them occu-

pation, the galleons ran further up the gulf to try to save their cargoes; the English, however, soon overtook them. The crews then began to fling the cargoes into the sea, and to burn the galleons, but six of them and seven ships of war were captured. The total loss of the Spaniards exceeded eight millions of dollars, of which the captors did not get more than one half.

Admiral Benbow, a brave and able seaman, but rude and rough in his manners, was at this time in the West Indies with a squadron of ten ships. He fell in (Aug. 19) with a French squadron of equal force, under M. de Casse. A running fight was maintained for several days; but Benbow found that the greater part of his captains neglected his orders, and would not come into action. His right leg being broken by a chain-shot (24th), and his captains still continuing refractory, he gave up the chase and bore for Jamaica, where he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of them; and two, Kirby and Wade, were sentenced to be shot, which sentence was executed at Plymouth when they were sent home. Benbow died of his wounds at Kingston.

During the summer the parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. When it met (Oct. 20) it proved tory and high-church. In its address to the queen it reflected on the memory of the late king, saying, for example, that Marlborough had *retrieved* the ancient glory and honour of the English nation. It was proposed to substitute the word *maintained* for that invidious term, but the proposal was rejected by a large majority. They also talked of the church being *restored* to its due rights and privileges. As the dissenters all belonged to the whig party, the commons now opened a battery on them which long continued in operation. This was the bill for preventing occasional conformity; for many of the dissenters, viewing the different sects of protestants as merely different forms of the common Christianity, made no scruple to conform to the church of England, by taking the test and receiving the sacrament in it, as a qualification for office, but still adhered to their own sect. The pride of the church party had also been wounded by the imprudent vanity and insolence of sir Humphrey Edwin, the lord-mayor of London in 1697, who went to the meeting-house of Pinners'-hall with all the insignia of his civic dignity. The bill now brought in enacted penalties against persons in office who should frequent dissenters' meeting-houses. It passed the commons by a large majority,

but the lords made sundry amendments in it, which the commons would not admit, and it thus was lost for this session.

At the desire of the queen, an annual income of 100,000*l.* was voted to her consort in case of his surviving her. The earl of Marlborough having been created a duke for his services in the late campaign, the queen informed the house of commons that she had granted him 5000*l.* a year out of the post-office revenue for his life, and that she wished an act to be passed for continuing it to his heirs; but the commons were indignant at the proposal, asserting with truth, that he had been abundantly remunerated for his services; and the duke prudently requested the queen to recall her message.

We will now briefly narrate in continuity those events of the War of the Succession, by land and sea, in which the troops and fleets of the queen of England were engaged. Our narrative shall extend over a space of eight years.

The campaign of 1703 was opened by the capture of the city of Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne: the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder were also reduced; but the energy of Marlborough was so cramped by the caution and dilatoriness of the Dutch, that he could venture on no action of importance. In this year the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined the confederacy, and the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain. He came to England in the close of the year, and, having partaken of the Christmas festivities of the court, was conveyed by sir George Rooke, with a powerful squadron, to Lisbon.

The year 1704 commenced with gloomy prospects for the confederates. The emperor, pressed by the Hungarians, who were in rebellion, on one side, and by the Bavarians and French on the other, and totally unprovided with troops, was expecting every day to be besieged in his capital. Marlborough, who saw that if the emperor was forced to yield, the confederation was at an end, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve him. He secretly arranged his plans with prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial general, and then, pretending to his own government and the States that his object merely was to act on the Moselle, he induced the latter to be content with the protection of their own troops, and allow him to open the campaign where he proposed. It is not in our power here to display the masterly arrangements and proceedings of this consummate warrior. Being joined by an imperial army under the

prince of Baden, he forced the lines of the Bavarians at Schellenburg, on the Danube (July 2), with great slaughter; and having occupied the town of Donawerth, he transported his army over the river. The elector retired under the walls of Augsburg; and the country was wasted far and wide. On the arrival, however, of a French army from the Rhine, under marshal Tallard, the elector recrossed the Danube, in order to attack prince Eugene, who had arrived with 18,000 men at Donawerth. Marlborough therefore joined the prince without delay. The allies were advancing up the river to take a position at Höchstadt, when they discovered that the enemy was marking out a camp between Lützingen and Blenheim. The allied generals resolved to attack him at once; and next morning (Aug. 13) at two o'clock they put their troops in motion. At seven, the enemy, who had not been aware of their approach, descried the heads of their columns, and began to prepare to engage them. The Gallo-Bavarian army amounted to about 56,000; that of the allies to about 52,000 men.

At one o'clock the battle began, with an attack on Blenheim by the English under lord Cutts, and a simultaneous attack on the enemy's left by the troops under the prince of Anhalt. The contest was desperate, especially on the right; but ere night the allies had won a most splendid victory. The loss of the French, in killed, drowned, taken and deserters was 40,000 men; among the prisoners was marshal Tallard and 1200 of his officers. The allies had 4500 killed and 7500 wounded. The victory would have been still more complete were it not for the misconduct of the imperial troops, which enabled the elector to retire in good order, and with little loss.

Ulm and several other places were reduced; the allied army recrossed the Rhine; and the campaign was terminated with the sieges of Landau, Treves, and Traerbach. In December the duke returned to England, where he received the thanks of the queen and the two houses; the royal manor and honour of Woodstock was conferred on him and his heirs, and the queen gave orders for a splendid mansion, to be named Blenheim-castle, to be erected on it at the cost of the crown.

Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon, carrying a corps of 5000 troops, under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for an attempt on Barcelona; but their strength not proving sufficient, they abandoned the enterprise. On their way back they attacked and captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, of which

Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England. He then fought an indecisive action with a French fleet off Malaga.

The campaign of 1705 in Flanders produced no great battle, owing to the opposition of the Dutch field deputies. Its most important event was the forcing the French lines extending from Namur to Antwerp, defended by 70,000 men, and strong by nature as well as art. This exploit was performed in a masterly manner, and without any loss. Marlborough came up with the French army on the banks of the river Dyle, but, when he would attack it, the Dutch deputies interposed and prevented him. Toward winter he visited the new emperor, Joseph, at Vienna, by whom he was created a prince of the empire, and the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred on him. He there arranged the terms of a new alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers.

On the 3rd of June lord Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth with a land force of about 5000 men. His instructions were, to aid the duke of Savoy, or to attack one of the Spanish ports, and make a vigorous push in Spain. At Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, and at Gibraltar by the prince of Darmstadt. They touched at Altea, in Valencia, where they found the people zealous in their favour. Peterborough then formed the daring project of making a dash for Madrid, which was only fifty leagues distant, but the archduke and Darmstadt insisted on proceeding to Barcelona. The want of money was another obstacle, and Peterborough gave way. When they came to Barcelona (Aug. 16) they found the fortifications of that town strong and in good repair, and the garrison as numerous as their own force. Peterborough and most of the officers were against making any attempt, but the archduke and Darmstadt were as obstinate as ever. To gratify them, the troops were landed, and lay for three weeks in inactivity before the town. Dissension prevailed among the commanders, and there seemed no course but to reembark the troops, when Peterborough (Sept. 13), by a fortunate and well-conducted piece of temerity, made himself master of the strong fort of Montjuich, which commands the city. Numbers of the Miquelets, or armed peasantry, now flocked to the standard of Charles, and the siege was carried on with vigour. At length a breach was effected; but ere the assault was given the soldiers of the garrison forced the brave old viceroy, Velasco, to propose terms. An honourable treaty was concluded

(Oct. 9); but several of the Miquelets had stolen into the town, and they and the discontented townsmen appeared in arms early next morning, with the resolution of massacring the viceroy and his friends. Peterborough, on hearing the tumult, rode to one of the gates of the city and demanded admittance. The gate was opened to him, and his first act was to save a noble lady from the pursuit of the Miquelets. He suppressed the riot, enabled the viceroy to escape to Alicant, and then withdrew from the town till the term of the treaty should have expired. The viceroy, however, had left orders for an immediate surrender. All Catalonia now rose in favour of Charles, and its example was followed by Valencia.

Wearied by the opposition of the Dutch generals and field deputies, and disgusted with the slowness and indecision of the Imperialists, Marlborough planned for the campaign of 1706 the leading an army in person into Italy to co-operate with prince Eugene of Savoy, while a British army should land on the coast of Saintonge, to endeavour to raise the Huguenots of the south of France. But the French having been successful on the Upper Rhine, the States became alarmed, and they implored Marlborough to retain the command in the Netherlands, offering to free him from the control of the deputies. He complied with their wishes and prepared to open the campaign by the siege of Namur. The French court sent positive orders to marshal Villeroy to risk a battle in defence of that town. He therefore advanced to the village of Ramillies beyond Tirlemont, where, on Whitsunday (May 23), he was attacked by the allied army of 60,000 men, his own force being about 62,000. The action commenced after one o'clock and lasted till the evening; the French sustained a total defeat, losing 13,000 men in killed, wounded, and taken, beside 2000 who afterwards deserted, eighty stand of colours, and nearly all their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was 1000 killed and 2500 wounded. The immediate consequence of this glorious victory was the submission of the states of Brabant to king Charles, and the surrender of Brussels, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, and the other towns of that province. Dendermond, Ostend, and Aeth stood each a siege, and the campaign closed with the capture of this last.

In Spain this year Barcelona was invested by land and sea by the French and Spaniards under Philip in person, while its small garrison of not more than 2000 men was animated by the presence of Charles. The enthusiasm almost peculiar to

obedience of Philip, and the campaign closed with the siege and capture of Lerida.

In the month of July the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had entered Provence with an army of 30,000 men and laid siege to Toulon, while a British fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel attacked it from the sea. The defence of the garrison, however, was gallant; and as a large army was said to be hastening to its relief, the duke raised the siege and retired. As admiral Shovel was returning to England his fleet ran on the rocks westward of Scilly. His own ship, the *Association*, foundered, and himself and all his crew perished; the same was the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*.

In the spring of 1708, Louis, encouraged by intelligence of the discontent which prevailed in England and still more in Scotland, fitted out a fleet at Dunkirk, in which the son of James II., now called the Chevalier de St. George, and in England the Pretender, embarked and sailed for Scotland. But sir George Byng was at the Firth of Forth with an English squadron, and they found it impossible to effect a landing. After being beaten about by storms for a month, they got back in a shattered condition to Dunkirk.

The French army in the Netherlands was commanded by the king's grandson, the duke of Burgundy, aided by the duke of Vendôme. They surprised Ghent and Bruges and laid siege to Oudenarde. At the approach of Marlborough to its relief they retired; but he brought them to action at no great distance from that town (July 11). The battle did not commence till evening, and the coming on of night saved the French from a rout which might have ended the war. They lost 3000 men in killed and 7000 taken; the loss of the allies was about 2000 men. After this victory they invested (Aug. 13) Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a city of remarkable strength and largely garrisoned. Every possible effort for its relief was made by the French generals; but at length the town (Oct. 25), and finally the citadel (Dec. 10), was forced to surrender. Ghent was then besieged and recovered, and the campaign, regarded as one of the ablest during the war, terminated. The taking of the islands of Sardinia and Minorca gave some lustre to the cause of the allies in the south.

The losses which France had sustained now (1709) made Louis sincerely anxious for peace, and he was willing to surrender all the Spanish dominions except Naples, give the Dutch a sufficient barrier, etc. The allies, however, insisted

on the cession of the Spanish dominions without exception, and even on Louis' aiding to drive his grandson out of Spain. These terms he rejected as an insult; he addressed a manifesto to his subjects; and, exhausted as they were by famine and taxation, the eminent loyalty of the people enabled him to renew the war with augmented vigour.

The fortune of war was, however, still adverse to France. The first act of the renewed drama was the investment of Tournay by the allies and its surrender after a gallant defence (Sept. 3). Prince Eugene and Marlborough then prepared to invest Mons; marshal Villars hastened to its relief; he posted his army between two woods near Malplaquet, and fortified his camp with redoubts and entrenchments. Here however he was attacked (Sept. 11) by the allies. The armies were nearly equal in number, each being about 90,000 men; the action was the most desperately contested during the war; the honour of the day remained to the allies with a list of 20,000 killed and wounded, while the French retired with the loss of 14,000. The siege and capture of Mons terminated the campaign. In Spain fortune was adverse to the allies; they lost the town of Alicant, and they were defeated on the plain of Gudiña.

Negotiations for peace were resumed in 1710, and a congress sat at the little town of Gertruydenburg. Louis seemed to be most moderate; but his sincerity was doubted and the conference was broken off. The taking of Douay and some other towns alone signalled the campaign in the Netherlands; but events of greater importance took place in Spain.

The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope and the Austrian marshal Staremburg; that of Philip by the marquess of Villadarias. The former entered Aragon, while the latter invaded Catalonia; as it was on its return, the allies wished to cut it off from Lerida, and on the evening of the 27th of July, their cavalry, led by Stanhope in person, engaged and routed, near the village of Almenara, a superior body of the Spanish cavalry. Night saved the Spanish army from a total rout. They retired to Lerida, and thence to Zaragoza, whither they were followed by the allies, who passed the Ebro unopposed. The rival monarchs were present with their armies; that of Philip counted 25,000, that of Charles 23,000 men. A battle was fought under the walls of that ancient city (Aug. 20), which ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards, who lost 5000 slain and wounded, 4000 pri-

soners, and all their colours and artillery. The loss of the victors was only fifteen hundred men. Philip fled to Madrid and thence to Valladolid, and Charles soon after entered the capital, but he found it nearly deserted. The fidelity of the Castilians to his rival however was invincible, and their efforts soon placed him at the head of another army, of which the duke of Vendôme took the command. As Catalonia was menaced by the French, the allies resolved to return thither; but on account of the difficulty of procuring supplies they were obliged to march in separate divisions, and Vendôme having with his entire army surrounded Stanhope, who had about 5000 English troops, in the town of Brihuega, forced him to surrender (Dec. 9) after a most gallant defence. Next day Vendôme gave battle on the plain of Villa Viciosa to Staremburg, who was advancing to the relief of Stanhope. The honour of the day remained with the German; but he was so harassed by the partisans in his retreat that he did not bring more than 7000 men back to Barcelona. The war in Spain was now virtually at an end; it was plain that the Castilian spirit was not to be subdued; and the succession of Charles to the imperial throne soon altered the relations of Europe.

We now return to the domestic affairs of England during the time of the war.

Since the accession of James I., the necessity of a closer union between the two British kingdoms had been apparent to judicious statesmen. The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament in 1704 proved the danger of delaying that measure any longer; for by this it was enacted, that on the death of the queen without issue, the Estates should appoint a successor of the royal line and a protestant; but that it should not be the same person who would succeed to the throne of England, unless the independence of the Scottish nation and parliament, and the religion, trade, and liberty of the people, had previously been secured against English influence. The queen gave her assent to this act by the advice of Godolphin, whose object is said to have been to frighten the English into a union of the kingdoms by the terror of a separation of the two British crowns. If such was his plan, it was eminently successful. The act was regarded in England as almost a declaration of war. A bill rapidly passed both houses, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for a union of the kingdoms, declaring the Scots aliens if they did not accede to a treaty or adopt the Hanoverian succession

within a year; prohibiting the importation of their cattle and linens; and appointing cruisers to prevent their trade with France. An address was made to the queen to put the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull in a state of defence; troops were marched to the borders; and the six northern counties were called on to arm for their defence.

In the Scottish parliament there were three parties; the court-party, headed by the duke of Queensberry; the jacobites, whose chief was the duke of Hamilton; and the country-party, who, though zealous for the independence of the kingdom, were attached to the protestant succession. In this party there were various shades of opinion; it contained royalists and republicans, of which last class Fletcher of Saltoun was by far the most eminent. This man was the perfect model of those who with pure motives seek to convert a monarchy into a republic. He was, as it was expressed, brave as the sword he wore, of unstained honour, of strict probity, of ardent patriotism, of simple and nervous eloquence, of extensive reading and knowledge of mankind; but he was stern and obstinate, impatient of contradiction, chimerical in his projects, and enthusiastic in his spirit; in a word, a man who would dictate, not concede, and meliorate on his own principles or not at all. A portion of the country-party, comprising the marquess of Tweeddale, lord Belhaven, and other late ministers of the crown, formed what was termed the *Squadron Volante*, and sought to trim the balance between the two parties of court and opposition.

An act for a treaty of union with England was by good management carried in the Scottish parliament (1705), and the queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for arranging it. The parliament was then adjourned, and the commissioners selected by the queen held their conferences at the Cockpit in Westminster (1706).

The Scottish commissioners proposed a federal, instead of an incorporating union; but the English insisting on this last, they readily gave way, and the following terms of union were agreed on. The succession of the united kingdom to remain to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body being protestants; in the parliament of Great Britain, the number of peers for Scotland to be sixteen, elected for every parliament by and out of the Scottish peerage; of commons, forty-five, two thirds for counties and one third for boroughs; the same

duties of excise and customs to be levied in both parts of the united kingdom ; and when England raised two millions by a land-tax, Scotland was to raise 48,000*l.*, etc. etc.

The number of representatives allotted to Scotland was loudly exclaimed against, and it was argued, that as its population was a sixth of that of England, its representatives should in justice form a sixth instead of a twelfth part of the legislature as proposed : but it was replied, that mere number was not to be the only basis ; that the burdens borne were also to be taken into computation ; and that the Scots had insisted on not paying more than a fortieth of the land-tax. It was also intimated that on this point the English ministry were resolved not to yield, and prospects of English peerages were held out to the Scottish nobles. The great hope of carrying the union, however, rested on what was termed the *Equivalent*, a sum of 398,000*l.* which England was to pay for the customs and excise of Scotland in as far as they were appropriated toward the discharge of its national debt. This was to go to the payment of arrears of salaries, etc., to the compensation of the shareholders in a company which had been formed in Scotland for colonising the Isthmus of Darien, and which had met with the fate due to so wild a project. In short, the Equivalent was to form a specious fund of bribery.

The Scottish parliament met on the 13th of October : the duke of Queensberry, a man of the highest rank and most conciliating manners, prudent and resolute, sat as the royal commissioner. The treaty was read, and then printed and published. Forthwith a storm of indignation burst forth over the whole kingdom ; each class saw danger to its own peculiar interest ; all fired at the thought of the loss of national independence. Addresses against it were poured in from all parts ; tumults arose in Edinburgh ; the Cameronians of the west were preparing to take up arms and dissolve the parliament by force. Two-thirds of the nation, in fact, were decidedly opposed to the union.

The court-party argued in favour of the union from the injurious ascendancy which England had long possessed over Scotland, and for which it was the only remedy likely to be efficacious, as history proved that federal unions were only sources of discord ; a share in the trade of England would thus be obtained ; it was in fine the part of prudence to submit cheerfully to what was inevitable ; the union would be

like the marriage of a maiden chaste and prudent, but conscious of her weakness, to a man noble and powerful, thus preserving her identity and honour under another name.

The country-party argued from the aversion of the nation ; they denied the right of parliament to alienate what was only a trust ; they drew highly-coloured pictures of the ruin and degradation which must inevitably overwhelm Scotland. They appealed to the interests, the passions, the imagination. In prophetic vision lord Belhaven saw the barons, whose ancestors had exacted tribute throughout England, walking like attorneys in the court of requests, and English excisemen receiving more homage than had been given to *their* ancestors : he saw the tradesmen eating saltless pottage, and drinking water instead of ale ; the daughters of the gentry petitioning for husbands, their sons for employment ; “ But above all,” cried he, “ I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, looking mournfully around, covering herself with her royal garment, and breathing out her last words, *And thou too, my son !* while she attends the fatal blow from our hands.”

The force of reason, the force of argument, but, above all, the force of the Equivalent, prevailed against all the efforts of mistaken patriotism. The *Squadron Volante* was gained to the court ; Hamilton proved false to his party ; and the act of ratification was passed by the large majority of one hundred and ten. By a separate act the presbyterian form of church-government was secured. To gratify the poor nobility so numerous in Scotland, the privilege of freedom from personal arrest was accorded to the Scottish peerage. The act of union, when transmitted to England, after encountering some opposition from the high tories in the house of peers, received the approbation of the English legislature, and (May 1, 1707) the two kingdoms were incorporated into one, to be called GREAT BRITAIN.

During this time the struggle of parties went on in the English parliament and cabinet. The tories twice renewed their efforts to carry their bill against occasional conformity, even attempting to tack it to the bill for the land-tax. In the cabinet, Marlborough and Godolphin were thwarted by them in their views respecting the mode of conducting the war. These ministers contrived, however, to get rid of Rochester in 1703 ; and in the following year they were equally successful with respect to Nottingham, Jersey, and sir Edward Seymour. The

duchess of Marlborough was most anxious to effect a union between her husband and the whigs; but great as her influence was over him, she did not succeed. Harley became secretary in place of Nottingham; and Henry St. John, a young man of great promise, was made secretary-at-war. The attempts of the tories to depreciate his glorious victory at Blenheim tended however greatly to alienate Marlborough from them; and the result of the elections for a new parliament in 1705, which gave a clear majority to the whigs in the commons, led him and Godolphin at length to contemplate a union with that party. Even previous to the meeting of parliament the whig influence had been sufficient to cause the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham (late marquess of Normanby) from the privy-seal, and the appointment of the duke of Newcastle; and the transfer of the great seal from sir Nathan Wright to Mr. William Cowper. The contest for the office of speaker was between Mr. Smith of the whig and Mr. Bromley of the tory party: the former was supported by the court, and carried it by a majority of forty-three. The speech from the throne accorded with the views of the whigs, and the addresses of the two houses echoed it.

The first attack of the tories on their rivals was a motion in the lords (Nov. 15) to address the queen to invite the presumptive heiress of the crown to reside in England. By this they hoped to reduce the whigs to a disagreeable dilemma; for, if they supported it, they would offend the queen; if they opposed it, they would injure themselves both with the house of Hanover and with the nation. They, however, manfully opposed it, and brought in a bill for the appointment of a regency to act in case of the queen's demise, and another for naturalising the whole of the electoral family. These bills were carried after much opposition to the former from the tories; and the dislike of the queen to the whigs was now evidently diminished. As much had been said during the debate of the church being in danger, lord Halifax moved to appoint a day for inquiry into that danger. When the day came, an angry debate took place; but both houses concurred, by large majorities, in a resolution that the church was in a most safe and flourishing condition.

The strength of the tory party was weakened by division, while the whigs acted in one compact body, under the direction of the *junto*, as it was named, which was composed of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland; this

last the son of James's minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, but the devoted admirer of Somers. The bias of the queen, the general, and the treasurer was to the tories; but the first had been offended by their late conduct, and the two last saw that it was only from the whigs that they could expect support in their foreign policy. The *junto* felt their power, and insisted on a larger share for their party in the profits and influence of office. They required that sir Charles Hedges should be dismissed, and Sunderland be made secretary in his place; but it was the policy of the queen to give sway to neither party; and she had, moreover, a personal dislike to Sunderland. The policy of her two great ministers had been the same as hers, but they saw the necessity of giving way; yet it cost them a year's labour and the threat of resignation to overcome the reluctance of the queen (1708).

They had, however, been secretly thwarted in the whole affair by their colleague Harley, and a bed-chamber influence of which they were not aware. The duchess of Marlborough had a cousin who was married to a Mr. Hill, an eminent Turkey merchant, who became a bankrupt; his family in consequence fell into great poverty, and the duchess kindly provided for his children. She placed Abigail, one of the daughters, about the person of the queen as bed-chamber-woman, reckoning of course that she would always adhere to the interests of her patroness. But Mrs. Hill soon found that she might aspire higher. The queen, weak and yielding as she was, gradually became weary of the domineering temper of the duchess, and she poured her complaints into the ear of her obsequious attendant, who, it was soon observed, was fast rising in favour and influence. It happened that Mrs. Hill was related to Harley on the father's, as to the duchess on the mother's side; and, as her politics were tory, that wily statesman entered into a close alliance with her, and by her means influenced the queen. The duchess's friends warned her in vain of the way in which her power was being undermined. At length the private marriage of Mrs. Hill with Mr. Masham, an officer of the royal household, celebrated in the presence of only the queen and Dr. Arbuthnot, the court physician, opened her eyes. Godolphin about the same time obtained convincing proofs of Harley's secret machinations.

The policy of Marlborough and Godolphin in joining neither party had the usual fate; both were alienated from them. The ill success of the war in 1707 afforded topics of attack to the

discontented. The two ministers saw more strongly than ever the necessity of conciliating the whigs; and they received further proofs of Harley's treachery. The whigs having given them the strongest assurances of their support, they waited on the queen and told her that they could serve her no longer unless Harley were dismissed. She remained firm. On the next meeting of the cabinet-council the two ministers were absent. Harley was proceeding to business, when the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate without the general and treasurer. The looks of the others expressed their assent; Harley was disconcerted; the queen broke up the council in anger and alarm. The commons and the city gave signs of their discontent. Still the queen was unmoved; but Harley himself saw the difficulties of his situation, and resigned. St. John and the attorney-general, sir Simon Harcourt, followed his example, and their places were given to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and sir James Montague, brother of lord Halifax. This last appointment was long resisted by the queen; and all the influence of Marlborough and Gadolphin failed to procure a seat in the cabinet, though without office, for Somers. The queen, in fact, disliked the whigs more than ever, and was still secretly actuated by Harley; and *they* showed themselves as factious as the Tories had been; for, bent on coming into office, they had resolved to annoy both the queen and Marlborough by an attack on the admiralty, that is, on *her* husband and on *his* brother, admiral Churchill, by whom the prince was guided. Marlborough had consented to give up his brother, when the opportune death of the prince (Oct. 28) removed all difficulties. Lord Pembroke was made lord high admiral, and was succeeded by Somers as president of the council; and Wharton became lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Nothing, however, would content the whigs short of the possession of all offices of emolument and influence; and the condition of the general and treasurer, between them and the queen, was far from enviable. To add to their embarrassments, the desire of peace was becoming general. The apparent willingness of Louis to concede, weighed with many; the pressure of taxation with others; the want of French wines and other foreign luxuries rendered numbers pacific; and Marlborough was charged with desiring to prolong the war from selfish motives.

Orford having replaced Pembroke at the admiralty, the

ministry may be regarded as whig. from the close of the year 1708, when a new parliament met, and sir Richard Onslow, a whig, was chosen speaker. In its second session (1709) the violence of party-zeal hurried it into a measure which eventually overthrew the ministry.

There was a clergyman, named Sacheverell, a preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, one of those men of little talent and less learning, but of a restless and ambitious temper, such as may be found at times among the clergy. This man took on him to be a champion of high-church doctrines; and, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor and aldermen on the 5th of November, he asserted the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience, in the most unqualified terms; attacked the dissenters and the toleration; styled the moderate bishops "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church;" and called on the people to stand up in its defence. He also assailed the administration, particularly Godolphin, whom he styled Volpone. This wretched farrago was published at the desire of the lord-mayor; the tories extolled it as almost inspired, and they circulated 40,000 copies of it. The ministers held several consultations. Somers and Marlborough were it is said for leaving the matter to the ordinary tribunals; but Godolphin, whose feelings were wounded, and the others, resolved on an impeachment. Articles were therefore exhibited against Sacheverell, and the 27th of February, 1710, was the day fixed for the trial in Westminster-hall. In the interval the tories and the clergy in general made every effort to inflame the minds of the populace and excite their zeal for the church.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The managers were sir Joseph Jekyl, general Stanhope, Walpole, King, and others. The Doctor, as he was called, was defended by Harcourt and Phipps, and assisted by Drs. Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend. He was brought each day from the Temple, where he had been placed, to the Hall in a coach, round which the people pressed eager to kiss his hand. The queen came regularly to hear the trial; and the populace used to crowd round her sedan, crying, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell."

The managers had a delicate part to act; for, as Sacheverell had asserted that the revolution was *not* a case of resistance (he did not impugn it), they had to show that it was, and thence to assert the lawfulness of taking arms against the law, and that in the presence of the queen. They, however,

did not shrink from their duty. Sacheverell's counsel freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance, but they maintained that he was justified in his doctrine of non-resistance by the homilies and the writings of eminent Anglican divines. He was voted guilty by a majority of sixty-nine to fifty-two, of which last thirty-four signed a protest. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon to be publicly burnt; and the Oxford decree of 1683 was condemned to share its fate. This gentle sentence was regarded by the tory party as a triumph, and such in fact it was. Bonfires and illuminations, in London and all over the kingdom, testified their joy; and addresses in favour of non-resistance poured in from all quarters.

Harley and the favourite, now sure of the temper of the nation, resolved to hesitate no longer. They had already sought to mortify Marlborough, by getting the queen, on the death of lord Essex, to give his regiment to major Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother. Marlborough, highly indignant, insisted on the favourite's being dismissed, or else he would resign; but the efforts of Godolphin and other friends accommodated the matter, and he was contented with the disposal of the regiment being left with him. To prove, as it were, the influence of the favourite, the queen soon after gave Hill a pension of 1000*l.* a year; and she made the duke consent to raise him to the rank of brigadier.

It was Harley's plan to overthrow the ministry by degrees. He began by causing the queen to take the office of lord-chamberlain from the marquess of Kent, and confer it on the duke of Shrewsbury; for this amiable but versatile nobleman, who had returned from Italy, where he had resided for some years, was now alienated in some degree from the whigs on public and even on private grounds, as they did not, he thought, pay due attention to his lady, an Italian countess who had been originally his mistress, and who, as is usually the case, now governed him. He was therefore easily gained over by Harley. The queen made the appointment (Apr. 13) while Godolphin was at Newmarket, and announced it to him by a dry letter. The treasurer acted with his usual indecision; the whigs fearing a dissolution suffered themselves to be cajoled by Shrewsbury; and Harley, now reckoning the victory sure, made his next attack on Sunderland, a man whose overbearing temper had raised him many enemies, and to whom the queen had a peculiar antipathy. The treasurer was as usual without spirit,

his whig colleagues clung to their places with the pertinacity distinctive of their party, and abandoned Sunderland, and the queen had the gratification (June 14) of dismissing him and giving the seals to lord Dartmouth, a zealous high-church-man. Jacobites and high tories now flocked to court and congratulated the queen on her emancipation, as they affected to regard it; the duke of Beaufort, for instance, said to her, "Your majesty is now queen indeed."

The next stroke stunned the whigs. On the 7th of August, Godolphin, who saw that the queen was annoyed at some things he had said in council, had an audience of her. He concluded his discourse by asking, "Is it the will of your majesty that I should go on?" "Yes," said she, without hesitation. That very evening he received a letter from her, desiring him to break his white staff of office! The treasury was put into commission, Harley taking the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The temper of the nation had now been ascertained in various ways, and the prevalence of the high-church and tory spirit was beyond question. That wretched tool Sacheverell, having been presented by a Mr. Lloyd with a living in North Wales, his party took advantage of his going to take possession of it to make a demonstration. His progress thither, as it was termed, resembled those of the monarchs in former times. The nobility entertained him sumptuously at their houses; the university of Oxford showed him equal honour; the magistrates of corporate towns met him with their insignia of office. The hedges were for miles decked with garlands and lined with spectators, streamers waved from the steeples of the churches, the air resounded with the cry of "The church and Dr. Sacheverell!" At Bridgenorth, a Mr. Cresswell met him at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. It is a pity that so much really good and honest feeling should have been wasted on so unworthy an object*.

Emboldened by these signs of the popular sentiment, the cabal thought they might now safely venture on a dissolution and a total change of ministry. The queen therefore came to the council (Sept. 21), and ordered a proclamation to be issued

* Harcourt, when chancellor, actually tried to obtain a bishoprick for him, but the queen would not consent. He however got the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

for dissolving the parliament. The chancellor rose to speak, but she said; "she would admit of no debate, for that such was her pleasure." A general change of administration immediately followed; lord Somers, the duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Boyle resigned, and their places were taken by lord Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John. Wharton and Orford having also resigned, the lieutenancy of Ireland was given to the duke of Ormond, and the admiralty was put into commission. All the efforts of Harley and the queen having failed to induce lord Cowper to retain the great seal, it was put into commission, but was soon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. Of all the whigs, the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle alone remained in high offices.

Thus fell the most glorious, the most able, and we may add, perhaps the most virtuous and patriotic administration that England had possessed since the days of Elizabeth. It fell by disunion in itself, by the imprudent impeachment of a contemptible divine, and by the intrigues of the bed-chamber, where a weak woman, whom the constitution had invested with power, was domineered over by one waiting-maid and wheedled and flattered by another.

When the parliament met (Nov. 25), it proved almost entirely tory, and Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition.

Marlborough on his return was subjected to every kind of indignity. The queen herself desired him not to allow a vote of thanks to him to be moved in parliament, and he had the mortification to see the thanks of the houses bestowed on Peterborough for his Quixotic exploits in Spain. In spite of his most urgent solicitations, his duchess was deprived of her places at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham, and an attempt was even made to convict her of peculation. Swift and the other libellers in the service of the ministry poured out all their venom on him. "He was ridiculed," says Smollett, "in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct. Even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind." Among his other annoyances, he had to listen to lectures on his military conduct from Harley and St. John. Yet he did not resign; for Godolphin and the whigs, the emperor, and all the allies implored him to re-

tain the command of the army, as otherwise all their hopes would be gone.

Harley, in the midst of his triumph, found that he was not to lie on a bed of roses. The more violent Tories, headed by Rochester, regarding him and his friend as lukewarm, formed, to control him, a combination of not less than a hundred and thirty members of the house of commons, under the name of the October Club, and the Whigs on their part had a powerful auxiliary in the duchess of Somerset, a lady of high character, and loved and respected by the queen. Harley and St. John immediately began to make overtures to the duke of Marlborough, and it is probable that they must have come to terms with the Whigs or have succumbed to the October Club, had not a fortunate event arisen to extricate them (1711).

There was a French refugee, called the marquis Guiscard, who had had the command of a regiment, which being broken after the battle of Almansa, he obtained a pension of 500*l.* a year. Harley reduced this pension to 400*l.*, and Guiscard in his rage proposed to the French cabinet to acquaint them with sundry secrets of state of which he was possessed. His letters were intercepted, and he was arrested on a charge of high-treason. He was brought before the council at the Cock-pit (Mar. 8) and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. He resisted the messenger, and rushing forward struck Harley in the bosom with a penknife which he had concealed; the blade broke against the bone; he struck again with the stump, but St. John and the others, drawing their swords, fell on and gave him several wounds. He was then taken to Newgate, where he died of the injuries which he had received. The general sympathy was thus awakened for Harley, and he was regarded as a victim to his zeal for the public service. The death of lord Rochester (May 2) was also of advantage to him, and he was forthwith (24th) raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and (29th) made lord-high-treasurer. The duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester (June 12), and several other promotions took place in the course of the year.

The military events of this year, the last of Marlborough's glorious career of victory, were few; but no campaign more displayed his consummate military skill. Villars had drawn strongly-fortified lines from Bouchain on the Scheldt to Arras, and he proudly styled them Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*. Yet the duke, by a skilful manœuvre, passed them without the loss

of a single man, and then invested and took Bouchain (Sept. 14), though it was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a large garrison, with an army more numerous than that of the allies at hand to relieve it.

But it was needless for Marlborough to gain victories and capture towns; the ministry were so bent on peace that they were actually in secret negotiation with the court of France. In the beginning of the year (Jan. 11, 1712) their agent Gaultier, a French priest, waited on the marquess de Torcy, the French secretary of state, and abruptly asked him if he wished for peace, which was, says Torcy, "like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Louis however seeing his advantage, affected not to be in any great need of it; and he endeavoured to draw the English cabinet into a separate negotiation. Matthew Prior, the poet, was sent secretly to Paris, and M. Mesnager to London, and preliminary articles were agreed on (Oct. 8), which were then communicated to the Dutch and imperial ministers at the court of London, the latter of whom caused them to be inserted in a paper called the *Postboy*, and their appearance excited the indignation of all who had a feeling of national dignity and honour.

The ministers of the allies made strong representations against the peace, and the whig party was now strengthened by the accession of lord Nottingham, who was offended with the ministers. The queen tried to no purpose the effect of *closeting* on Marlborough, Somers, Cowper, and others: an amendment to the address, declaring that no peace could be safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, was proposed by Nottingham and carried against the ministry, who however had influence enough to have a similar clause rejected in the commons by a large majority. But the queen herself now gave symptoms of wavering, and the timid and self-interested in both houses began to look about them. Oxford saw that he must act with decision or be lost. As he ascribed the power of the opposition chiefly to the influence of Marlborough, he resolved to strike him down; charges of fraud and peculation were therefore made against him, and the queen, over whom the bed-chamber party had recovered their influence, wrote him a letter on New-year's day (1712) dismissing him from all his employments. The ministers, to follow up their victory, had recourse, the very next day, to a most unconstitutional act of prerogative, by calling no less

than twelve new peers to the upper house, among whom was the husband of the favourite. The queen then sent a message, desiring the house to adjourn to the 14th; but as this was an unusual measure, a debate arose, and the resolution was carried only by the votes of the new peers. When the question was about to be put to them, Wharton, alluding to their numbers, asked one of them if they voted individually or by their foreman.

Secure of majorities in both houses, the ministry proceeded in the charges against Marlborough. These were two; the one, the having received an annual sum from the contractor of bread for the army; the other a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the pay of the foreign auxiliaries; and the whole was made to amount to the sum of 282,366*l.* sterling. These charges had been made before the return of the duke, and he had sent home a refutation of them. With respect to the first, he said that it had been a perquisite of the general commanding-in-chief in the Low Countries even before the revolution; and this was proved by sir John Germain, who had been aide-de-camp to prince Waldeck in 1689. The per-centage, he said, was the voluntary gift of the allied princes, to be employed for secret service. It had been originally granted for that purpose to king William by the members of the Grand Alliance, and had been continued to the duke, with the approbation of the queen, whose warrant, countersigned by sir Charles Hedges, was produced. It amounted only to 30,000*l.* a-year; and the duke was always better served than king William had been, who spent 50,000*l.* a-year in this way. But it was useless to refute, the ministers were sure of their majority; and it was voted by two hundred and seventy to one hundred and sixty-five, that the former was illegal, and that the latter was public money, and ought to be accounted for. An address was made to the queen, and she ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke; but there the matter ended. The ministers did not dare to impeach him, or to reply to a vindication of him which was published, or to prosecute it as a libel. An attempt to fix on him the stigma of trafficking in commissions only served to show the malignity of his enemies.

During these disgraceful proceedings prince Eugene arrived in London (Jan. 5) with proposals from the emperor for carrying on the war with vigour. He was received, of course, with all due marks of attention, both public and private, and the queen presented him with a sword worth 4500*l.*; but the

ministers were too much bent on a dishonourable peace to attend to his proposals, and he quitted England in disgust (March 17). Some of the ministers had even countenanced a profligate jesuit named Plunket in his pretended discovery of a plot of Eugene, Marlborough, and the leading whigs to seize the queen, murder Oxford and his friends, and place the elector of Hanover on the throne.

The negotiations for peace were now going on at Utrecht, whither all the allies had sent ministers; but the courts of Paris and London were still treating in secret. In the midst of the negotiations an event occurred which threatened to put an end to them. The dauphin had died in the preceding year, and death now swept away his son the duke of Burgundy, with his wife and their eldest son, and there only remained the youngest son, a sickly infant in the cradle, between Philip and the throne of France. As his retention of the crown of Spain had been all along a condition of the peace, Louis offered that he should make a formal renunciation of his right to that of France; at the same time candidly owning that such an act would be, by the laws of France, utterly invalid. Yet even this feeble security contented the English cabinet, and they agreed to desert their allies if they refused to consent to it.

The English troops in the Netherlands were now commanded by the duke of Ormond; the whole confederate army of 122,000 men was directed by prince Eugene. The French army under Villars amounted only to 100,000 men, ill-equipped and dispirited. To force their camp, pour the allied troops over the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and dictate peace under the walls of Paris, were now not only possible, but probable events. But no glory awaited Ormond. When the queen had informed parliament of the preliminaries having been agreed on, orders were sent to him to cease from all operations, and march with his troops to Dunkirk, which Louis had engaged to give to the English. The foreign troops in British pay spurned at the orders to separate from the confederates. "The Hessians," said their gallant prince, "will gladly march, if it be to fight the French." "We do not serve for pay, but for fame," said another commander. A general hiss ran through the English camp when the cessation of arms was proclaimed; the soldiers tore their hair with rage, and reviled their general; the officers shut themselves up in their tents: tears flowed from their eyes when they thought of

Marlborough and his glories. Ormond's troopsⁱ were refused admittance into the fortified towns, and he had to seize Ghent and Bruges. Louis hesitated to give up Dunkirk, till admonished of the danger of refusal.

Eugene captured Quesnoy; but the desertion of England had struck a damp to the hearts of the allies; and Villars restored the ascendancy of France. The Peace of Utrecht, "the indelible reproach of the past generation," as lord Chatham* justly called it, was signed on the 14th of April, 1713, by all the powers except the emperor and the empire.

By this peace Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies, giving the Netherlands and Italian dominions to the emperor, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The title of the queen of England and the protestant succession were acknowledged; Gibraltar and Minorca and some parts of America were ceded to England; and an *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, was granted to the English merchants.

There can be no doubt that by this peace all the ends of the Grand Alliance were frustrated, and the splendid victories of Blenheim and Ramillies rendered useless; and had not Heaven preserved the life of the puny heir in France, another general war must have ensued, or Philip have been tamely suffered to unite the two crowns. On the other hand, it seemed manifestly unjust to impose a sovereign on the Spanish nation; yet it was hardly less so to dismember the monarchy. But loss of honour was the great loss of England in this opprobrious treaty. She basely deserted and betrayed her allies; and the infamy would be indelible, were the fact not certain, that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the protestant succession, and supported by the jacobites and high Tories, and not the act of the nation.

While the treaty which was to blight all the glorious promises of his administration was pending, lord Godolphin died. This upright and disinterested statesman, who had enjoyed so many opportunities of amassing wealth, left only 12,000*l.* behind him†. Yet the present ministry had made a base attempt to fix a charge of peculation on *him* also; they, however, had

* Writing in 1759, he says, "Whenever peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, *no peace of Utrecht* will again stain the annals of England."—Corresp. of lord Chatham, i. 411.

† He was greatly devoted to play; but he played fair, and consequently must have been a loser.

signally failed. After the death of his friend, Marlborough put into execution a design he had long entertained of retiring to the continent. The ministers and their friends in the house, and Swift, Mrs. Manly, and their other hired writers out of it, were continually assailing his character, both public and private; and a shabby attempt was made to fix on him the expenses of Blenheim-house, for which the crown stood engaged. The reception of the greatest man of the age at Antwerp, Aix-la-Chapelle, and the other places which he visited, was enthusiastic, and consoled him in some measure for the ungenerous treatment which he had met with in his own country.

An attempt to dissolve the Union at this time, offers a curious instance of the change of party-tactics. It was moved in the house of lords by one of the Scottish peers, was supported by the whigs and opposed by the tories, and lost by a majority only of four.

Oxford and St. John (lately created viscount Bolingbroke), though they had united to overthrow the Godolphin ministry, had never been cordial friends. The former had the superiority in principle and in knowledge of business; but he was procrastinating, cautious, dissembling, mysterious, and intriguing, and therefore unable to gain the confidence of any party. He was of that class of statesmen who deal in expedients, and are always manœuvring; whose minds are too little to conceive anything grand and vast. The character of Bolingbroke was the very opposite; his talents were splendid, his eloquence commanding, his manners and person graceful and elegant; but he was dissolute and unprincipled—an English Alcibiades. While Oxford leaned to the whigs and favoured the protestant succession, Bolingbroke sought for support among the high tories, brought many of them into office, and formed a close alliance with the lady Masham. Devoid of religion, he affected to be a champion of the church; and, with a thorough contempt of the Stuarts and their maxims of government, he engaged in projects for their restoration. In these projects the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, the chancellor Harcourt, sir William Wyndham, and other members of the cabinet shared; but the duke of Shrewsbury, the lords Dartmouth, Trevor, and Paulet, and Robinson bishop of London*, were firm to the

* Lord privy-seal, and one of the negotiators at Utrecht. He is the last churchman who has had a seat in the cabinet.

protestant succession. Lady Masham was a zealous jacobite. The queen hated the electoral family, and had no love for her brother, though she had some scruples about his right, which, however, were balanced by her attachment to the church. She veered about as the influence of lady Somerset or lady Masham prevailed.

The parliament having been dissolved, a new one met (Feb. 16, 1714). Its composition was much the same as before; but the tory portion was less powerful, being divided into Hanoverian tories, nicknamed Whimsicals, and jacobite tories, *i. e.* friends of the electoral family, or of the Pretender. The danger was now in fact thought to be very imminent. The queen during the winter had had a severe attack of gout, and it was manifest that she was fast drawing to her end; Oxford's influence was on the decline; the adherents of the house of Stuart were, through the influence of Bolingbroke, put into civil and military posts; and the jacobites gave open demonstrations of their designs. It was the general opinion that whichever of the competitors had the start would get the crown; and Schütz, the Hanoverian envoy, therefore, by the advice of the whig leaders, demanded a writ of summons for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. The writ could not be refused, but the queen was highly indignant: she forbade Schütz the court, and wrote in strong terms to the electoral family. The sudden death, by apoplexy, of the princess Sophia (June 7) was by some ascribed to the effect on her of the queen's letter.

At this time no one was more zealous in the cause of the elector than the duke of Marlborough. He sent general Cadogan over to arrange with general Stanhope and the Hanoverian leaders for the transport of troops to England; and proposed himself to gain over the garrison of Dunkirk, and embark at its head. He urged the elector not to be sparing of his money, and offered him a loan of 20,000*l*.

Bolingbroke at length triumphed over his rival. The treasurer's staff was taken from Oxford (July 27), and the secretary was regarded as the future prime-minister. After a slight attempt at cajoling the whigs, he was proceeding to the formation of a jacobite cabinet, when the untasted cup of power was suddenly dashed from his lips. The queen grew alarmingly ill on the 29th; and, as a committee of the privy-council was sitting to make arrangements in case of her death, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle suddenly entered the room.

Shrewsbury rose and thanked them. They proposed that the queen's physicians should be examined; and, when assured of her danger, they said that the post of treasurer should be filled without delay, and the duke of Shrewsbury be recommended for it to the queen. Bolingbroke and his party were stunned. A deputation waited on the queen, who approved of their choice, and gave the staff to the duke, bidding him to use it for the good of her people*. She soon after fell into a lethargy, and on the morning of the 1st of August she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age. The elector of Hanover was proclaimed as George I.

With Anne ended the dynasty of the Stuarts. She was a woman of narrow intellect, but of good intentions; a model of conjugal and maternal duty. The title of Good Queen Anne, given to her, proves the public-sense of her virtues. She possessed, however, a portion of the obstinacy of her family, and had some of their notions of prerogative. In person the queen was comely, and her voice was so melodious that it acted like a charm on the auditors when she spoke from the throne. All through her reign she was highly, and we may add deservedly, popular.

During this period the constitution received some important improvements. By the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, the limits of the prerogative were ascertained; the Toleration-act put an end to religious persecution: the law of treason was improved and made certain: the liberty of the press was fully established. The judges now became really independent, as they were to hold their places during good behaviour till the demise of the crown, and be only removable on the commission of some great offence, or by an address of both houses of parliament.

England now for the first time witnessed the establishment of a national bank, and the issue of paper money. To this period also is to be referred the permanent establishment of a standing army. Much jealousy of it was entertained at first, as it was regarded as one of the most powerful implements of despotism; but time has shown it to be, on the contrary, one of the surest safeguards of liberty. It is worthy of remark, that from the very commencement, commissions in it have been matters of purchase, and that at a very high rate.

* This was the last lord-treasurer; the treasury has been ever since in commission, and the prime-minister is usually first lord of the treasury.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I.

1714-1727.

THE measures taken by the friends of the protestant succession had been so prompt and energetic, and the confusion of Bolingbroke and his party so complete, that George I. was proclaimed without a murmur being heard; and he was acknowledged at once by the king of France and the other potentates of Europe. He was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, with the reputation of being a prudent, moderate prince; he had shown valour and skill in war, but he loved peace. He was totally ignorant of the language, constitution, and manners of England.

On the 18th of September George I. landed at Greenwich. A new ministry, almost totally whig, was formed. The two secretaries of state* were lord Townshend and general Stanhope; Cowper was chancellor, Marlborough commander-in-chief, Wharton privy-seal, Sunderland lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Nottingham president of the council, Walpole† paymaster of the forces, etc. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission, with Halifax and Orford at their head.

* One for the northern and one for the southern department, as it was termed. In 1782 they were named secretaries for home and foreign affairs; and in the beginning of the present century the management of colonial affairs was taken from the home office and a secretary for the colonies appointed.

† Robert Walpole of Houghton in Norfolk. He entered parliament in 1700, was secretary at war in 1708, and was expelled the house by the tories in 1711 on a charge of corruption.

It has been usual to condemn the king and his advisers for thus giving power exclusively to a party; but what other course could they pursue? The experience of the two last reigns (we might add, all subsequent experience) had shown the futility of attempting to govern by a coalition ministry; and when a preference must be given to one party or the other, no one surely will blame the king for preferring his friends to, if not his enemies, his lukewarm supporters. The tories, if they recollected their own conduct in 1710, had little right to complain*; at the same time it must be owned that the whigs showed too vindictive a spirit; but party-spirit is never moderate, and least of all could it claim to be so at that time.

The parliament being dissolved, a new one met (Mar. 17, 1715). It proved decidedly whig, and it proceeded without delay to the impeachment of some of the late ministers for the peace of Utrecht and other matters; and a committee of secrecy, with Walpole for its chairman, was appointed to examine the papers of Bolingbroke and others which had been seized. When it had made its report, Walpole arose and impeached Henry lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, I impeach the master;" and he impeached Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer of high-treason. On the 21st of June Stanhope impeached the duke of Ormond of high-treason; and next day lord Strafford was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by Mr. Aislabie. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a whig of unquestionable honesty, was against impeaching either Oxford or Ormond, and he spoke warmly in favour of the latter; but the spirit of the commons was not to be controlled. Bolingbroke and Ormond both fled to the continent: Oxford more manfully stood his ground, and was committed to the Tower.

The subsequent fate of these noblemen was as follows: Bolingbroke repaired to the court of the Pretender, which was at Commerci in Lorraine, and became his secretary of state. He exerted all his abilities in the service of that contemptible prince; but the factions of the petty court proving too strong for him, he was charged with treachery and dismissed. He then bent all his efforts to the procuring of the reversal of his

* Bolingbroke, in his 'Letter to sir William Wyndham,' says that it had been the intention of himself and his party "to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with tories."

attainder in England, in which he at length succeeded (1723). Ormond, against whom nothing could be proved, unwisely followed the example of Bolingbroke, and was like him attainted; he remained to the end of his life in the cheerless court of the Pretender, almost its solitary ornament. Oxford, after lying two years in the Tower, took occasion of a new modification of the ministry to petition for his trial being brought on. All the customary solemn preparations were made for it; but a disagreement arising between the two houses, the commons refused to proceed with their impeachment, and the peers acquitted the earl, who, however, was excepted from an act of grace then passed, of which the only consequence to him was a prohibition to appear at court.

Meantime the Pretender and his partisans were secretly preparing to make an effort for the overthrow of the new government. The earl of Mar, disgusted at the manner in which his declaration of loyalty had been received by the king on his landing, and alarmed at the vindictive spirit shown by the whigs, lent an ear to the agents of the Pretender, retired to the Highlands, and in concert with some noblemen and chiefs of clans raised the standard of James III. (Sept. 6). Two vessels arrived with arms, ammunition, and officers from France, and he was soon at the head of 10,000 men. The government proceeded to act with great vigour; the Habeas Corpus act was suspended and several suspected noblemen and members of the house of commons were arrested. The death at this conjuncture of Louis XIV. was a great prejudice to the cause of the Pretender; for the duke of Orléans, who became regent for the minority of the young king, found it his interest to attach himself to the house of Brunswick.

While Mar had his head-quarters at Perth, and the duke of Argyle, who commanded the royal forces, lay at Stirling, the Pretender was proclaimed in the north of England by the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, who were joined by the Scottish lords Wintoun, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Kenmuir. At Kelso they were reinforced by a body of Highlanders sent by Mar, under the command of brigadier Mackintosh. They thence proceeded to Penryth, where the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland fled at their approach, and advanced till they reached Preston in Lancashire; but here they were assailed by the royal troops under generals Willis and Carpenter, and obliged to surrender at discretion (Nov. 13).

The very day of the surrender at Preston a battle was fought between Argyle and Mar. As the latter was preparing to march southwards the duke advanced from Stirling and spread his camp from the village of Dunblaine to the Sheriff-muir. His forces did not exceed 4000 men, while the army with which Mar attacked him amounted to 9000. The left wing of the royalists was in the short space of seven minutes routed and driven off the field by the clansmen; but the right wing, led by the duke in person, defeated and chased the left of the enemy. When the victorious troops on each side returned from the pursuit, they found themselves facing each other, each occupying the ground held by the other previously. They remained inactive till the evening, when the duke retired to Dunblaine and the rebels to Ardoch. Next morning the duke returned and carried off the wounded and four pieces of cannon left by the enemy. The loss was five hundred slain on each side; each claimed the victory, but it was really on the side of the duke.

Mar returned to Perth, and soon after (Dec. 22) the Pretender himself landed at Peterhead, and having been proclaimed, issued proclamations and received addresses as he passed through Aberdeen, Dundee, and Scone. He joined the army at Perth, and his coronation was fixed for the 23rd of January (1716); but ere that day arrived, the intelligence of Argyle's being strongly reinforced had convinced his supporters of the hopelessness of resistance. The Pretender, therefore, with the lords Mar, Melford, and some others, got aboard a French vessel at Montrose, and standing for the coast of Norway to escape the English cruisers, arrived within five days safely at Gravelines. The rebel army was disbanded at Badenoch; the common people retired to their homes; most of the leaders escaped to France.

The noblemen who surrendered at Preston were impeached for high-treason (Jan. 10). They all pleaded guilty except Wintoun. Derwentwater, Kenmuir, and Wintoun were beheaded; Nithisdale escaped in women's clothes, brought by his mother the night before the day appointed for his execution; the lives of the rest were spared. Four other rebels were hanged in London, and twenty-two at Preston and Manchester. Jacobite writers talk of the barbarities exercised by the government as akin to those of Marius and Sulla; but surely rebellion is not to go unpunished, and it would be diffi-

cult to show one in which less blood had been shed after its suppression than this. We may remind them of Jeffreys' Campaign.

As by the act for triennial parliaments the actual one would determine in 1717, and as the ministry thought it unsafe to hazard a general election in the present unsettled state of the public mind, they resolved to bring in a bill for repealing that act and extending the duration of parliament to seven years. The measure was introduced in the lords by the duke of Devonshire (Apr. 10) on the grounds that triennial elections kept up party divisions, caused family feuds and ruinous expense, and gave occasion to the intrigues of foreign princes. After a severe debate it passed the lords by a majority of 96 to 61 : in the commons also the tories put forth their utmost strength ; but the final majority in its favour was 264 to 121. The Septennial Bill received the high approbation of lord Somers, and it was regarded by competent judges as the foundation of the power of the house of commons. But the tories were at that time, and the democrats since are, bitter in their hostility to it. To say, as has been done, that it was unconstitutional, is absurd ; before the passing of the triennial act, parliaments sat as long as the king pleased, and it surely was competent to the legislature to repeal that act and return to the ancient course. It also seems to be supposed that the commons, like the Long Parliament, assumed an independent power, and prolonged their existence by their own authority ; but they only acted as a branch of the legislature, and the bill did not even originate in their house. A dissolution would have exposed the government to the very evils which it sought to shun : necessity justified a slight departure from the strict rules of the constitution, and the ready acquiescence of the nation in the measure testified their approval of it. It continues still to be the law : custom has made six years to be the period of a parliament ; but few last so long, and we have seen nothing in the arguments against it which hold out any advantage from a substitution of triennial or annual parliaments.

The leading persons at this time in the ministry were lord Townshend, the secretary, and Walpole, now chancellor of the exchequer ; Halifax and Wharton were dead, and Nottingham had been dismissed, and was gone back to the tories. Marlborough was totally without influence : his son-in-law, Sunderland, now privy-seal, was discontented ; he intrigued with the tories, he secured several leading whigs, and, to be the more

certain of the overthrow of the two ministers, he paid court to the Hanóverian *Junto*.

This *junto* was composed of mistresses and ministers. The king's wife, the princess Sophia of Zell, was languishing in the castle of Alden, in which she had been confined, in the time of his father, on a charge of adultery, generally thought to be false. In her place George had two mistresses, the baronesses of Schulenburg and Kilmanseck. The former, whom he is said to have espoused with the left hand, was tall and thin, with little or no beauty, but she had great influence over him; he made her duchess of Munster in Ireland, and in 1718 duchess of Kendal in England. In rapacity she was a perfect harpy, and so venal, that Walpole said she would have sold the king's honour for a shilling advance to the highest bidder. Yet she affected great religion, often appearing at several Lutheran chapels in the same day. The other was a young and handsome woman till she became enormously fat; the king made her countess of Leinster in Ireland, and then of Darlington in England, but she never possessed the same influence as her rival. The ministers were baron Bothmar, who had been the Hanoverian agent in England in the late reign; count Bernsdorf, on whom the king chiefly relied in foreign affairs; and Robethon, a French refugee, his French secretary, a clever intriguer.

Mistresses and ministers were alike rapacious and venal; they panted after English estates and English titles, but the Act of Settlement stood in the way, and Walpole and Townshend resisted their attempts with vigour. They therefore hated these ministers, and readily coalesced with Sunderland. This artful intriguer had also the address to detach secretary Stanhope from his friends Townshend and Walpole, and at length (1717)* these ministers resigned, and a new cabinet was formed with Stanhope, now an earl, at its head, and Sunderland and the celebrated Joseph Addison secretaries of state.

The two principal measures of the Stanhope administration were the peerage-bill and the South-sea-bill, both of which were strenuously opposed by Walpole, the former with success.

The object of Sunderland, with whom the peerage-bill originated, was to gratify the spleen of the king against the prince of Wales, with whom he was at enmity, by clipping the pre-

* In this year the houses of convocation sat for the transaction of business for the last time. In consequence of the acrimony of their debates the practice of proroguing them immediately was adopted.

rogative of the crown, and to increase his own influence in the house of peers by an enlargement of their power and dignity. It was proposed by this bill to limit the house of lords, after a creation of six peers, to its actual number of one hundred and seventy-eight, and to give the Scots twenty-five hereditary instead of sixteen-elective members. The bill, on its first introduction into the house of lords (Mar. 2, 1719), met with a most favourable reception, its only strenuous opponent being lord Cowper. On the third reading, however, earl Stanhope deemed it advisable to withdraw it for the present, on account of the opposition to it out of doors. In the next session it was brought in again (Nov. 25), having been previously noticed in the speech from the throne. It passed in the lords, of course, by a large majority, as its object was to increase the power of that house, but it met a very different reception in the commons. As the whigs had been vehement in their reprehension of the abuse of the prerogative in this matter in the late reign, it seemed at first that they could not consistently oppose this limitation of it; but Walpole showed them so clearly the ill effects of it, that they agreed to resist it in the commons. On the second reading in that house (Dec. 8), Walpole rose, and thus began: "Among the Romans the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue; but if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." He then proceeded to expose, in a masterly manner, the motives of the proposers, and the ill effects likely to result from the measure; and the influence of his eloquence was such that the bill was rejected by a majority of 269 to 177, and the attempt has never been renewed. If it had passed, the house of lords would have presented the anomaly of being the only branch of the legislature without a constitutional check, and it might, from factiousness or obstinacy, have at times impeded the action of government. The crown has since tended far too much toward the opposite extreme, and the strength of the house of peers has been weakened by dilution.

The South-sea Company owed its origin to a project of Harley's in 1711 for clearing off the public debt. A large portion of this debt was funded, and the proprietors were

formed into a company, who were to have the monopoly of a trade to the Spanish colonies on the coast of the South sea; but the court of Spain refused to sanction that trade, and the only advantage which the company enjoyed was the *Asiento*. In 1720, a plan was arranged between the ministers and the directors of the company for reducing all the irredeemable annuities to a redeemable form, payment to be undertaken by the company on being assured of certain advantages. The measure was introduced in the commons by Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer: as the house resolved to admit of competition, the bank offered to advance to government 5,500,000*l.*, but the company was determined not to be outbid, and they agreed to give 7,567,500*l.* Walpole spoke in favour of the bank, and exposed the fallacy of the South-sea scheme, and Cassandra-like, accurately foretold the evils that would ensue if it were adopted. But the house was dazzled, and voted in its favour by a majority of more than three to one. The opposition of earl Cowper and others in the lords was equally fruitless, and the bill received the royal assent (Apr. 7).

To raise the sum to be advanced to government, the company were empowered to open books of subscription, grant annuities, etc. Forthwith every engine was set at work to delude the public; mysterious reports were spread of secret treasures in America, where ports were to be given to the English; and as the wealth of Peru and Mexico had always been thought inexhaustible, men were ready to believe anything respecting it. To keep up the delusion, the directors began to vote dividends of 10, 20, nay, of 50 per cent. It was also reported that the company, by being the sole national creditor, would be able to dictate to parliament, and thus to rule the country. The most credulous and uncalculating of all passions perhaps is avarice; so the splendid bait was greedily swallowed. The stock, which at Christmas had been at 126, rose on the opening of the first subscription (Apr. 14) to 325, and finally (Aug. 26) reached 1000 per cent.! The mania was universal; all sects and parties were smitten alike. "Exchange-alley," says Smollett, "was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, and tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females."

Other *bubbles*, as they were afterwards called, rapidly rose, and danced in prismatic radiance before the public eye. There

was the Welsh Copper-company, with the prince of Wales at its head; the York Building-company, with the duke of Chandos for its president, etc.; there was a company for making quicksilver malleable; one for the trade in human hair; another for importing jackasses from Spain. The whole number of these bubbles was nearly two hundred. Any one who recollects the American mining projects of 1824, the joint-stock companies in their train, and the railways of later days, the knavery, the cupidity, the gullability then exhibited, can form some conception of the bubbles of 1720, and perhaps will doubt of the vaunted 'march of intellect.'

Every bubble must burst sooner or later. The directors of the grand one would have a monopoly of the public credulity; they accordingly applied for writs of *Scire facias* against the directors of the others, and thus suppressed them. But in the process they let some light in on the general bubble system, and the public awoke from its dream of fairy-treasures. The stock began to decline, and so rapid was the panic that by the end of September it was down to 150. Ruin now was widely spread; goldsmiths and bankers who had lent money on the stock stopped payment; thousands saw themselves reduced from comfort to beggary. The bank, at the instance of Walpole, made an effort to sustain the credit of the company; but alarmed at the magnitude of the danger, it soon drew back in dismay*.

Sunderland, unable to keep his engagements with the *junto*, had been obliged to seek a reconciliation with Townshend and Walpole. They were now again in the cabinet, and the latter was regarded as the only man who could alleviate the evil done by the South-sea bill. Accordingly, when parliament met, he introduced a bill for transferring nearly one half of the South-sea stock to the bank and East India company on certain conditions. This bill was passed, and by means of it and some other measures public confidence was restored.

A select committee being appointed for the purpose of inquiry, the whole tissue of iniquity was displayed. Fictitious stock to the amount of 574,000*l.* had, it appeared, been created, and given to those who had influence to promote the bill. Among these were the two mistresses and Sunderland, Aislabe, and secretary Craggs and his father. By the exertions of

* Walpole, determined to profit by the folly he could not restrain, bought stock, and by selling when it was at 1000, gained a large sum of money. The duke of Marlborough, in like manner, made 100,000*l.*

Walpole, Sunderland, who had been only a dupe, was acquitted; death saved the two Craggses from the vengeance of parliament, but the estate of the father was confiscated, as also was that of Aislabie, who, with some other members, was expelled the house. The estates of sir John Blount, the original projector of the scheme, and of the other governors, directors, and officers of the company, were also confiscated, and the proceeds applied to the relief of the sufferers.

Sunderland, on account of the odium under which he lay, found it necessary to resign; earl Stanhope, in consequence of the warmth with which he repelled an imputation the young duke of Wharton cast on him in the house of lords, was seized with a pain in the head, and the following evening he breathed his last, lamented by the king, and honoured and regretted by the nation. The reins of government therefore again fell into the hands of Townshend and Walpole, the former once more becoming secretary, with lord Carteret for his colleague, the other first lord of the treasury (Apr. 2, 1721). Sunderland, however, who possessed the favour of the king, continued to intrigue against them, but his death, just a year after, freed them from his machinations. He was an able man, but restless, insidious, proud and overbearing.

Shortly after the death of Sunderland, his father-in-law, John duke of Marlborough, was also consigned to the tomb (June 16, 1722). This illustrious man had been in early youth placed in the licentious court of Charles II., where it was almost impossible to escape pollution; but a marriage of affection with a virtuous and beautiful woman, Sarah Jennings, his subsequent fidelity to whom was never even suspected, saved him from the effects of the tainted atmosphere. He early showed his passion for a military life, and he served with great reputation in the English auxiliary force under Turenne in 1672 and the following years. In the war of the Succession, he placed himself on a line with the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. He was nearly equally eminent as a negotiator and diplomatist. A leading trait in his character was humanity; he really cared for his soldiers, and their familiar name for him, Corporal John, proved their confidence and affection. He had a becoming, perhaps we might use a stronger term, sense of religion; divine service was regularly performed in his camp, and he strongly discountenanced all licentiousness and profaneness. He always spoke of his great victories in terms of the utmost modesty, and seemed to regard

himself as merely an instrument in the hands of the Most High. In manners he was highly polished, and had a most perfect command of temper. As a husband, father, friend, and master, he was without reproach. Such were the laudable points of his character. On the other hand his frugality was carried to the extent of parsimony, or even of meanness, and his appetite for wealth was insatiable. His desertion of his patron king James, and his subsequent secret correspondence with him, and treachery to the government which he was serving, are almost without excuse; yet they may perhaps find their solution in his firm adhesion to the protestant religion, combined with his attachment to the person of the exiled monarch. At all events his conduct was not more extraordinary than that of many other eminent men at the time. The character of Marlborough displays in fine, like that of the far greater Bacon, the union of talents of the highest order with many virtues, and with some of the meanest qualities of our nature.

The hopes of the jacobites had been excited by the discontent produced by the South-sea project, and they prepared to make an effort in favour of the Pretender. Secret information of their designs is said to have been given by the French regent. The plan was to be the usual one of a foreign invasion, combined with a domestic insurrection. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the lords Orrery and North and Grey, with several persons of inferior rank, were arrested. A barrister named Sayer was convicted of treason, and executed for having enlisted men for the Pretender. A bill of pains and penalties was passed against the bishop, and he was sentenced to be deprived of his see and banished: he forthwith entered the service of the Pretender, and became a medium of communication with the disaffected in England and Scotland. Atterbury was a proud, restless, ambitious high-churchman, but he was constant to his religion; he was a man of talent, learning and taste, the friend and patron of Pope and the wits of the day, whose eulogies have given him a reputation of which he was perhaps not altogether deserving.

The remaining years of the reign of George I. passed away in tranquillity. The chief domestic event was the impeachment (1724) of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor, for selling at exorbitant rates the offices of masters-in-chancery, and for embezzling the properties of widows, orphans, and lunatics. He was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of

30,000*l.* His successor in-office was sir Peter King, the lord chief-justice, now created baron King of Ockham in Surrey*. In this year also Pelham, duke of Newcastle, was made one of the secretaries in place of lord Carteret.

The ancient order of the Bath was revived at this time (1725). Walpole was one of the knights, and he henceforth styled himself sir Robert Walpole; soon after (1726) he was invested with the ribbon of the order of the garter, an honour which had been since the accession of the Stuarts reserved to the nobility. His son had already (1723) been created a baron; for Walpole declined the honour for himself, feeling his sphere to be the house of commons.

The foreign transactions of this pacific reign do not offer much to interest. The acquisition for Hanover of Bremen and Verden, the property of the crown of Sweden, by purchase from the king of Denmark, caused the English monarch (1715) to join in the coalition against Charles XII., who in return prepared to aid the Pretender; but the death of the Swedish king (1717) removed all apprehension from that quarter. Mutual interest caused an alliance between the king of England and the regent of France; and when the aspiring genius of Cardinal Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain, aimed at recovering the Italian dominions of the monarchy, the Quadruple Alliance was formed (1718) between England, France, the Empire, and Holland, to maintain the peace of Utrecht. Sir George Byng was sent with an English fleet into the Mediterranean, where he totally destroyed a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line off the coast of Sicily†. For this brave action he was created viscount Torrington. At a subsequent period (1725), when the Imperial and Spanish courts had formed the treaty of Vienna, those of France and England, with Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to counteract its supposed secret articles, entered at Hanover into a treaty of defensive alliance for fifteen years. A British fleet under admiral Hosier was sent to blockade the galleons in the ports of Spanish America; but his men perished with disease, his ships were destroyed by the worms, and Hosier himself died of chagrin or malady.

* That distinguished nobleman earl Cowper, who had been twice lord-chancellor, died in 1723.

† Captain Walton, who was detached in pursuit of some of the enemy's ships, wrote the following despatch to the admiral:—"Sir, We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast the number as per margin. I am, &c. G. WALTON."

In 1727 George I. left England as usual for Hanover, whither he was in the habit of repairing every year. On the road between Delden and Osnabrück, he was seized with paralysis, and he died before he reached the latter place (June 11), in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE II.

1727-1760.

GEORGE II. was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne; his character was therefore generally known and appreciated. In person he was small, but well-proportioned; he possessed a large portion of natural courage, was regular and methodical in his habits, and capable of great application to business; his temper was irascible and obstinate; his manner reserved and cold, his love of money strong. Like his father, his predilections were German, and he viewed the interests of his kingdoms as subordinate to those of his electorate. To his queen, Caroline of Anspach, a woman of very superior mind, he was devotedly attached, and deferred implicitly to her judgement; yet he was faithless to her, and the court of England continued to exhibit the spectacle of royal mistresses in the persons of lady Yarmouth and Mrs. Howard created countess of Suffolk; but the king allowed them no influence whatever in affairs of state.

The accession it was calculated would be followed by a change of administration; even Bolingbroke was not without hopes of attaining to power. The king when prince had taken offence at some expressions used by Walpole, and had declared that he would never employ him, and that minister now regarded his dismissal as certain. George had actually fixed on sir Spencer Compton for his prime minister, and his obstinacy was well known; yet after all Walpole retained his post and held it for many years. For this he was indebted to the queen, who knew his abilities; she recollected that the late king had said to her that Walpole could "convert stones into gold," and Walpole readily engaged to obtain from the commons 22

augmentation of 130,000*l.* to the civil list, and a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year for the queen; and as Compton candidly avowed his own incompetence for the situation, the king gave up his purpose. The ministry therefore remained unchanged, and Walpole, when the new parliament met, performed his engagements to the king and queen.

Walpole continued to be the moving power of government for a space of nearly fifteen years, during which period England enjoyed tranquillity. Cardinal Fleury, who governed France, was a decided lover of peace; and though Hanover was the means of engaging England in the mazes of German politics, there was no war till toward the close of Walpole's administration, when hostilities broke out with Spain. We will therefore avert our view from foreign affairs, and confine ourselves to the leading domestic events during the first two periods of his ministry, namely, from the king's accession to the resignation of lord Townshend (1730), and thence to the death of the queen (1737).

The ministerial majority in the house of commons was considerable; but there was a strong opposition composed of three sections. These were, the disaffected whigs headed by William Pulteney, a man of high character and great abilities, supported by sir John Barnard, Sandys, Pitt, Littleton, and the Grenvilles; the Tories, about one hundred and ten in number, chiefly country gentlemen, led by sir William Wyndham; and the Jacobites, who counted fifty, under the honest and consistent Shippen. The principal supporters of the minister were his brother Horace Walpole, lord Hervey, sir William Yonge, Henry Pelham, and Mr. Winnington. In the *Craftsman*, a periodical conducted by Bolingbroke, aided by Pulteney, the opposition had a powerful organ of offence.

Various attacks were made on the ministry on the subjects of the standing army (the great bugbear of the age) and the subsidies paid to some of the petty sovereigns of Germany; but they were always repelled by numbers if not by arguments. On the subject of pensions the minister felt his position less tenable, and he found it necessary to vary his tactics.

Those who expect to find a popular assembly like our house of commons inaccessible to corruption, may, with equal hopes of success, go in quest of the philosopher's stone, the *elixir vitæ*, or any other of the wonders by which from time to time the credulity of mankind has been abused. Human nature is ever similar to itself, and the noble-minded, the disinterested,

and the honourable are always a small minority among mankind. From the Restoration, when it first became permanent, the house of commons has always contained a large portion of venality within its walls, though the phases have been different. Direct bribes in hard cash were the first and simplest course, and this continued long to prevail; pensions, which are of a similar nature, gradually came into operation; the last phase is places for self or family and friends, the newest form of which has been, that of the appointment of needless commissions with large salaries to commissioners.

It was against the system of pensions that the opposition now directed its efforts. There were already acts incapacitating the holders of them from sitting in the house of commons; but they had proved useless, as government would not tell who had pensions, and the amount of secret-service money was considerable. Mr. Sandys therefore brought in a bill (1730), by which every member was to swear that he did not hold a pension, and that in case of his accepting one he would make it known to the house within fourteen days. This the king called a 'villanous bill;' but Walpole would not incur the odium, of opposing it, and it passed the commons by a majority of ten. But, as he expected, it was thrown out in the lords, and its fate was similar whenever it was brought in again.

Shortly after the rejection of the pension-bill a partial change took place in the ministry. Lord Townshend and Walpole, though brothers-in-law, had been for some time at variance on questions of foreign and domestic policy; their tempers were opposite; the former being frank, haughty, and impetuous; the latter cool, calm, and pliant. They have, not unaptly, been compared to Mark Antony and Augustus, lady Townshend being their Octavia. But she was now dead; and Townshend, finding his influence inferior to that of Walpole, gave in his resignation. He retired to his paternal seat of Rainham in Norfolk, where he devoted himself to agriculture, and abandoned politics so completely that he never even revisited the capital. The two secretaries now were Pelham, duke of Newcastle, and Stanhope, lately created earl of Harrington.

Sir Robert Walpole far outwent his contemporaries in the knowledge of the true principles of finance and trade; and having had ample information of the ruinous extent to which the practice of smuggling had been carried in consequence of the defective state of the laws of the customs, he formed a

grand scheme for abolishing the land-tax, preventing fraud, increasing the revenue, simplifying the taxes and collecting them at the least possible expense. This was what was called the Excise-scheme, of which Dean Tucker, a most competent judge, asserts that the effect would have been the making "the whole island one general free-port, and a magazine and common store-house for the nation."

Walpole's plan, which he introduced in an uncommonly able and lucid speech (Mar. 7, 1733), was in effect what is now termed the warehousing and bonding system, of the advantages of which no one can have a doubt. He confined himself to the article of tobacco; proposing that it should, when imported, be deposited in warehouses after paying a small duty, the remaining duty to be paid when the article was sold, thus converting custom into excise. Nothing, it is plain, could be more rational than this plan; yet never did a measure encounter more violent opposition. The word *excise* was odious in the ears of the people, and the Craftsman had been for some time ringing the changes on the evils and dangers of it; those engaged in the smuggling trade were numerous beyond conception; the opposition, ignorant or factious, exerted themselves to the utmost, and recurring, after a long interval, to the tactics of 1641 for getting up a 'pressure from without,' they actually employed the parish officers to procure a large number of people to assemble about the house to overawe the supporters of the minister. Walpole furnished a handle to his opponents by giving in his speech their true name, that of *sturdy beggars*, to these supplicants, who were near tearing him to pieces as he was leaving the house.

The minister's motion for a repeal of the subsidy and additional duty on tobacco was carried by a majority of sixty-one; but so many of his supporters were daunted by the popular clamour, that though the bill was read a first time, he resolved to abandon it. At a meeting of his party, where the general voice was for perseverance, he said, that "in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; that there would be an end of the liberty of England if supplies were to be raised by the sword;" and that if they persisted, he would resign. This declaration ended the affair; the bill was abandoned; rejoicings and illuminations took place all over the kingdom; the minister was burnt in effigy; cockades were worn inscribed with

Rewards were offered in vain, for no discoveries were ever made.

Two events of great importance to the royal family occurred in the year 1737—a quarrel between the king and the prince of Wales, and the death of the queen.

From the Revolution down to the present day, it seems to be like a principle of the constitution that the heir to the throne should be at enmity with its possessor. The cause of this is perhaps rather to be found in human nature, and in the state of political parties, than in any peculiar moral obliquity of the house of Brunswick. The actuating cause has usually been, the prince of Wales' desire for an increase of income, the opposition assuring him that he is ill-used, and promising to aid him in obtaining it; and the king happening not to be inclined to grant it. So it was in the present case; Frederick prince of Wales, who was lately married to a princess of Saxe Gotha, affecting to think that his income of 60,000*l.* a year was not sufficient, Pulteney moved an address to the king to settle on him 100,000*l.* a year. It was opposed by the minister, but would have been carried were it not for the honourable conduct of forty-five of the tories, who viewing it as unconstitutional, and (rare case!) preferring principle to party, quitted the house in a body before the division. The breach between the king and prince became in consequence irreparable.

On the 20th of November queen Caroline breathed her last. The cause of her death was a rupture, which false delicacy caused her to conceal till it was too late. This excellent princess, only surpassed by the matchless Elizabeth, was a pattern of both the public and the private virtues. During the king's frequent absences on the continent she held the reins of government, which always were committed to her, with a firm and steady hand: sincerely and rationally religious, she attended carefully to the interests of the church, and the names of Butler, Clarke, Secker, Sherlock, Hare, Hoadley, and others favoured or preferred by her, speak her praise. The king was deeply affected by her death, and in her Walpole lost his main support.

The state of internal and external tranquillity which that minister made it his task to maintain, was not allowed to continue. For many years the merchants had been making complaints of the injuries done to our trade in the West Indies by the right of search for contraband goods exercised by the Spanish *Guarda-costas*, or guardships, and the cruel treatment

experienced by our mariners; in other words, that the Spanish government, whether wisely or not, exercised its undoubted rights, and that attempts were made to suppress the extensive smuggling trade which they carried on with the Spanish colonies. The opposition, glad of an opportunity to embarrass the minister*, joined heartily in the cry; papers were moved for, witnesses were examined before the house, and resolutions were passed†. Various attempts were made by Walpole to settle the matter by negotiation; at length (1739), rather than part with his power, which he loved too much, he resolved to act contrary to his better judgement, and yield to the public will. War was therefore declared against Spain, an event which filled the nation with joy and exultation.

Admiral Vernon, a brave but presumptuous and self-sufficient officer, who commanded in the West Indies, with a squadron of six ships of war, took, plundered, and destroyed Porto Bello (Nov. 21). His success having given a false idea of his abilities, he was selected to command an expedition on a large scale against Carthagena, having on board a body of land-forces under general Wentworth. It however proved a total failure‡.

A squadron, under commodore Anson, was sent to sea in September 1740 in order to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific ocean. The history of this celebrated voyage must be familiar to the minds of most persons. We need therefore only notice the dreadful ravages committed by the scurvy; the furious

* "Some years after," says Burke, "it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no not one, did in the least defend the measure or attempt to justify their conduct, which they as freely condemned as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned." Thomson's poem of 'Britannia' will serve to show how generous and noble minds were deceived at this time.

† The 'Fable of Jenkins' ears,' as Burke calls it, was of great service. This was a Scottish master of a ship who said that seven years before he was taken by a Spaniard, who besides treating him with great cruelty in other respects cut off one of his ears, and bid him carry it to his king, whom he would serve in the same way if he were there. "I then," said Jenkins, "recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country." The story produced such an effect that Pulteney declared that the very name of Jenkins would raise volunteers. Jenkins always carried the ear about him wrapped in cotton. Some said he had lost it on a very different occasion.

‡ Smollet, who was present, gives a graphic account of this failure in his 'Roderick Random.'

tempest encountered in the straits of Le Maire, in which the *Wager* was wrecked, and the *Pearl* and the *Severn* forced to return to Rio Janeiro. After a short stay at the island of Juan Fernandez to recover his men, Anson, with his two remaining ships, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*, proceeded along the coast of Peru capturing the Spanish traders, and he took and burned the town of Paita. To capture the galleons from Manila, he sailed with the *Centurion* alone (being obliged to burn the *Gloucester*) across the Pacific. He stopped to refresh his crew at the isle of Tinian, and then proceeded to Canton in China. He afterwards captured a galleon immensely rich, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, being the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe since the time of Drake. He arrived on the 15th of June, 1744, after an absence of nearly four years.

The success of this unjust war was not answerable to the wishes of those who had urged it on. British trade suffered from the Spanish privateers, and the French gave symptoms of an intention to share in the contest. The blame of course was thrown on the minister, and the opposition now resolved to make a strenuous effort for his overthrow. Sandys moved (Feb. 13, 1741), after a long speech, for an address to his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils for ever; Pulteney exerted all his eloquence in favour of the motion; but the minister was supported not only by his own friends but by several of the Tories who regarded the motion as tending to an inquisitorial system, and Shippen left the house at the head of thirty-four of his adherents. After an able reply from Walpole, it was negatived by a large majority; the same was the fate of a similar motion in the lords.

A dissolution succeeded. Walpole is said to have relaxed in his usual exertions on these occasions, while all branches of the opposition made the utmost efforts; even the Pretender wrote, directing his adherents to labour strenuously against the obnoxious minister. There was also a schism in the cabinet, many of his colleagues being his secret foes. In the new parliament the proceedings on contested elections (then, as now, decided by party-spirit rather than justice) showed the minister that his power was gone; and when that of Chippenham was decided against him (Feb. 3, 1742) he declared to the successful candidate that he would never again sit in that house. An adjournment followed; Walpole was created earl of Orford (9th), and two days after he resigned. The king

accepted his resignation with tears, and never ceased to repose his confidence in him. An attempt made by a secret committee of the commons for an inquiry into his conduct, for the purpose of fixing on him a charge of corruption and peculation, failed. Lord Orford died of the stone, on the 16th of March, 1745, in the 69th year of his age.

As a minister, Walpole was prudent and safe rather than brilliant. He loved peace; he was adverse to innovation, but a promoter of gradual improvement; to the commerce and revenue of the country his services were most valuable; and his wise administration produced that national vigour and prosperity which led to the dazzling greatness of a future ministry. Walpole was a staunch whig, never swerving from the principles of the revolution; he was also an honourable man; and the charges of organising and governing by corruption made against him are, if not false, grossly exaggerated, and at all events more the reproach of those whose selfish venality obliged the minister to have recourse to such means than of the minister who employed them. Walpole had his faults, no doubt; like a minister of our own days for example, he heaped places on his own family, and justified his conduct in the same manner. He was, like most ministers, too much in love with office and its power and patronage; he was also extremely jealous of any ability among his colleagues, and therefore promoted only men of moderate capacity. His estimate of human nature was low, and he had a thorough contempt for mankind*. In his conversation, he was gross and indelicate; and he was licentious with respect to women. He was profuse and riotous in his style of living; he collected pictures at a great expense, but he had little taste for literature, and, unfortunately for his fame, he never patronized men of letters.

The construction of the new ministry was entrusted to Pulteney, whose movements are said to have been secretly controlled by Walpole. The tories were excluded from it; it was composed of Newcastle and other members of the Walpole ministry, with lord Carteret, Sandys, and a few others. For himself, Pulteney would take no office; all he required was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet; and he was created earl of Bath. But those who were disappointed became his bitter

* "All men have their price" is a saying ascribed to Walpole, but Coxé says the words he used were "all *those* men have their price," alluding to the pseudo-patriots. For some just remarks on Walpole's character, see Lord Mahon's Hist. of England.

enemies ; he was charged with treachery and corruption ; he was lampooned in ballads ; and he found himself powerless in the cabinet. He had dearly purchased his triumph over Walpole.

We may here take a view of some of the leading political characters who mark the last twenty years of the reign of George II.

Lord Carteret (who on the death of his mother became earl of Granville) was a man of genius, of high talents, of great eloquence, but he was impatient of details, and wanted discretion. Murray (afterwards lord Mansfield) was also a man of considerable talent and eloquence, with a most accurate mind and a sound judgement, but inclining a little to the side of power. William Pitt, the second son of a Cornish gentleman, after having been educated at Eton and Oxford, embraced a military life and obtained a cornetcy of horse ; but being impeded in his profession by an hereditary gout, he devoted himself to politics, and entered parliament in 1735 as member for Old Sarum. He at once joined the opposition to Walpole, who deprived him of his cornetcy the following year*. Pitt's extraordinary eloquence made him early conspicuous. Henry Fox, also a second son, being the younger brother of lord Ilchester, was the opposite and the rival of Pitt. His eloquence, unlike that of his opponent, was embarrassed and unornamented, but his reasoning was close and vigorous, and he proved a most able debater. Charles second son of lord Townshend, and Henry second son of lord Conway, were both distinguished for talent ; the former was brilliant but ambitious, restless and unsteady ; the latter cool, calm, modest and amiable. Another younger son of much parliamentary talent was Legge, son of lord Dartmouth. George (afterwards lord) Lyttleton, and his cousins lord Temple and George and James Grenville†, were also men of parliamentary importance. Sir John Barnard, one of the members for the city of London, was Walpole's most formidable opponent on questions of trade. Sandys was noted for his restless propensity for making motions, whence he was named the Motion-maker. George Bubb Doddington was a man of much talent but little principle. Lord Egmont and many others were able speakers. Toward the end of the reign, alderman Beckford, of the city of London, became some-

* Walpole tried first to gain him. He declared that he would be glad at any rate "to muzzle that terrible young cornet."

† Pitt married a sister of the Grenvilles.

what conspicuous; but he was not a man of a high order of abilities.

The country was now engaged in a continental war also. The Silesian War, that unprincipled attempt of Frederick II. of Prussia to rob the queen of Hungary of a part of her dominions, had commenced in 1741; and as, by what was termed the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the succession to all his dominions to the heirs general of the emperor Charles, the king of England was bound to supply a force of 12,000 men, the queen now called on him to perform his engagement. A subsidy of 300,000*l.* had therefore been granted. France having joined the confederacy against the queen, a British army of 16,000 men, under lord Stair, was sent to co-operate with the Austrians in Flanders; and the king himself, eager for military glory, joined it in June 1743. The allied forces of 40,000 men, on their march from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, found themselves, on approaching the village of Dettingen on the banks of the Main, opposed by a much larger French army under marshal Noailles. Retreat also was cut off by the vigilance of the French general, and nothing seemed to remain but to surrender, when (June 26) the imprudence of the duke of Grammont, the marshal's nephew, gave them an opportunity of fighting, and the French were forced to cross the Main, with a loss of from 5000 to 6000 men killed, wounded and taken; that of the allies amounted to about 2000. The king of England, though now sixty years of age, had shown in the engagement all the fire and heroism of youth.

France and England were not, properly speaking, as yet at war, but the next year they mutually declared it. In the spring of 1745 a numerous French army under marshal Saxe, but in which the king and dauphin were present, laid siege to Tournay. The allies, under the duke of Cumberland, son of the king of England, advanced to its relief. Though their numbers were much inferior, it was resolved to attack the French, who were posted near the village of Fontenoy. The action began at nine in the morning (April 30). The British and Hanoverian infantry, advancing under a tremendous fire, drove the French beyond their lines; but the Dutch failed on the left. Some errors were committed by the English commanders; Saxe brought up his reserve; the English were environed; a tremendous fire of artillery was poured on them from all parts; and the allies were obliged to retire, with the loss of 10,000 men. The French purchased their victory by a loss of

men nearly equal, but they became masters of Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other towns.

For many years the Pretender had been treated with neglect by the continental powers, but now the French cabinet resolved to use him as a means of alarming the court of St. James's, and perhaps causing a revolution in England, where there was abundance of discontent and very few troops. As the jacobite spirit was still vigorous in the highlands of Scotland, it was determined to commence in that part. The Pretender himself being old and infirm, the task of contending for the British crown was committed to his son, prince Charles Edward, commonly called the young Chevalier. He sailed from France (July 14) in a small frigate, attended by the marquess of Tullibardine and some Scottish and Irish adventurers, and reached the Western Isles, whence he passed over to the Highlands, and being joined by several of the clans, he raised his standard at Glensinnen (Aug. 19). Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, having marched with his troops to Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern counties defenceless, the Chevalier made a rapid march to Perth, where his father was proclaimed king; he then advanced to Dundee, passed the Forth near Stirling, Edinburgh opened her gates, and he took up his abode in Holyrood-house, the ancient palace of his fathers. Cope having embarked his troops at Aberdeen, landed at Dunbar, where he was joined by two regiments of dragoons which had retired from Edinburgh. His force was now about 3000 men, and he was advancing toward the capital, when at the village of Preston-pans (Sept. 21) he was attacked early in the morning by the Chevalier, at the head of between 2000 and 3000 of the clansmen. The rout of the king's troops was instantaneous and complete: the dragoons fled, the infantry were all killed or taken; the baggage, ammunition, and artillery fell into the hands of the victors.

The Chevalier had been joined by some of the nobility, such as lords Nairn, Strathallan, Kilmarnock, Balmérino, and Pittsligo, and lords Elcho and Ogilvie, the sons of the earls of Wemyss and Airlie, but they were none of them of any weight in the country. The unprincipled Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was a man of more influence; but all the great nobility and most potent heads of clans remained faithful to the government. The presbyterians were to a man in favour of the house of Brunswick. The jacobite party in England was perfectly inactive; the kingdom in general evinced a strong feeling of

loyalty; troops were recalled from Flanders; the Dutch furnished, as bound by treaty, 6000 men; the train-bands were arrayed, and volunteer corps were formed.

The adventurer, whose forces did not exceed 5000 men, resolved to try his fortune in England. As Newcastle was occupied by general Wade, he entered it by the west border (Nov. 6). Carlisle surrendered. He pushed on rapidly, for he was assured that a French force would be landed on the south coast. At Manchester (29th) he was received with every demonstration of joy. He thence marched to Derby (Dec. 4), but here his progress terminated. He found to his mortification, that few had joined him, that there were two armies superior to his own in his rear, and that, though he might possibly defeat the train-bands and other troops under the royal standard on Finchley-common and enter the capital, ultimate ruin must await him. The word was given to return (6th); and, in spite of all the efforts of the royal commanders, he reached Carlisle without loss (19th). Leaving there his English adherents, he hastened to Glasgow, where he levied heavy contributions. He finally fixed his head-quarters at Perth; and, being joined by the earl of Crómartly with 2000 men, and some others, he laid siege to Stirling-castle. General Hawley advanced from Edinburgh to its relief. At Falkirk (Jan. 17, 1746) he was attacked and routed by the insurgents, with a loss of about 300 men. At the approach of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the rebels raised the siege, and the duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he remained till April. As the enemy was at Inverness, he crossed the Spey and advanced to Nairn; learning there that the Chevalier was at Cullóden, about nine miles distant, he prepared for battle. On reaching that place next day (April 16), he found the rebels, to the number of 4000, prepared to engage his far superior force. The battle commenced at one o'clock, and in thirty minutes the rebels were driven off the field. Orders had been issued to give no quarter, yet the loss of the vanquished in killed and wounded did not exceed 1200 men. The victory was tarnished by a cruelty disgraceful to the duke and his cause: numbers of innocent people were put to death, or exposed to the brutality of a licentious soldiery; and when, in the next month, the duke advanced into the Highlands, the men were slaughtered, the women violated, the cattle and provisions carried off, the houses burnt and the country converted into a desert.

The adventures of the unfortunate Chevalier were romantic and affecting. A reward of 30,000*l.* was set on his head; he was hunted through the mountains and islands; he endured every kind of privation, assumed every species of disguise; had to confide in the fidelity of people of all orders, yet not a single individual was so base as to betray him—conduct which confers lasting honour on the Highland character. At length (Sept. 20) he embarked on board a French privateer, and reached France in safety.

The earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Cromarty, and lord Lovat (that veteran in iniquity) were tried for high-treason and convicted. Cromarty was pardoned, the others were beheaded, the last instances of decapitation in England. About fifty persons (most of them officers) were executed in England, and more than double that number in Scotland. The hopes of the exiled family were now at an end; the feelings of the British nation had been fairly tested, and their claims had been rejected. Henceforth jacobitism became merely a name only expressive of discontent with the government. *

Since the resignation of Walpole the prime minister had been the able and brilliant lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, but in the end of the year 1744 he had to yield to the influence and the manœuvres of his colleagues, the duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham. The new ministry, of which Pelham was the head, was a kind of coalition called the Broad Bottom administration, as it included all parties, tories as well as whigs. William Pitt, already distinguished, and soon to be glorious, now took office for the first time, as paymaster of the forces. The lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was conferred on the accomplished earl of Chesterfield.

In the year 1748, a general peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle; France and England remaining as they were, the house of Austria losing, the king of Prussia being the only real gainer. The English had in the preceding year sustained their naval reputation by two victories, but on each occasion they were superior in force. Admirals Anson and Warren (May 3) engaged the squadron of M. De la Jonquière, and took, after a gallant action, all the ships of the enemy. For this service Anson was raised to the peerage, and Warren made a knight of the Bath. Admiral Hawke likewise defeated (Oct. 14) the French admiral De l'Étendeur, and took six ships of the line. The order of the Bath was conferred on this gallant officer also.

A few years of peace ensued, during which England lost by

death Frederick prince of Wales and the minister Mr. Pelham. The prince was in his forty-fifth year when he died, of a pleurisy (Mar. 20, 1751), and his eldest son George, a minor, became the heir-apparent. Mr. Pelham died in March 1754, sincerely regretted by the king and people, as an upright, honourable and useful minister. His brother, the duke of Newcastle, a man of far inferior abilities, assumed the guidance of the administration.

Among the bills passed under the auspices of Pelham, may be noticed that for the reformation of the calendar. This had been done in the sixteenth century by pope Gregory XIII., but the English were too zealous protestants to adopt a papal improvement, and they continued to begin the year on the 25th of March, and were always eleven days behind in their reckoning. It was now directed that the year should begin on the 1st of January, and that the day after the 2nd of September, 1752, should be called the 14th. By an act passed in 1752, the British Museum was formed; the collection of sir Hans Sloane, the Harleian manuscripts, and the Cottonian and Westminster libraries being purchased by the nation.

The original cause of the war which ensued between France and England was the extensive designs of the French in America. The British colonies, by their charters, were granted the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but the French, who had settled on the St. Lawrence to the north, and on the Mississippi to the south of them, denied their claims, insisting that their natural boundary was the range of mountains running within one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles of the east coast; and they formed a grand plan of connecting their provinces of Canada in the north, and Louisiana in the south, by a chain of forts, and thus cutting the English off from the great lakes, and from the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The remonstrances of the British government being disregarded both in America and at the Tuilleries, orders were sent out to the colonies to employ force, and an expedition under major Washington of Virginia proceeded to the Ohio, but was compelled to surrender to a superior force of French and Indians (1754).

Early in the next year (1755) general Braddock was sent out to America with a body of troops, to act against the French on the Ohio. He was joined by the provincials under Washington; but he held them in utter contempt, and would not listen to the advice of their sagacious leader respecting the

mode of carrying on war in the woods of America*. He moved on as heedlessly as if he was marching over the plains of Flanders or Germany, till one day at noon (July 9), when they were in the midst of the woods, the war-whoop assailed their ears, and a heavy fire was poured on their front and flank. The enemies were unseen; instead of trying to dislodge them from their covert, Braddock, as if engaged with a regular army, sought only to make his men, who were thrown into confusion, form again; at length he was mortally wounded; the regular troops then turned and fled; the provincials formed the rear, and saved them from destruction, Washington displaying the coolness and skill of a veteran commander.

During this summer the French received a check from a provincial colonel Johnson on the shore of Lake George, but the next year they succeeded in taking Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario.

In 1756 a general war commenced. It was named the Seven Years' War from its duration, and it presented the hitherto unexampled appearance of a strict union between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, supported by Russia and Sweden. Their opponents were England and Prussia, whom community of interest united; France aiming at the depression of the former, Austria seeking to recover Silesia from the latter.

War was formally declared against France by England in the month of May. As various acts of hostility had previously been committed, the French in *their* manifesto loudly complained of British perfidy; but France had already commenced assembling an extensive army and flotilla on her northern coast, for the invasion of England. The consternation which prevailed was extreme, and the ministry found it necessary to recur to the expedient in use for the last half-century, namely, calling in the aid of foreigners, and a body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops was brought over. But while the eyes of the nation were thus fixed on the opposite side of the channel, it was ascertained that an expedition was fitting out at Toulon. Admiral Byng forthwith was despatched (Apr. 7) to the Mediterranean, and on arriving at Gibraltar, he learned that a French fleet of thirteen sail of the line under M. De la Galissonnière, with transports carrying 15,000 troops, had reached

* "Silence, sir," said he; "things have come to a pretty pass when a British general is to be instructed by a Virginia Buckskin." The insolent superiority assumed by officers and officials over the colonists was one of the causes of the loss of the colonies.

Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip. Byng, when joined by the ships at Gibraltar, had a squadron equal in number to that of the enemy, but from contrary winds it took him ten days to reach Minorca. The British flag was still flying on St. Philip's castle, which was gallantly defended by general Blakeney, and next day (May 19) the French fleet was seen to the south-east. At noon on the following day, Byng, having the advantage of the wind, made the signal to engage, and admiral West, who commanded the van, closed with the enemy; but Byng, in his anxiety to preserve the line of battle according to the tactics of those times, did not support him, and the French admiral bore away toward evening and was out of sight next morning. In a council of war, it was resolved to return to Gibraltar to refit; the French fleet then resumed its station off the island. Blakeney finally (June 18) surrendered on most honourable terms, and Minorca was thus lost to England.

A letter of Galissonière, communicated to the Spanish resident at London, gave the first account of Byng's action in England. Without looking beyond the Frenchman's gasconade, the ministry forthwith despatched admirals Hawke and Saunders to supersede Byng and West, and send them home under arrest. The public indignation rose to a great height, Byng was burnt in effigy in all the great towns, and his seat in Hertfordshire was attacked by a mob. When it was known that Minorca was lost, various addresses from the city of London and other places, calling for justice on the culpable, were presented to the king, and the timid ministers did all in their power to shift the odium from themselves, and place it on the unfortunate admiral.

Byng arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th of July. He was forthwith made a close prisoner, and sent under a strong guard to the capital. He was confined in Greenwich-hospital, the brutal governor of which, admiral Townshend, shut him up in one of the garrets, with only a deal table and chair in it, and had the windows and even the chimney secured with iron bars, as if the prisoner would attempt an escape.

While Byng lay in confinement, the press was busily occupied in attacking or defending him. Dr. Samuel Johnson lent the aid of his powerful mind to the cause of the admiral, while the hireling pen of David Mallet (a writer of all work) was employed by the ministry to exasperate the public against him. A change of administration took place, but this did not affect

the condition of Byng. He was brought before a court-martial on board the *St. George*, at Portsmouth (Dec. 28), and after a long trial it was determined that he fell under a part of the 12th Article of War, in not having done his utmost to take or destroy the ships of the enemy and assist those of his majesty. The penalty of this article was death, but the court, acquitting him of cowardice or disaffection, strongly recommended him to mercy. But unfortunately the lords of the admiralty, in their application to the king, instead of appealing to his mercy, stated that the court doubted the legality of the sentence (which they did not): the case was then referred to the judges, who decided that it was legal, and the lords of the admiralty were therefore obliged to sign a warrant for his execution.

At noon on the appointed day (Mar. 14, 1757), Byng, having taken leave of his friends, came on the quarter-deck; he handed a paper to a friend, sat down on a chair, bandaged his own eyes, gave the signal to the marines, and dropped dead, pierced by five bullets; the whole transaction having occupied only three minutes.

The execution of admiral Byng was, to give it its proper appellation, a judicial murder; perpetrated to gratify the senseless clamour of the people, excited and kept up by a timid inefficient ministry, anxious to avert blame and punishment from themselves. The man of greatest influence in the cabinet at the time when it took place no doubt was Mr. Pitt, and both he and his colleagues were anxious to save the admiral and did all in their power; but they were unable to counteract the influence of the late ministers over the mind of the king*.

We have said that Mr. Pitt was minister. In fact changes of a curious nature had of late been taking place in the administration. When in November 1755 the address was moved in reply to the king's speech, in which it was stated that he had concluded subsidiary treaties with Russia and Hesse Cassel, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, though both in office, opposed it. The former showed the absurdity of attempting to defend Hanover at a ruinous expense, and maintained that the war ought to be solely a naval one, and he spoke in very disparaging terms of the electorate. The address however was carried, and Pitt, Legge, and G. Grenville were forthwith dismissed (20th), and J. Grenville resigned. Mr. Fox, the secretary, was then almost the sole stay of the ministry, the duke of Newcastle being

* See Walpole, *Last Years of George II.* ii. 152. Waldegrave's *Memoirs*, p. 91.

merely the ostensible head. But when the loss of Minorca had exasperated the nation, a change of ministry became unavoidable, and in November 1756 Pitt returned triumphantly to office as principal secretary of state; the duke of Devonshire being first lord of the treasury, and Legge chancellor of the exchequer. Still though Pitt delivered and supported a message to the house of commons, asking for supplies for the maintenance of an army in Hanover, he could not conciliate the court, and in April 1757 he was unceremoniously dismissed; Legge and Grenville resigned of course, and Fox regained the ascendant. But petitions were poured in from all quarters, and the national feeling in favour of Pitt was so unequivocally manifested, that Fox would not venture to resist it. Pitt and Legge therefore resumed their stations, Newcastle became once more their nominal chief, and Fox obtained the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces. All opposition in parliament was now at an end, Pitt had the entire conduct of the war, and thus commenced an administration one of the most brilliant in our annals.

It almost amazes one to read in the contemporary memoirs and letters, of the degree of despondency and dejection to which the public mind had been reduced by the late untoward events of the war. On the other hand it is cheering to behold the magic influence of genius and high-toned ambition and public spirit. At the voice of Pitt despondency fled and hope and zeal revived. Money was liberally contributed, for the confidence in the minister was unbounded. Expeditions were judiciously planned, and officers were selected for command from merit, and not from family or parliamentary interest, and success in consequence crowned their efforts.

This happy condition of things could not, however, be brought about all at once. It took some time to renovate and regulate the machine of war. Mr. Pitt was also too much attached to the absurd system of seeking to injure France by descents on her coasts, and his operations in this way proved utterly unsuccessful.

A powerful expedition sent in September against Rochefort, under sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt, proved a total failure. The chief blame was laid on the general, but a court-martial acquitted him. Meantime in Germany, the duke of Cumberland, at the head of 40,000 Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, being hemmed in by the French between the sea and the rivers Elbe and Weser, actually capitulated at Closter-Seven, and the electorate was thus given up

to the French. In America the marquess de Montcalm, governor of Canada, had taken Fort William-Henry, on the shore of Lake George, and thus obtained the command of the entire range of the lakes.

The following year (1758) the tide of war began to turn in favour of England. Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst took the island of Cape Breton in America. On the coast of Africa the French settlements at the Senegal and Goree were also reduced. Another of those expeditions to which Mr. Pitt was so much attached was sent to the north coast of France: it landed at Concale, whence it advanced to St. Malo, where it destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but as the enemy was collecting a large force, the troops were re-embarked and the fleet moved on to Cherbourg. A hard gale which came on prevented their landing at that place, and the expedition returned to St. Helens. These expeditions, in which the cost was great and the damage done to the enemy trifling, were not unaptly styled 'A scheme to break windows with guineas.'

The year 1759 is one of the most glorious in the naval and military annals of England. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean, where he was blockading the port of Toulon, being obliged to retire to Gibraltar for water and repairs, the Toulon fleet under M. De la Clue came out with the hope of being able to pass the straits. They succeeded in their object; but they were descried off the coast of Barbary; and Boscawen, though he did not hear of it till seven in the evening and most of his ships had their topmasts struck and sails unbent, by great exertions got to sea by ten that night. Next day (Aug. 10) he came up with them and took one ship, and the following day, off the bay of Lagos, he destroyed the admiral's ship, the Ocean, and three others. Sir Edward Hawke had during the summer and autumn blockaded the port of Brest. In November (9th) a violent gale of wind having forced him to take shelter at Torbay, the French admiral M. De Conflans took the opportunity to come out; but that very day (14th) the English fleet sailed from Torbay, and admiral Hawke, on learning that the French were at sea, went in pursuit of them. On the 20th they were seen in pursuit of an English squadron which had been stationed in Quiberon-bay. The action commenced at half-past two, and in this and the following day six of the enemy's ships were destroyed, the remainder escaping into the Vilaine and to Rochefort.

But it was in America that the greatest triumph was achieved.

General Amherst having taken the field, the French abandoned the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on the lakes, at his approach, and that of Niagara was taken by general Johnson. A plan had been formed for the invasion and conquest of Canada by three simultaneous expeditions which were to meet under the walls of Quebec; but Amherst thought it too late in the season to advance, and only one of them appeared before that city. This was the one from Cape Breton, the fleet being commanded by admiral Saunders, the troops by major-general Wolfe, an officer, though young, of high reputation. It reached its destination on the 26th of June, but found the French army so advantageously posted that success seemed very dubious.

The city of Quebec stands on and at the foot of a lofty rock, which runs parallel to the stream on the left bank of the river St. Lawrence; behind it is the river St. Charles, between which and that of Montmorenci, his rear defended by dense woods, Montcalm lay encamped with 10,000 men.

An attack on the French camp having failed (July 31), the English lay for some time inactive, and the mind of their gallant general was deeply depressed. At length he formed the daring project of scaling the Heights of Abraham (as the rocky plain on which the city stands is named) at its further extremity. The troops were therefore landed in the night (Sept. 12)*, and by the aid of the projecting rocks and trees they attained the summit, and when daylight came they formed in line of battle (13th). Montcalm instantly led back his troops to the defence of the town, and a smart engagement ensued. In the action both the generals were mortally wounded. Wolfe, as he lay expiring, hearing the cry of "They fly, they fly!" asked, "Who fly?" On being told the French, "Then," said he, "I depart content," and expired. Quebec surrendered, and in the following year Montreal capitulated to general Amherst, and the conquest of Canada was thus completed.

In this year also was fought (Aug. 1) the great battle of Minden, in which the English infantry covered themselves with glory, while the blame of the victory's not being more complete was laid on the inactivity of lord George Sackville who commanded the cavalry of the right wing. By sentence

* As Wolfe was going up the river he lay wrapped in his cloak in the boat repeating Gray's Elegy. When he had finished it he said to the officer who was sitting next him, "I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French tomorrow."

of a court-martial in the following year this officer was dismissed the service, and his name was struck out of the list of privy-councillors.

The British arms were also successful at this time in India, and the foundations were laid of the future enormous Anglo-Indian empire.

On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly of an apoplectic fit at the palace of Kensington, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was succeeded by his grandson of the same name.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE III.

1760–1784.

MANY circumstances conspired to give happy presages for the reign of the new monarch. The fame of the nation never stood so high; all danger from intestine commotion was at an end, the spirit of jacobitism being totally extinct; the king himself, now in his twenty-third year, was English by birth and education, had never been out of the country, and had therefore no German predilections. He was affable and polished in manners, and virtuous and sincerely pious in sentiments; but by his mother and by lord Bute, a Scottish nobleman who had been placed about him, rather high notions of prerogative had been instilled into his mind.

The young king met his parliament on the 18th of November. In his speech from the throne he declared his resolution of continuing the war, and called on them to aid him in prosecuting it. The addresses were dutiful and warlike. A civil list of 800,000*l.* a year was granted, the king allowing parliament to regulate the hereditary revenues of the crown. When the parliament was prorogued preparatory to its dissolution*

* During this session, at the royal recommendation, the clause of the Act of Settlement for continuing the judges during their good behaviour was extended, as by it they were liable to be removed on the demise of the crown. Henceforth they have held their office for life, *dum bene se gesserint*.

(Mar. 19, 1761), a partial change took place in the ministry, the earl of Bute becoming secretary of state in place of lord Holderness, a selfish, worthless man, who received a pension and the reversion of a lucrative place for his resignation. Mr. Legge was dismissed, and sir Francis Dashwood, a tory, made chancellor of the exchequer in his place. It was the secret intention of the court gradually to form a tory administration with lord Bute at its head. For this, among other reasons, peace was desired, as Mr. Pitt, who was the great object of apprehension, could not well be removed while the war lasted.

The war however was still prosecuted, and an expedition under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson succeeded in taking the isle of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany (June 7). The island of Dominica in the West-Indies was also reduced.

France had hitherto been a great sufferer by the war; for she made no progress in Germany, she had lost her colonies, and her commerce had nearly been destroyed. She was therefore anxious for a peace with England, and a treaty for that purpose was entered on; but as she required that England should abandon the king of Prussia and make certain concessions to Spain, Mr. Pitt spurned at the proposals. A treaty, named the Family Compact, had been secretly arranged between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, where Charles III. (late king of Naples, and the ablest monarch that Spain has possessed since the days of Philip II.) now reigned. It was signed at this time, and Mr. Pitt, who, it is said, had procured secret information of its contents, which were hostile to England, proposed in the council to recall our ambassador from Madrid and to send a fleet to intercept the Spanish galleons. But the majority of the council rejected the measure, affecting to regard it as contrary to good policy and to justice and honour. Finding he could not prevail on them, the haughty minister exclaimed, "I was called to the administration by the voice of the people; to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct; and therefore I cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." Lord Granville, the president of the council, made a dignified and sensible reply. The secretary repaired to St. James's (Oct. 5) and delivered the seals to the king, who calmly received them, expressing his agreement with the sentiments of the majority of the council, but offering Mr. Pitt any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. The minister was affected; "I confess, sir," said he, "I had

but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir ; it overpowers—it oppresses me.” He burst into tears.

Mr. Pitt accepted a pension of 3000*l.* a year for three lives and a peerage for his wife and her issue. His successor in office was lord Egremont, son of the celebrated sir William Wyndham. His brother-in-law, lord Temple, retired with him.

In the autumn of this year the marriage of the king with the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz took place (Sept. 8). Shortly after (22nd), the splendid ceremony of the coronation was performed with all due magnificence. As both the king and queen were highly moral and decorous in their sentiments and conduct, the court now assumed an aspect of propriety suited to that of a serious and religious nation.

The new minister, however anxious for peace, found it necessary to continue the war with vigour. As the intentions of Spain were no longer concealed, war was formally declared against that power (Jan. 4, 1762). A new change in the British cabinet took place in the following month of May ; the duke of Newcastle resigned, and lord Bute now occupied the post of which he was so covetous, but for which he was utterly unfit, and became the prime minister. The duke of Newcastle, whose fidgetty temper, vanity, jealousy, meanness of spirit, and disregard of promises were the general topics of ridicule, had, by his great wealth, his command of votes in the commons, a certain degree of talent of his own, and the far superior abilities of his late brother, maintained himself in office with little interruption since the year 1724. He now retired with some dignity ; for though he had greatly injured his private property by his zeal for the house of Brunswick, he refused a pension when offered, saying that, “ if he could be no longer permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burden to it.”

With that nice regard to morality of which crowned heads and statesmen have given so many examples, the courts of France and Spain called on the king of Portugal to break through all the ties of gratitude, honour, and interest, and join in the confederacy against England. On his refusal, they both declared war against him, and their troops invaded his kingdom at three several points. The king called on England for aid, which was promptly afforded. English troops were sent to Portugal, where the supreme command was given to the count De la Lippe-Buckeburg, a German prince of high military

character, and the invaders were speedily obliged to recross the frontiers.

An expedition of considerable magnitude, under lord Albemarle and admiral Pocock, had sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March. Its object was to give a heavy blow to the Spanish commerce; its destination was the Havana, in the isle of Cuba, which it reached on the 5th of June. Many difficulties, from climate and from the number of the garrison, the strength of their defences, and the gallantry of their resistance, impeded the operations of the besiegers; but the abilities of the commanders, seconded by the indomitable spirit and courage of their men, overcame them all, and the town at length surrendered (Aug. 14). The loss to Spain was fourteen sail of the line and four frigates taken or destroyed in the harbour, and treasure and merchandise to the amount of three millions sterling. This was perhaps the greatest and richest conquest ever made by the British arms. It was not, however, the only loss sustained by Spain. An expedition from Madras in India, under admiral Cornish and sir William Draper, took Manilla, the capital of the Philippine islands. All the public property was given up to the English, and a ransom of four millions of dollars was agreed to be paid for the private property. Two ships of the British squadron then intercepted and took the Santissima Trinidad, a ship from Acapulco with a cargo worth three millions of dollars. To add to the misfortunes of Spain, the Santa Hermione, from Peru, with treasure on board to the amount of a million sterling, was captured off Cape St. Vincent.

The losses of France this year were the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucie, Tobago, and St. Vincent, in the West-Indies.

These brilliant successes almost turned the head of the nation; visions of glory and wealth floated before the public eye; and the mercantile interest, always selfish (what interest is not?), clamoured loudly for continuing a war by which they were great gainers. The ministry, however, were not so dazzled; they saw that all the objects of the war were gained, the pride of the house of Bourbon was humbled, the king of Prussia was secured; at the same time the expense to England had been, and would be, enormous. The overtures of France for peace were therefore readily listened to; and both parties being in earnest, the preliminaries were readily settled at Fontainebleau (Nov. 3). In spite of the declamation of Mr. Pitt and

his party, they were approved of by large majorities in both houses of parliament, and a treaty was finally signed at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763).

By this treaty, England was to retain all Canada with Cape Breton, and the other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and Louisiana eastward of the Mississippi; in the West-Indies, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago; in Africa, Senegal. She was to receive back Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, and was secured divers advantages in India. Spain ceded to her the two Floridas, gave up all claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and allowed the English to cut logwood on the coast of Honduras. England restored all her other conquests.

England has never concluded a more honourable peace than this, and lord Bute was justified in declaring that "he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than that he was the adviser of it." Mr. Pitt, who, great as he undoubtedly was, had too violent a lust for war, condemned it; the selfish king of Prussia exclaimed against it, as if England were bound to waste her blood and treasure for *his* aggrandisement; but history pronounces the Peace of Fontainebleau an honourable termination of a war which had added seventy-five millions to the national debt of Great Britain.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, lord Bute retired from office. He was never popular; his manners were cold and repulsive; his partiality for his countrymen, the Scots, was extreme; and the outcry against the peace was general. The passing of a bill for an excise on cyder raised the clamour to its height. He therefore resigned a post for which he felt himself unsuited, alleging his preference for domestic life and literary retirement. A new ministry, with Mr. George Grenville at its head, was formed. Sir Francis Dashwood and Mr. Fox were called to the upper house, the former as lord Le Despenser, the latter as lord Holland.

The Grenville administration was unpopular, and it held its power only two years. The dispute with the demagogue Wilkes, which we shall presently relate, and the commencement of that with the American colonies, are the events which most signalise it. In 1765, the duke of Cumberland organised a new ministry on whig principles, with the marquess of Rockingham at its head. But the duke died that very year (Oct. 21); the cabinet was feeble and disunited; it had not the support of the people, and it soon lost the favour of the king. The following year (July 12), his majesty, by the advice of

the chancellor lord Northington, empowered Mr. Pitt to form a ministry.

This great statesman proposed to place lord Temple at the head of the cabinet, but to retain the appointment of all the members of it in his own hands. Lord Temple spurned at such limited power, and Mr. Pitt, baffled in all his attempts to induce influential men to join him, hastily patched up a motley cabinet, which was ingeniously compared by Mr. Burke to an inlaid cabinet, or a tessellated pavement, with "here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies." The duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury, Mr. Charles Townshend was chancellor of the exchequer, the earl of Shelburne and general Conway were the secretaries, lord Camden was chancellor. For himself, on account of his ill health*, Mr. Pitt selected the privy seal, and he was raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Chatham. Finding at length that he could not rule despotically in the cabinet, and that measures of which he disapproved were adopted in his absence, he sent in his resignation (1768), and bade a final adieu to office. In the beginning of the year 1770, the duke of Grafton laid down his power, and lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guildford, who had been chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed his successor; and the administration of this nobleman lasted for twelve years of the most eventful in English history.

When the Grenville administration was formed, a tremendous fire was opened on it from the press. The most destructive battery was a periodical named the North Briton, conducted by John Wilkes, esq., member for Aylesbury, a man of considerable talent, but profligate in character and ruined in fortune. He was, like almost every demagogue, strongly aristocratic in feeling; but being refused a lucrative post, he took up the trade of patriotism, and commenced a series of attacks on the persons and measures of the ministers. Of these they took no notice, till in the XLVth number of his paper he assailed the speech from the throne (Apr. 19, 1763), accusing the king of having uttered direct falsehoods. A *General-warrant* was issued from the office of the secretary of state to seize the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, and

* Mr. Macaulay has shown from various circumstances that Pitt was hardly in his right mind at this time, in consequence of his gout having changed its character.

their papers, and bring them before the secretary. Wilkes was accordingly taken and committed to the Tower. On his application to the court of common pleas for a writ of *Habeas corpus*, it was granted, and chief-justice Pratt having decided that his privilege of parliament (which can only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace) had been violated, he was discharged. The attorney-general then commenced proceedings against him for a libel, and Wilkes, now the idol of the mob, took every mode of courting prosecution. The ministers, instead of leaving the courts of law to deal with him, unwisely brought the matter before the house of commons, by whom No. XLV. of the North Briton was voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel against the king and both houses, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. At the same time, as Wilkes had printed at a press in his own house a poem called an *Essay on Woman*, in which impiety contended with obscenity, and had affixed to the notes on it the name of bishop Warburton, it was voted in the house of lords to address his majesty to order a prosecution against Mr. Wilkes for breach of privilege and for blasphemy. It was very injudiciously arranged that the mover should be lord Sandwich, a man whose own private character was anything but immaculate.

The question of privilege was then taken up in the house of commons, and in spite of the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and in the face of the decision of the court of common pleas, it was decided by a large majority that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writers and publishers of seditious libels. With this decision the house of lords concurred after a long debate.

A riot took place when the attempt was made to burn the North Briton; and when several of the persons who had been arrested brought actions against the messengers, juries gave them damages; Wilkes himself brought actions against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary, and he obtained a verdict against the latter for 1000*l.* and costs. On this occasion chief-justice Pratt pronounced the general warrant to be illegal, and a similar decision by lord Mansfield, the chief-justice of the king's bench, set the question at rest.

Wilkes was expelled the house; he was tried and convicted for publishing No. XLV. and the *Essay on Woman*; and as he did not appear in court to receive sentence, he was outlawed.

He remained in France, whither he had fled, till the duke of Grafton came into office (1768), when a fawning application which he made to that nobleman being treated with silent contempt, he boldly came over on the eve of an election, and stood for the city of London. He was of course the favourite of the rabble; but prone as that constituency generally is to favour demagogues, he was rejected. The ministers, instead of trying to disarm him by clemency, or of crushing him at once by putting his sentence into execution, rested content with his letters to the law officers of the treasury pledging his honour to appear in the court of king's bench. He forthwith stood for Middlesex; and the electors there being chiefly of the lowest class, he was chosen by a large majority. When he surrendered himself he was committed to the king's bench prison; meantime the city was kept in a constant state of terror by the riots of his partisans. It was his boast that he could "halloo the rabble like so many bull-dogs" to any purpose he pleased, by the use of the words 'liberty,' 'arbitrary power,' and similar magic terms.

The court of king's bench reversed Wilkes's sentence of outlawry on account of some irregularity in it, but the two verdicts against him were confirmed, and he was condemned to pay two fines of 500*l.* and be imprisoned for two years. Subscriptions were forthwith raised among his admirers to pay his debts; he received abundance of presents, and his face, which was remarkable for its ugliness, became the ornament of numerous signboards. The demagogue soon after, having got hold of a letter from lord Weymouth, the secretary, to the Surrey magistrates, approving of their conduct in putting down a riot in St. George's-fields, in which some lives were lost, he published it with a preface, calling that affair "a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned;" and as at the bar of the house he claimed the thanks of his country for having set "that bloody scroll" in a proper light, he was expelled the house, and a new writ was ordered for Middlesex.

Every artifice for inflaming the populace was put in requisition, and Wilkes was re-elected; but the house declared him incapable of sitting during that parliament. He was elected again, and again his election was declared to be void. He stood once more, and colonel Luttrell who opposed him was pronounced to be duly elected, though Wilkes had an immense majority of the votes. The needy patriot had already been

relieved by a subscription, and the citizens of London, honouring the mere names of liberty and patriotism in one who disgraced them both, with that absence of real political wisdom characteristic of such bodies, elected him to the dignity of alderman. A political club, named the 'Society for supporting the Bill of Rights,' of which he was a principal member, was formed in 1770, but it was soon discovered that a great part of the funds had been diverted to the payment of the patriot's debts, and to the purchase of an annuity for him. The democratic party, however, still adhered to him; he was lord-mayor in due course, and finally obtained the great object of his ambition, the lucrative post of city-chamberlain.

A rival of Wilkes in the trade of patriotism, but a less fortunate adventurer, was the reverend John Horne. This man had entered the church, it would appear, merely as a profession, and without even a belief in its doctrines; but finding it not to answer his expectations, he abandoned it. A man who has been a teacher of religion, and who, from scruples of conscience, has retired from the sacred profession, should, in our opinion, select some pursuit, medicine for instance, which would harmonise in some measure with that which he had abandoned, if it were only to evince his having acted from pure motives. But Horne had none of this delicacy of feeling; he was ambitious of turbulent distinction; he aimed at being a lawyer and a member of parliament. He ran a career of vice and sedition; was familiar with the walls of prisons, and died a dependent on the bounty of his friends.

It was also at this time that that most powerful, but most unscrupulous of political satirists, who subscribed Junius to his letters, attacked the king and his ministers in the most venomous style. His letters now form a portion of our literature, and are regarded as models in their class of compositions. His secret was never divulged, and ingenuity has long been exercised in the attempt to discover the real author. Upwards of thirty persons, among whom are lord Chatham, lord George Sackville, and Edmund Burke, have been named as such. In our opinion, however, there can be little doubt that they were the composition of sir Philip Francis, the opponent of Hastings in India*.

* See Macaulay's Essay on Hastings, and the Introduction to Bohn's edition of the Letters. Attempts have of late been made to assign them to Thomas lord Lyttleton, to colonel Laughlin Maclean, and to lord Temple, but ingenious arguments and combinations fall down before dates.

At this period, too, Edmund Burke, a native of Ireland, the most profound and philosophic of statesmen, commenced his legislative career, being brought into parliament by lord Rockingham, to whom he was private secretary. As an orator Burke was somewhat ungraceful in manner, and his language was too frequently coarse and virulent; but his speeches teemed with political wisdom, and sparkled with the gems of a rich imagination; and at the present day, when the argumentative or impassioned harangues of his great contemporaries are only subjects of curiosity, those of Burke are studied, like the writings of Aristotle and Machiavelli, as depositories of political wisdom and enlarged philosophy.

The names of general Conway, colonel Barré, sir George Saville, Mr. Dunning, and others, appear as able debaters at this time. Charles James Fox, second son of lord Holland, was made a lord of the admiralty in the North administration, and afterwards (1772) a lord of the treasury; but having opposed the sentiments of lord North, he was dismissed, and he forthwith joined the ranks of the opposition (1774).

It is now our task to narrate an event hitherto nearly unexampled in the annals of the world, an event which every one in whose veins British blood circulates, if not divested of kindly feeling, must deplore,—not that in itself it is to be regretted, for it has proved advantageous to both parties; but it is to be lamented that it should have occurred in the manner it did; that a protracted war, and not a friendly and voluntary dissolution of the ties which bound them, should have disunited the parent and the child, now grown to maturity and vigour. But such a wise and generous proceeding is, we fear, incompatible with human nature; and power is never resigned as long as it can be retained. The event of which we speak is the war between England and her American colonies.

The names of these colonies are now so familiar to every person, that we hardly need enumerate them. Virginia was planted in the reign of Elizabeth; Maryland by the catholic lord Baltimore, and New England by the puritans in that of Charles I., the Carolinas and Pennsylvania in those of his sons, and Georgia since the accession of the present royal family. All these colonies had charters from the crown, empowering them to hold legislative assemblies, elect officers, and levy taxes for domestic purposes. Their governors were sent out from England, and the mother-country enjoyed the monopoly of their trade. Being masters of a rich and boundless

soil and aided by large emigrations, the colonies increased rapidly in population, and they had attained to the number of three millions, when dissension arose between them and the mother-country.

When sir Robert Walpole was foiled in his project of an excise on tobacco, the governor of Virginia proposed to him to lay a tax on the American colonies; but that able statesman shrewdly replied, "You see I have Old England against me already; do you think that I can wish to set New England against me too?" and the plan was thought of no more. Now, however, the king himself, or those by whom he was secretly actuated, revived it; and his majesty proposed it to Mr. Grenville in 1764, and, on his hesitation, gave him the option of resignation, or bringing it forward in parliament. The minister then promised compliance, and a resolution was proposed by him, which passed the commons, that it would be expedient to impose certain STAMP-duties on the colonies, for the sake of raising a revenue. He postponed the bill for this measure till the next session, in order to give the colonies an opportunity of petitioning against it if they thought fit, or of offering an equivalent.

The colonists protested in the strongest terms against the claim of the British parliament to impose taxes on those who were not represented in it. When it was urged that America should contribute her share to the general burdens of the empire, and that the late expensive war had been entered into chiefly on her account, they replied, that she never had been backward, and that, in the last war, her exertions had been so far beyond her means, that various sums, amounting in the whole to nearly two millions, had been voted by parliament to the several colonies to indemnify them, and that they were still in debt to about the same amount. They added, that the monopoly of their trade, her right to regulate which they did not deny, was the proper compensation to the mother-country. These arguments, however, were of no effect; the Stamp-act, though strongly opposed by general Conway and colonel Barré, who were well acquainted with the temper and condition of the colonies, was passed by both houses (March 22). Its arrival in America caused commotions in the principal towns, and spread discontent through the colonies. A general congress met at New York to draw up petitions; resolutions were entered into not to use stamps, or to import goods from England; it was even resolved to stop exports as well as im-

ports; and a society was formed for the encouragement of native manufactures.

The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp-act (1766); but by a declaratory bill the right to tax the colonies was asserted. The southern colonists in general were now content, but the people of New England, who appear to have been long resolved on independence, still murmured. In 1767 a bill was passed for laying duties on glass, tea, paper, and painters' colours, imported into America; these, however, were all taken off (1770), except that on tea. But when the East India company sent their ships with teas to the ports of America (1773), they were not allowed to land their cargoes; and at Boston, a party of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went on board of them, broke open the chests, and flung their contents into the sea. When intelligence of this violent proceeding reached England (1774) the legislature passed bills for closing the port of Boston, and for better regulating the government of Massachusetts-bay. The people of that state forthwith entered into a Solemn League and Covenant to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain till those acts should be repealed. The collecting of arms and stores, and the military training of the young men, which had been already commenced, now went on with redoubled activity. At length (Sept. 5) the celebrated congress of deputies from all the provinces met at Philadelphia. They drew up a petition to the king, addresses to the people of England and the Canadians, and a declaration approving of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts.

Every clear-sighted statesman must have been long aware that there was in reality no alternative between war and the virtual acknowledgement of American independence. Lord North, therefore, very properly resolved to take the sense of the nation by a dissolution of the parliament, and the returns proved that the great body of the people were resolved not to part with the supremacy over the colonies without a struggle. On the other hand, the whig-party, partly from prudence and a regard for justice, still more perhaps out of opposition to the court and ministry, were in favour of conciliation. The dissenters were of course, we may say, on the side of the colonists; led more perhaps, as usual, by prejudice and a veneration for the honoured names of liberty, independence, and such like, than by any maxims of sound policy and comprehensive wisdom. There was, however, beside these parties, a judicious set of

men who saw clearly that prudence and interest alike counselled an acknowledgement of the total or virtual independence of the colonies; but their number of course was small, and their arguments were slighted. It was in vain that Mr. Burke brought forward (Mar. 22, 1775), and enforced with all the splendour of his eloquence, his thirteen articles for restoring tranquillity. The die was cast, and ere these articles could cross the Atlantic hostilities had commenced.

On the 19th of April, general Gage, who commanded at Boston, learning that the provincials had collected a quantity of stores at the town of Concord, sent a detachment of his troops to seize them. At a place named Lexington, on the way, they found the militia drawn up to oppose them; they drove them off and proceeded to Concord, where they accomplished their object; but on their way back they were greatly galled by the fire of the Americans from houses, and from behind walls and hedges. They had 65 men killed and 180 wounded; the provincials, 50 killed and 38 wounded. Soon after the militia assembled to the number of 20,000 at Cambridge, and blockaded Boston. On the night of the 16th of June they threw up some entrenchments on an eminence near that town; the British advanced next day to drive them from it, and, though they suffered severely from the well-directed fire of the provincials, they succeeded in their object*.

The congress meantime had re-assembled (May 10). They again drew up a petition and addresses expressing the strongest desire for accommodation, at the same time adopting all possible measures for continuing the contest. The man on whom they fixed their choice for commander-in-chief of their forces was George Washington, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. He accepted that post of honour and danger; and, on joining the army at Cambridge, he found himself at the head of 15,000 men, ill-appointed and undisciplined. Fortunately for him, Gage, who had a superior force, was unenterprising; and his successor, general Howe, also remained inactive. By fitting out armed cruisers, the Americans succeeded in intercepting much of the stores and supplies destined for the troops in Boston.

In the spring of this year the provincials had conceived the daring design of invading Canada. They reduced the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and while one force, under

* The eminence was named Breed's-hill, though the affair has taken its name from the adjoining Bunker's-hill.

general Montgomery, advanced and took Montreal, another, under colonel Arnold, made its way through the wilderness to Quebec, where it was joined by the former (Dec. 1), and the city was besieged. An assault was attempted (31st), in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold severely wounded, but he still kept up a blockade. He was reinforced in the spring, but was eventually driven out of the province by general Carleton. On this occasion, captain Forster, who had taken a great number of prisoners, released them, Arnold engaging that an equal number of the royal troops should be returned; but the congress broke this cartel, on the pretence, which was notoriously false, that Forster had treated his prisoners barbarously.

The opening of the year 1776 found Washington still engaged in the blockade of Boston; but the difficulties which he had to encounter were numerous. His force was mere militia, bound to serve only for the term of a year, so that a new army was to be raised at the end of that period, and the knowledge and discipline acquired in the campaign became useless; he was ill-supplied with the munitions of war, while he could not venture to make his real condition known, and even found it prudent to exaggerate his strength, and hence successes were expected from him which he could not accomplish. Add to this, the thwarting and paralysing influence of a popular form of government, and the jealousies of the different states. Fortunately for him, he had an ally in the incapacity of the British general, who remained on the defensive, with a disciplined and well-appointed army.

In the spring Washington resolved to make a bold attempt on Boston. On the night of the 4th of March a body of the provincials threw up works on Dorchester-heights, which commanded the harbour, in which no ships could now remain; and the attempt to dislodge the enemy offered so many difficulties, that general Howe agreed to evacuate the town. The British troops proceeded by sea to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, whence they sailed (June 10) for New York, and landed on Staten Island. Having there received large reinforcements of British and Hessian troops, general Howe passed over to Long Island and routed the provincials, with a loss of 2000 slain and 1000 taken, among whom were their generals lord Stirling, Sullivan, and Udell. But, instead of attacking at once their lines at Brooklyn, he resolved to proceed by regular approaches, and Washington thus had time to convey his troops over the

river. New York, however, surrendered, and remained in possession of the English during the war. Washington was finally driven over the river Delaware, and the province of New Jersey was reduced. On the night of Christmas-day, however, this able commander secretly crossed the river, and surprised and captured a party of Hessians at Trenton; and he finally recovered a great part of New Jersey.

On the 4th of July 1776, the congress of the United States of America, as they now style themselves, put forth their Declaration of Independence, a document of some ability and dignity, but which has been praised far above its desert. It detailed every real and imaginary grievance, laying the blame of everything on the king himself, whom they scrupled not to designate as a tyrant. The object of those who devised it was evidently to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the mother-country, and to afford a pretext for France and other powers to aid them; for they felt that single-handed they could not resist the power of Great Britain; in fact, they had already entered into secret relations with the court of France, which had agreed to assist them in an underhand manner.

In the campaign of 1777, the British general, after an ineffectual attempt at bringing Washington to action, embarked his troops for the invasion of Pennsylvania. They landed at the head of Chesapeake-bay, and (Sept. 11) routed the American army on the banks of a river named the Brandywine. After an ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, Washington retired, and (27th) the British troops entered that city.

While sir William Howe was thus successful in the central states, general Burgoyne was advancing from Canada to the Hudson with an army of about 10,000 British and Canadians. The Americans retired before him; but the impediments offered by the nature of the country were tremendous, and all the supplies had to be brought through Canada. Accessions of strength came every day to the enemy, who were successful in two or three affairs. At length Burgoyne reached Saratoga, not far from Albany, whence he advanced to a place named Still Water. He repelled two attacks of the indefatigable Arnold; but judging it necessary to fall back to Saratoga, he there found himself surrounded by an American army, under general Gates, three times as numerous as his own, exposed to a constant fire of cannon and rifles, and with no means of procuring provisions. In a council of war a capitulation was resolved on. The most honourable terms were obtained, the

troops being granted a free passage to England, on condition of not serving again in America during the war. Desertion and other losses had reduced the British force to about 5800 men, who laid down their arms (Oct. 14) and were marched to Boston. The delicacy and humanity with which Gates and his officers treated their captives is grateful to contemplate; but their conduct was not imitated by the congress.

Washington took up his winter-quarters at a place named Valley Forge, and nothing could exceed the sufferings of the gallant men who served under him, unless it be their patient endurance. In miserable huts, without blankets or shoes, beneath the frost and snow of an American winter, often without food, they still endured, under the inspiring influence of their incomparable commander, and proved themselves worthy of eventual success.

The intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender decided the court of France, and a treaty was signed, in which the independence of America was acknowledged. A loan was granted, and a fleet prepared to aid them. The English ambassador was in consequence recalled from Paris (1778).

The command of the troops in America was now transferred to sir Henry Clinton; and in the prospect of a French war, it was resolved to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate the forces. The army crossed the Delaware unopposed, but Washington impeded their march to New York in every possible manner. At a place named Monmouth an attack was made on the baggage, which brought on a partial action, in which the loss was between three and four hundred on each side. At the place of embarkation the British offered battle, which was declined, and they reached New York in safety (July 5). A French fleet, under count D'Estaing, with troops on board, having arrived, a combined attack was made by them and 10,000 Americans under general Sullivan on a British force at Newport in Rhode Island; but lord Howe, the English admiral at New York, though inferior in strength, having appeared off Newport, D'Estaing came out to engage him. An indecisive action was fought, after which D'Estaing, in spite of the remonstrances of his allies, went to Boston to refit; and Sullivan was speedily driven out of Rhode Island.

The British troops were chiefly employed in petty expeditions, in which they did the provincials much injury by destroying their shipping and property in general. A corps of 3500 men, under colonel Campbell, reduced the province of

Georgia. In the West Indies, the island of Dominica was taken by the French; but St. Lucie surrendered to the English, after D'Estaing had been repulsed, both by sea and land, by inferior forces, in his attempts to relieve it.

England lost this year the illustrious earl of Chatham. He had always been the advocate of conciliation with the colonies, and deprecated the horrors of intestine war; but nothing was further from his thoughts than the idea of dismembering the empire. Accordingly when (Apr. 7) the duke of Richmond was to move for an address to his majesty to recognise the independence of the American colonies, lord Chatham, though in his seventieth year and suffering severely from the gout, came down to the house, and gradually recalling his powers he poured forth a flood of mingled reasoning and declamation in opposition to the proposed course, which he regarded as alike ruinous and disgraceful to the national character and honour. The duke of Richmond spoke in reply; the great orator made an effort to rise and speak once more, but he fell back in a convulsive fit. He was taken up and conveyed to his villa of Hayes in Kent, where he breathed his last on the 11th of May. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, and they repose in Westminster Abbey.

The name of William Pitt, the *great commoner*, the man who by the sole force of talent raised himself to the highest point of eminence, stands in our annals invested with never-fading glory. His contemporaries speak with wonder of the powers of his eloquence, his commanding figure, his noble countenance, his eagle eye, his graceful action, his lofty declamation, his withering invective, his keen irony and sarcasm. The purity of his private life gave lustre to his public virtues. In an age of corruption, calumny never ventured to breathe a suspicion on his name. The only charge that could be made against him was, that for the sake of embarrassing Walpole he had advocated opinions which he renounced when himself in power*. His ambition was boundless, his love of war was perhaps too great, and never did a minister more lavishly employ the resources of the country. Fortune, however, stood his friend; the successes of Wolfe in the West and of Clive in the East (with the last of which, however, he had no concern) shed glory on

* Honest lord Althorpe as he was called, and justly so called, being asked, when chancellor of the exchequer, why he then advocated a measure which he had formerly opposed, replied with great naïveté, "O, I opposed it then to embarrass the ministry."

his administration; and the impulse which his genius had given to the nation achieved resplendent triumphs even after his retirement from office. The chief defect in the character of this eminent man was a haughty and overbearing spirit, too often the concomitant of great political talents. As the vizier of an Eastern monarch*, Pitt would have been in his proper element, as all would then have yielded to his will, and there would have been no popular assembly to convince or to conciliate. By his acceptance of a peerage he certainly blemished his reputation, yet it was merely an error of judgement, for surely no man had more justly earned a right to the dignity and the repose of a seat in the house of lords, after having so long toiled in the popular branch of the legislature.

We now return to the war. The following year (1779) Spain followed the example of France in declaring war against England, and a combined fleet of more than sixty sail of the line, with frigates, etc., appeared off Plymouth. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the channel-fleet, had only 38 ships of the line, but he offered them battle, which they declined; and they quitted the channel without having done more than give the ministry and the nation a fright. Though D'Estaing acted mostly on the defensive in the West Indies, the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada fell into the hands of the French.

Washington directed his efforts chiefly to prevent the British from navigating the Hudson, for which purpose he fortified West Point, a strong position on that river, giving the command of it to general Arnold, and two other points, named Stony Point and Verplank. These last were taken and retaken by the British during this year. An expedition from New York did great mischief in Connecticut, burning towns and shipping, and carrying off stores and ammunition. Another expedition did the same in Virginia. The chief seat of the war, however, was the southern provinces. At Savannah, in Georgia, general Prevost was besieged by D'Estaing, who had two-and-twenty ships of war, and was aided by an American army under general Lincoln. Colonel Maitland, who, with 800 men, had routed this officer and 5000 men in John's Island, arriving at Savannah, preparations were made for a vigorous defence. A proposal to D'Estaing to allow the women and children to leave the town was barbarously refused. An attempt, however, to storm the British lines having failed,

* Walpole says (ii. 214) that Pitt declared to Fox that Ximenes was his favourite character in history.

with great loss, the assailants raised the siege and separated, and D'Estaing returned to France.

The year 1780 opened inauspiciously for England. Gibraltar was besieged by a combined Spanish and French force, and Minorca was equally hard pressed by the same nations. At the impulse of the empress of Russia, most of the European powers entered into an Armed Neutrality, on the principle that "free ships, make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war," in opposition to the right of search claimed by belligerent powers. But the sea is the element on which British glory has always risen in triumph, and England now had a hero equal to the emergency. Sir George Rodney had been selected for command by the king himself. He was to proceed for the West Indies, and on his way, to convoy a squadron of transports for the relief of Gibraltar. As it was expected that he would leave the transports to proceed alone in a certain latitude, the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, was sent with eleven men of war to intercept them; but off Cape St. Vincent he was encountered by Rodney (Jan. 16). The action commenced at four in the afternoon, in a violent gale of wind, and was continued through a stormy night, and the whole Spanish fleet was taken or destroyed. Rodney relieved both Gibraltar and Minorca, and then sailed for the West Indies, where soon after his arrival, he engaged off St. Lucie the count de Guichen. Rodney had 21, the count 23 ships. By able manœuvres the English admiral had secured the prospect of a complete victory, but his captains (as formerly with Benbow), from jealousy, cowardice, or ignorance, disobeyed his signals, and the French fleet escaped. He brought one of the captains, Bateman, to a court-martial, and he was dismissed the service. Rodney tried ineffectually to bring the French fleet again to action, but de Guichen sailed to Europe with the merchant-fleet, and Rodney then proceeded to the coast of America.

Though the independence of the revolted provinces had now been acknowledged by France and Spain, and these powers had, as it were, armed in their cause, never were the prospects of the colonists so gloomy. Even the firm mind of Washington began to despair. Their danger arose not from the increased power of Great Britain, or from the reverses of the war, but from their own dissensions and selfishness, from their local jealousies, and from that absorbing love of gain, the *auri sacra fames*, which seems to form the national

character of the Americans, and which will probably for ever prevent them from being a truly great people. He who views in the congress an assembly of sages and patriots such as we fancy the senate of ancient Rome to have been, will find himself much disappointed when he reads their history. Patriots there were in it no doubt, and many even when acting wrong thought they were acting right; there were able men among them also, but in true wisdom they were wanting. Faction reigned, a childish dread of a standing army made them give their general nothing but militia, and numbers of the citizens made the public distress their gain. It was only the aid of France that saved them from ruin.

Relieved of all apprehension from Washington, sir Henry Clinton resolved to attempt the reduction of South Carolina in person. He sailed from New York and laid siege to Charleston, into which general Lincoln had thrown himself with 7000 provincials. When he had completed his works and was preparing to batter the town, a capitulation was proposed and accepted. The whole province was speedily reduced, and sir Henry Clinton then returned to New York, leaving lord Cornwallis in Carolina with 4000 men. The American government sent thither general Gates, who assembled at Camden an army of 6000 men; lord Cornwallis advanced to attack him with not more than 2000, and (Aug. 17) gave him a complete defeat, killing 800 and taking 2000 men, with all the baggage, stores, and artillery; his own loss in killed and wounded being only 350 men.

In July, a French fleet having 6000 troops on board, under the count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island. It was proposed, when de Guichen, who was expected, should arrive, that a general attack by sea and land should be made on New York; but the activity of Rodney, as we have seen, disconcerted this plan.

While Washington was absent at a conference with count Rochambeau, Arnold, who had been in secret correspondence with sir Henry Clinton for betraying West Point, desired that some trusty agent might be sent to him. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, volunteered his services, and he landed in the night from the Vulture sloop of war. At day-break, when his conference with Arnold was concluded, he found it impossible to return to the sloop, and being furnished by Arnold with a pass under the name of Anderson, he attempted to reach New York by land. He was however

met and stopped by three militia-men. He wrote without delay a letter to Arnold under his assumed name, and that general escaped on board the Vulture just before Washington's order to arrest him arrived.

André, who no longer concealed his name or quality, was brought before a court-martial, and tried as a spy. He denied that he was such, as he had come on shore under a passport or flag of truce from Arnold. The court however found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hanged. Every exertion was made to save him by sir Henry Clinton, but in vain; Washington was inexorable; even the urgent request of the prisoner to be shot was refused, and he was hanged (Oct. 2) amid the sympathy of the officers and soldiers of the American army*.

The year 1781 virtually terminated the war. The blockade of Gibraltar still continued; famine preyed on the garrison and people, but admiral Danby conveyed supplies to it in the face of a superior Spanish fleet lying in the bay of Cadiz. The besiegers then kept up for the space of three weeks one of the most tremendous bombardments in the annals of war, and they had brought their works to completion when a sally of the garrison totally destroyed them. A combined force of 16,000 men was landed at Minorca for the attack of St. Philip's castle, and a combined fleet of 70 ships of war appeared in the British channel.

The Dutch had perfidiously joined in the war against England, but they paid dear for their treachery. Admiral Parker, as with 6 ships of the line and some frigates he was convoying a fleet from the Baltic, was encountered off the Doggerbank (Aug. 5) by the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with 10 sail of the line and frigates. The action, which lasted nearly four hours, was terrific; the English had 500, the Dutch 1200 killed and wounded; both fleets were disabled, and the Dutch hardly got into their own ports. In the West Indies, Rodney took their island of St. Eustathius, in which, being a free port, immense wealth in goods and stores was collected: all this became the prize of the victors, who also captured a great number of merchantmen.

* In the summer of this year occurred a most dreadful riot in London by a No-Popery mob, headed by lord George Gordon. It lasted nearly a week: catholic chapels were destroyed, Newgate was broken open, the other prisons were burnt, lord Mansfield's and other houses were demolished, etc. By the employment of military force the rioters were at length reduced.

administration. An unfortunate minister is seldom secure in his power; the country gentlemen now opened their eyes to the folly of continuing the war; a formidable plan of attack was conceived and executed by the opposition, led on by general Conway and Mr. Fox, and sustained by their usual champions, with the accession of William Pitt, son of the great earl of Chatham, and Mr. Sheridan; both of whom had displayed great talent in debate. Day after day the ministerial majority declined. At length (Mar. 1782) lord North announced that the cabinet was dissolved.

The opposition, having gained the victory, had now to divide the spoils. But herein lay a difficulty. It consisted of two almost hostile parties; the one headed by the marquess of Rockingham, which was for conceding total independence to the colonies; the other, led by the earl of Shelburne, which, though willing to yield up the right of taxation and terminate the war, trod in the steps of lord Chatham, who almost with his dying breath had protested against a dismemberment of the empire. The new ministry was formed of five of each party; lord Thurlow, to gratify the king, being allowed to retain the great seal. Lord Rockingham was premier; lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries; general Conway commander-in-chief; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Dunning (now lord Ashburton), chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, etc.; Burke was paymaster of the forces; Barré treasurer of the navy; Sheridan under-secretary of state. Pitt declined taking any office.

The watchword of the new ministry was peace, economy, and no patronage; yet when Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for a reform in parliament, it was rejected, and the whole of the retrenchments made amounted only to 72,000*l.* a year, the far greater part of which was in the department of Mr. Burke, the great advocate of the measure. What further they might have done is not to be known, for the death of lord Rockingham in the summer broke up the cabinet, as Fox and his friends refused to act under lord Shelburne, and retired. Mr. Pitt now took office as chancellor of the exchequer, though only 23 years of age.

Negotiations for peace had been commenced, but the war still continued. On the 12th of April Rodney brought de Grasse to action in the West Indies, and by executing the manoeuvre of breaking the line, he gave him a complete defeat, taking or destroying eight ships, and reducing almost to wrecks the

remainder, two of which were captured a few days after by sir Samuel Hood. But as admiral Graves was conducting the prizes to England, and convoying the homeward-bound merchant-fleet, a terrific storm came on in which all the prizes but one, two British men-of-war, and several of the merchantmen, perished, and 3000 lives were lost. At home, the loss of the Royal George of 100 guns, which was upset by a squall (Aug. 29) at Portsmouth, and went down with admiral Kempenfeldt and 1000 men and women on board, increased the calamities of the year.

The storm of war beat this year with unprecedented fury on the rock of Gibraltar and its heroic defenders. The duke of Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca, took the command of the besieging army; 10 floating batteries, proof against shot and fire, were constructed, 47 sail of the line, besides frigates and other craft, were collected in the bay, while batteries mounting 200 guns and protected by 40,000 men were raised on the isthmus. The whole force by land and sea amounted to 100,000 men. On the 13th of September a simultaneous cannonade was opened on the fortress, which was returned by shells and red-hot balls. The whole peninsula seemed one blaze of flame, while the roaring of the artillery was not intermitted for a second. During the day no effect seemed to be made on either side, but in the night two of the floating batteries burst into flames; the light enabled the besieged to direct their guns, and by morning six more were in the same condition; the fire from 12 gun-boats prevented the enemy from bringing off their crews, all of whom would have perished but for the humanity of the British, who saved about 400 men. The siege was now at an end, and the war was thus concluded brilliantly by England in Europe as well as in the West Indies. Her success had been uniform in the East. General Elliot, the gallant governor of Gibraltar, was raised to the peerage by the title of baron Heathfield.

As the Shelburne administration could not command a majority in parliament, it was necessary to seek the support of either lord North or Mr. Fox. With the former Mr. Pitt would have nothing to do; duty, he said, forbade him to unite with a man who had brought such calamity on the country, and whose principles he had so often condemned. He agreed to make a personal application to Mr. Fox, but the antipathy of the latter to lord Shelburne was invincible. The ministry therefore resolved to go on as they were with the public busi-

ness. The preliminary treaties of peace with France and Spain were accordingly executed; but when the day came for submitting them to parliament (Feb. 17, 1783), the address was carried in the lords only by a majority of 72 to 59, and in the commons the minister was defeated by a majority of 16. The cause of this was the celebrated coalition between Fox and lord North, the most disgraceful compact which our history has recorded; Mr. Fox, from lust of power and revenge, united with a man on whom for years he had been pouring forth the vials of his wrath, and whom he had so often menaced with impeachment! After an ineffectual struggle the ministry resigned; the king made every effort in his power to avoid capitulating to Fox; he even meditated a retreat to Hanover. At length he yielded, and in the beginning of April a new ministry, with the duke of Portland at its head, was formed; lord North and Mr. Fox were the secretaries of state, and lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Burke returned to his former situation, and thus took his full share in the indelible disgrace of his party.

By the treaty of peace which had been concluded, the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged; between England, France, and Spain there was a restitution of conquests, and the last power obtained Minorca and the Floridas. The only loss of England was one hundred million which she added to her debt, for a very few years showed that the trade with the independent states of America was infinitely more valuable than that with them as colonies had ever been. The madness of the house of Bourbon in encouraging the principles of revolution out of hatred to England, was destined ere long to meet its chastisement from these very principles. As for the United States, they have since advanced prodigiously in wealth and population, but they have fallen under the tyranny of a fierce democracy; and perhaps it is their lot to save the parent-state from a similar condition, by exhibiting it in its genuine deformity. In every point of view, the separation has been a blessing to England; it is only to be regretted, as we have already observed, that it was not effected amicably.

The coalition ministry soon met with the fate it merited. The want of confidence in the public appeared by the decline in the funds, the 3 per cent. consols falling from 70 to 56. At length Mr. Fox introduced his India-bill, and its rejection by the lords (Dec. 16) sealed the doom of the ministry. A new cabinet was formed with Mr. Pitt for its chief, and this extra-

ordinary man sat at the helm of the state, with but one interruption, for the remainder of his life. Mr. Fox remained the leader of the opposition.

When we consider the youth of Mr. Pitt, the political courage and wisdom which he displayed in this crisis is astonishing. Instead of dissolving the parliament, he went on suffering himself to be beaten in every division till he had given the opposition and their leader abundant opportunity to show to the world that their object was that a tyrannic majority of the commons should dictate to the king, the lords, and the nation, treading in the steps of the Long Parliament. He then (Mar. 24, 1784) appealed to the country by a dissolution, and the number of Fox's Martyrs, as those opposition members who lost their seats were called, being 160, his triumph was complete, and the power of the great whig oligarchy was finally overthrown. Henceforth, till the horrors of war were renewed, Mr. Pitt went on steadily improving the internal condition of the empire.

We have said that their India-bill was the cause of the overthrow of the coalition-ministry, and as India was a prominent subject in our legislation and policy at this time, we will here devote a few words to it*.

Early in the seventeenth century the English began to share in the lucrative commerce of India. Their merchants had factories in different places on the coast, and peacefully attended only to their commercial interests till toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when the restless ambition of the French on the Coromandel-coast engaged them in the intrigues and quarrels of the native princes. Fortune was, as usual, on the English side; they effectually reduced the power of their rivals, and the barbarity of the native ruler of Bengal was the cause of their becoming masters of that wealthy province and some of the adjacent districts.

The East-India Company, from mere traders were now become sovereigns. Their servants, away from the control of their superiors, and with so many sources of wealth open to them, set no bounds to their rapacity; the natives were often oppressed and plundered in the most nefarious manner, and men who had left England penniless adventurers, and not unfrequently belonging to the lower grades of society, returned in a few years gorged with wealth, and insulted the view of the

* As the history of India is so extensive, we have devoted to it a separate work, to which we refer the reader.

ancient aristocracy, by displaying in the use or abuse of it the habits of pride, insolence and luxury acquired in the East. The eyes of the nation were thus attracted to these Nabobs, as they were commonly called, and this with other circumstances gave an exaggerated idea of the wealth of India; it seemed even unconstitutional that a mere society of merchants should be the sovereigns of territories so extensive and teeming with riches. The government therefore laid claim to them as of right appertaining to the Crown. A compromise however was effected, the Company agreeing to pay the Crown annually a certain sum of money to be left in the enjoyment of their Eastern sovereignty. In 1773 a great change was effected in it; it was to be all under the control of a governor-general, resident at Calcutta in Bengal; English courts of justice were established, and various other regulations were made.

The first governor-general was Warren Hastings, Esq., a man of considerable talents, who had passed his life in the service of the Company, and who was perhaps better acquainted with India than any man then living. But partly from his own nature, partly from the want of money caused by the misconduct of those who had the direction of affairs at Madras and Bombay, he was led to the commission of various acts of injustice and oppression which cannot be justified even by the tyrant's plea of necessity. For these, as we shall see, he was called to account on his return to England, after a rule over India of twelve years' continuance.

The illustrious Edmund Burke, whose noble and generous nature was so grieved by his conception of the wrongs of India that his very slumbers were haunted by them, bent all the energies of his powerful mind to the devising of a remedy for these evils. He was in effect the originator of the India-bill which caused the downfall of the coalition-ministry. Viewing the actual system of governing India by courts of directors and proprietors, whose only object was to raise as large a revenue as possible, as incapable of amelioration, it boldly proposed to abolish these courts, and to substitute for them a board of seven commissioners to be nominated by parliament, and to be removeable only by the king on the address of either house. This bill had certainly a formidable aspect, for it apparently invested the ministry, who would in effect have the appointment of the commissioners, with the whole of the Indian patronage, and would thus make them nearly independent of the Crown. The matter was placed in this light so strongly

before the king by lord Temple, that the royal influence was exerted to cause the bill to be rejected by the lords after it had passed the commons by a majority of two to one. Yet the menaced evils were far more apparent than real; and this is very nearly the system by which India must eventually be governed, if we wish to retain our empire and promote the happiness of its population. Mr. Pitt, who had exerted all his powers against Fox's India-bill, then introduced one of his own, which of course was passed. Its chief feature was the addition of the Board of Control, to which the directors were to submit all their measures, and which in effect, from the arbitrary authority it is empowered to exercise, has been a source of evil to India, by wasting its revenues in unjust or unnecessary wars.

Hastings on his return to England had the temerity to dare his opponents to do their utmost. The result was that he was impeached by the house of commons. The trial began on the 13th of February, 1788, and terminated on the 23rd of April, 1795, in his acquittal, but by no means in the establishment of his innocence. The splendid eloquence of Burke, Fox, Sheridan and the other managers contended in vain against the Indian interest, the royal influence, the prepossessions of his noble judges, and the astuteness of able lawyers. It must also be confessed, that great as his offences were, they did not furnish suitable matter of impeachment. The awful catastrophe which we are about to notice also operated in his favour, as it diverted men's attention, and made the wrongs of India seem of trivial importance.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).

1789-1801.

WE are now arrived at the most awful and important period in the history of man; a period, when a nation of slaves, acting under the impulse of men, some of philanthropic but unenlightened views and of inexperience in the great science of politics, but others devoid of principle and seeking only for

change, in the hope of profiting in the confusion, flung off the bonds of ages, and madly plunged into the chaos of turbulence and anarchy. The French Revolution, of which we now speak, burst forth like a moral volcano, shaking the stability of the most ancient thrones, overwhelming justice, law and equity, in its career, and after involving Europe in a calamitous war of nearly a quarter-century, terminated in the national humiliation of the conquest of France by those monarchs who had felt her insolence and suffered by her power in the days of her strength.

To narrate the events of this revolution would be beside our purpose. Suffice it to say, that it owed its origin to the absurd privileges of the nobility and their galling insolence; to the heavy and unequal weight of taxation laid on the unprivileged classes; to the corruption and profligacy of the court; to the enormous wealth and often scandalous lives of the superior clergy; to the writings of the so-styled philosophers which sapped the foundations of religion and morality; to the short-sighted policy of the government, who, out of mean jealousy of England, encouraged the revolt of her colonies, and sent their troops to receive the revolutionary infection; and to other causes which we need not enumerate. Its atrocities, not to be paralleled, arose from the natural character of the French people, of which a part is intense selfishness and the absence of moral courage; for the coward is cruel, and the moral coward it would seem even more so than the physical one. In every event of the revolution, in every character, from the king down to the lowest ruffian of the Fauxbourgs, the influence of this principle may be traced. Men were dragged like sheep to the guillotine; they died like heroes; but they had not the mental energy to combine and crush, as they might by well-directed efforts, the ferocious bandits by whom they were slaughtered. Above all deserving of contempt and execration were the nobles, whose insolence had been a chief cause of the evil, but who in the moment of agony abandoned their king, and fled by thousands to seek the aid of foreign powers, instead of boldly facing the demon of discord at home, and crushing it by efforts of united energy, justice and patriotism. How different was the conduct of the English nobility and gentry in the struggles of the seventeenth century! But herein lies the great difference of the national characters; and if the British aristocracy is fated to fall in a conflict with democracy, it will fall, we may be confident, without dishonour. But it is not in

this way that it seems destined to perish ; its most probable *euthanasia* is to be silently and gradually covered over and effaced by the advancing tide of popular influence and power. Whether such a consummation is to be wished or not is a dubious question.

In England, the progress of the French revolution was viewed with different eyes by different men. There is a class of people who are easily beguiled by specious terms ; to these the word *liberty* came associated with visions of social happiness and national blessings. They viewed in the revolution of France the commencement of the golden age, the return of *Astræa* to earth, the dawn of the day which would shed peace and tranquillity over the whole world. But there were others who were anxious to convert the balanced constitution of England into a pure democracy ; and there was that profligate class to be found in all countries, who, devoid alike of religion, morals, and property, rejoice in the prospect of going-a-wrecking in the political tempest. It was chiefly among the dissenters that the members of the first two classes were to be found ; they had always a strong leaven of republicanism in their body ; they had shown it openly since the commencement of the American war ; and we may safely predict, that if ever England becomes a democratic republic, *they* will be active agents in the change*.

On the other hand, the whole tory party viewed the revolution with unmingled horror and disgust. They soon found themselves joined by an ally in the cause of true liberty and the constitution, whose powers in such a cause were without a parallel. Edmund Burke, to whom, on this occasion, his very prejudices combined with his profound study of history in a philosophic spirit to give the vision of a prophet respecting the ultimate effects of the political changes now going on in

* Among these the Unitarians were most prominent. Dr. Priestley, a man of virtue but of too multifarious pursuits, who would fain unite in his person the chemist, the divine, the statesman, etc., distinguished himself by his absurd predictions of the millennium to commence with the French revolution. Dr. Price, another most excellent man, was also led away by his imagination ; and it almost chills one's blood to think of him in his pulpit, saying, " Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," in allusion to the noted 6th of October. If lord Clarendon's remark of clergymen, that they " understand the least and take the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can write and read," be correct, we may say that it applies with peculiar force to dissenting teachers, whose education and habits of life tend greatly to disqualify them for the discussion of political questions.

France, early denounced them as fraught with ruin to the civilised world. When parliament met in February 1790, Mr. Fox, in the spirit of party, pronounced a eulogy on the proceedings in France, commending among other things the dishonourable revolt of the French guards. The house expressed strong indignation at such language, and a few days after (9th) Mr. Burke, having adverted to the danger of such opinions going forth sanctioned by so great a name, proceeded to animadvert on the revolution. "The French," said he, "have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto appeared in the world; in one short summer they have pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue." "Our present danger," he added, "is that of being led from admiration to imitate the excesses of a people, whose government is anarchy, whose religion is atheism." He reprobated the comparison between that event and the revolution in England; he said he never loved despotism in any land, but there was a despotism more dreadful than that of any monarch of a civilised people—that "of an unprincipled, ferocious, tyrannical democracy; of a democracy which had not a single virtue of republicanism to redeem its crimes. This was so far from being worthy of imitation, as had been said by his honourable friend, that it was worthy of all abhorrence; and he would spend the last drop of his blood, would quit his best friends, and join his most avowed enemies, to oppose the least influence of such a spirit in England." Mr. Burke had now taken his ground for life; it was plain that a schism must ensue in the whig-party. Sheridan inveighed against, Fox tried to soothe, the excited orator; but the breach had commenced, and on the 16th of May in the following year, Mr. Burke, in presence of the house, renounced the friendship of Mr. Fox, and their connexion terminated for ever. With Burke, the duke of Portland, earls Spencer and Fitzwilliam, lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and other whigs who preferred their country to their party, seceded from it, and gave their support to the minister.

By the publication of his immortal *Reflections on the Revolution*, and by other writings as well as speeches, Mr. Burke rendered most essential services to his country in exposing the arts of the French demagogues to public view. Dr. Priestley and other revolutionists vainly attempted to reply. The *Rights of Man*, by Thomas Paine, was the work among them which was best calculated to poison the minds of the lower

people, being written with much ability and adapted to their comprehension; even at the present day it continues its deleterious operation. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* of Mr. (afterwards sir James) Mackintosh attempted also the defence of the revolutionists of France and their admirers in this country. But the nature of this writer was too generous and humane, his love of liberty too pure, for him long to remain under an illusion, in which the warmth of his feelings and imagination had involved him. The admiration, to use his own words, "due to splendid exertions of virtue and of triumph, inspired by widening prospects of happiness," and the vision of regenerated France "seeking a new glory and a new splendour under the shadow of freedom in cultivating the arts of peace and extending the happiness of mankind"—vanished before the appalling realities of the Reign of Terror; and the virtuous author became a convert to him whose arguments he had so vigorously combated.

The desire, or the pretence, of parliamentary reform gave origin to numerous clubs or societies, such as that of the Friends of the People and the London Corresponding Society. Mr. Grey, a member of the former, having given notice (Apr. 1792) that he would move for an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt, formerly the strenuous advocate of the measure, rose and opposed it in the most decided terms. Mr. Fox, of course, seized the occasion of charging the minister with inconsistency: but Mr. Pitt knew, and Mr. Fox could not deny, that a great number of Mr. Grey's allies were violent republicans, who, under the pretext of reform, aimed at anarchy and revolution, and that therefore this was no time to bring this question into discussion, and give Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and their friends an opportunity of inflaming the public mind by their harangues. In fact, when we view at this time the conduct of the party led by Mr. Fox, and consider the turn which affairs had taken in France and the extent to which republicanism had spread itself in England, we must either regard them as very short-sighted politicians, or as men actuated by factious and selfish objects, and heedless of the real welfare of their country.

The policy of Mr. Pitt toward France had been hitherto that of strict neutrality*. But it soon became manifest that the policy of the atrocious faction which now lorded it in that

* See Lord Malmesbury's Diary, and the Life of Dr. Arnold, ii. Appendix.

country would be aggressive and revolutionising. On the 19th of November, 1792, the National Convention decreed that "it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty;" i. e. to rise in rebellion against their government. In the course of this month addresses from the Revolution Society of London and other societies in Great Britain and Ireland, deeply impregnated with revolutionary principles, had been presented to the convention, whose president openly boasted that "these respectable islanders, once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow which shall resound to the extremities of Asia." At the same time (16th), the French, who had now conquered the Netherlands, ordered their general to open the navigation of the Scheldt; which by the Peace of Westphalia was to be for ever closed, and they had committed aggressions on the Dutch, who were in alliance with England. An angry correspondence ensued between the English ministry and the French ambassador. At length the execrable murder of the innocent Louis XVI. took place (Jan. 21, 1793), and the French envoy, M. Chauvelin, was ordered to quit London; on the 25th it was proposed in the Convention to invade England with 40,000 men, and on the 3rd of February war was declared against Great Britain.

The king had sent a message to the house of commons on the 28th of January, calling on them to enable him to resist the ambitious views of France. Mr. Pitt with his usual ability developed the grounds on which he proposed an address in accordance with the royal message. Mr. Fox, supported by lord Wycomb and Mr. Whitbread, opposed as usual; but the address was carried without a division. The separation between the old and new whigs was now complete and final; the former became among the most strenuous supporters of the war; the latter sank into a powerless faction, continually indulging their spleen by thwarting and opposing the measures which they could not prevent.

On the policy of the war opinions were then, and still are, divided; but surely any one who peruses the history of those times with care must see that it was inevitable. It was, no doubt, productive of ruinous expense to England; but it probably saved her from the curse of democracy. It was easy for Mr. Fox to declaim against it while in opposition and irresponsible; but it has well been asked, could Mr. Fox, if minister,

have avoided a war? To this we would reply most decidedly in the negative.

In the course of the year treaties were formed with most of the continental powers, both great and small, and a confederacy was organised against France, which, had it been directed by wisdom, animated by zeal, controlled by unanimity, and conducted by military skill, might have saved Europe from years of misery. But all these qualities were wanting. Mr. Pitt, with all his great qualities, was not, like his father, a superior war-minister: he lavished with reckless profusion, in subsidies to treacherous or lukewarm allies, the sums which his financial skill enabled him to raise, and almost every one of his military projects proved a failure. In baseness and selfishness the government of Prussia, we may observe, stood conspicuous.

A body of Hessians and Hanoverians were, after the usual manner, taken into British pay, and troops were sent from England to join them. England certainly at the time had few if any able officers; but it might have been expected that some one who had seen service in America would have been selected for the chief command. But this was given to the duke of York, the king's second son, whose military experience did not go beyond a review in Hyde-park. Though his military exploits were not such as to crown him with glory, the ocular proof which this prince obtained of the wretched state of the British army at that time in many respects, especially in the medical department, enabled him to effect improvements, when commander-in-chief, which raised it to its future perfection and conferred lasting honour on his own name.

The British troops remained in Holland till the January of 1795, when, pressed on by an overwhelming force of the French and finding the people of the country hostile, they retreated to Bremen, and embarked for England, after suffering dreadful hardships and enduring every kind of privation*.

In the month of August 1793, the people of Toulon, having declared for Louis XVII., delivered up the town to lord Hood, the British admiral in the Mediterranean. Mr. Pitt, however, refused to send a sufficient force for its defence, and a medley of Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan troops, worse than useless, occupied the place which should have been filled with British soldiers. The consequence was, that the town was

* It was in this expedition that colonel Wesley, afterwards the renowned duke of Wellington, commenced his career of active service.

evacuated in December, and the inhabitants were left to be massacred by the sanguinary republicans.

The capture of the French West-India islands and the glorious victory of the 1st of June gave spirit to the British nation in 1794 : for as France was suffering greatly from the want of provisions, admiral Villaret Joyeuse was ordered to put to sea with the Brest fleet of 27 sail of the line in order to protect a large fleet, laden with flour, etc., which was coming from America. Lord Howe, who, with the channel-fleet of 26 sail, was on the look-out for that fleet, discovered that of Villaret on the 28th of May. On that and the succeeding day there were partial actions ; fogs then concealed the hostile fleets for two days ; but on Sunday, June 1, the sun shone bright and unclouded. Howe broke the line, like Rodney ; the French lost six ships taken and one sunk ; but the victory it is said might have been more complete if the English admiral had burnt his prizes and pursued the enemy, as he could then with ease have destroyed their entire fleet. The loss of the French was 8000 men slain and taken.

About a year after (June 22, 1795) lord Bridport, with the channel-fleet, descried a French fleet off Belleisle. He gave chase, but the enemy escaped into L'Orient with the loss of three sail of the line. An expedition to Quiberon-bay in support of the royal cause succeeded ; with the usual error of the British cabinet it was on too small a scale, and its only result was the massacre of a number of the French emigrants by their ferocious countrymen. As the Dutch were now in alliance with France, war was declared against them, and their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope and in the East- and West-Indies were all reduced.

In 1796 a fruitless effort for peace was made in compliance with the wishes of the nation. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris to treat ; but the demands of the Directory, who now governed, were so unreasonable, that nothing could be effected.

The following year (1797) was a crisis in the affairs of Great Britain. The great increase of the taxes caused discontent ; the menaces of invasion by the French republic terrified timid and selfish people, who, anxious to hoard their cash against times of danger, made a run on the Bank, already drained of its specie for the remittances to the continent. To avert the evil, cash-payments were prohibited by an order of council, and acts were afterwards passed making Bank-of-En-

gland notes to a certain extent a legal tender, and legalising the issue of small notes by private persons. The country was speedily inundated with paper-money; rents, prices, and everything rose, and a delusive air of prosperity spread over the empire; and thus while England was actually year after year destroying large masses of her capital, she seemed to be growing richer every day.

But the pressing and imminent danger this year was the mutiny in the channel- and North-sea fleets, occasioned by that inattention to the wants and comforts of the lower classes of which governments are but too often guilty. It took place in the following manner.

Though prices had risen considerably in this century, the pay and allowances of the seamen remained the same as in the reign of Charles II., and their rations were actually not sufficient for their complete nourishment. The sailors of late had made their complaints in anonymous letters addressed to lord Howe; but their 'father,' as they styled him, treated them with neglect. At length (Apr. 15) when lord Bridport, who commanded the channel-fleet at Spithead, made the signal to prepare for sailing, the crews of all the ships replied by three cheers, and declared that they would not weigh anchor till their just demands were complied with, "unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea." They appointed delegates from each ship, who held their meetings in the admiral's cabin on board lord Howe's own ship, the Queen Charlotte. On the 22nd, lord Bridport returned to his ship, the Royal George, and acquainted the crew that he was authorised to comply with all their demands. The men declared themselves satisfied, and the fleet dropped down to St. Helens. But on the 7th of May, when ordered to prepare for sailing, they again refused, alleging that government did not intend to keep faith with them. They appointed their delegates to meet on board the London, the ship of vice-admiral Colpoys; but that officer caused the marines to fire, and five of the seamen were killed. They seized and imprisoned the admiral and his officers and afterwards sent them on shore, and several of the other ships' crews treated their officers in a similar manner. On the 14th lord Howe came to Portsmouth with full powers to settle all matters, and an act of parliament lately passed in compliance with the desires of the sailors. The crews returned to their duty, the delegates had the honour of dining with the earl and his lady, and on the 17th the fleet put to sea.

The mutiny in the channel-fleet had hardly been appeased when one of a much more unjustifiable character broke out in the fleet at the Nore, joined by four ships from the North-sea-fleet under admiral Duncan in Yarmouth-roads. They struck the flag of admiral Buckner in the Sandwich, and gave the command to one of the seamen named Richard Parker, a man of resolute character and of considerable ability. They blockaded the mouth of the river and allowed no merchantman to come up; the greatest terror prevailed in the capital, and the three per cents. fell to 47½. The mutinous fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, besides frigates, etc.; but the desertion of the Clyde and two frigates damped the spirits of the mutineers, and most of them began to show great attention to their officers who were in confinement. To prevent their retreat, all the buoys had been taken up; the forts at Tilbury, Gravesend, and Sheerness were put in repair, and furnaces set up for heating shot, and ships were coming down to attack them. Some of the more desperate proposed to carry the fleet over to the enemy; but this was rejected with indignation. The ships now rapidly deserted, and on the 13th of June the Sandwich hauled down Parker's red flag, and the mutiny was ended. Parker, a man worthy of a better fate, was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged. He met his doom with piety and fortitude, acknowledging the justice of his sentence; a few more of the delegates were executed, the rest were pardoned. By the agreement with the fleet at Spithead the seamen's pay was raised. That of the army had already been raised from sixpence to a shilling a day.

This year was distinguished by two important naval victories. On the 14th of February, sir John Jervis, with only 15 sail of the line, engaged off Cape St. Vincent a Spanish fleet of 27 sail, of which he captured four. In this action the gallant Nelson was the most conspicuous character, and here he laid the foundation of his future glory. The admiral was created earl St. Vincent with a pension of 3000*l.* a year. Nelson received the order of the Bath.

Admiral Duncan, with the North-sea-fleet, was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch a fleet in the Texel destined for the invasion of Ireland. A storm having driven him to Yarmouth-roads, the Dutch government ordered their admiral, De Winter, to put to sea. Duncan, having gotten information, returned, and he found (Oct. 11) the enemy's fleet of 15 sail

of the line and frigates off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore. His own fleet, consisting of 16 sail of the line, besides frigates, had the advantage in weight of metal, and he boldly resolved to place himself between the enemy and the shore. The action lasted four hours: the Dutch fought with their usual obstinate valour; but they were defeated with the loss of nine ships and two frigates, and their marine was destroyed for ever. Admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year.

The rebellion in Ireland, which the fleet of Holland was intended to aid, broke out in the following year. We will briefly trace its origin and progress.

After the termination of the contest at the time of the Revolution, the Irish protestants proceeded, in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the treaty of Limerick, to protect themselves against the catholics by a penal code, equaling, or rather exceeding, in severity the English laws against recusants. Barbarous, however, as this code was in the statute-book, it was tolerably mild in practice, and the chief disadvantages which the catholics felt were, exclusion from office and the legal profession and the inability to acquire landed property. The protestants themselves suffered from the jealous monopolizing spirit of English merchants and manufacturers, at whose clamour laws were passed destructive of their industry and commerce. Then too, that fruitful cause of Ireland's misery, the universal use of the potato for food, attained its full extent; and the most wretched peasantry on the face of the earth met the eye of the traveller in that country.

The duration of the Irish parliament, instead of being triennial or septennial like that of England, was for the life of the king. The lord-lieutenant was not constantly resident; the government was mostly confided to the primate, the chancellor and the speaker of the House of Commons as lords-justices, and some leading families, such as the Fitzgeralds, the Boyles, the Ponsonbys and others, under the title of *Undertakers*, managed the public affairs in the parliament; which assembly, however, by what was termed Poyning's law, could not initiate any measure, being only empowered to accept or reject such as were proposed to it by the government after having been approved of by the privy-council in England. Powerless as the parliament was, there was however gradually growing up

in it a patriotic party in opposition to the government and the undertakers, and it increased in strength by the contest between the last two for the patronage, that is, for the places and pensions; for the whole system of government was one of the most barefaced corruption. In 1767 the lord-lieutenant, lord Townshend, became resident, and he succeeded in reducing the oligarchy; but he failed in securing the English ascendancy. The American war gave a great advantage to the patriotic party, more especially when in 1779 most of the troops were withdrawn from the country, and the English ministry, on being applied to for protection by the maritime towns, informed the Irish nation that it must protect itself. The protestants instantly formed themselves into a kind of national guard, under the name of Volunteers. Having arms in their hands, they soon obtained freedom of foreign trade; but their great object was to have the independence of their parliament acknowledged by that of Great Britain. On the 13th of February, 1782, a convention of delegates from the different corps of volunteers met at Dungannon in Ulster, and passed a number of resolutions in furtherance of that object; the Irish parliament took its tone from the convention, and the successors of lord North cheerfully repealed the act of the sixth of George I. "for-securing the dependence of Ireland." The Irish nation was profuse in its gratitude to Henry Grattan, the great leader of the patriots in the commons; numerous addresses were made, and the hackneyed title Saviour of his Country was given to him; but the vote of 50,000*l.* by parliament, to purchase him a house and lands, was a more substantial proof of their sense of his merits.

Now commenced the brilliant, but meteoric career of the Irish legislature. In Grattan, Flood, Burgh, and other orators, it exhibited fervid and splendid effusions of eloquence, of a nature almost peculiar to Ireland; but political science and legislative wisdom were absent: the mental horizon of the orators was bounded; they could only discern Ireland and her local interests; they could not extend their view over the whole empire. There was danger every moment of a collision between the two legislatures, and the principal tie which held them was the unblushing venality of a great portion of that of Ireland. All really statesmen saw the absolute necessity for an incorporating union.

But Ireland is not a soil in which wisdom thrives spontaneously. There was a set of men, who, regarding as a model the

new state of America, and undismayed by the horrors sanctioned by the abused name of liberty in France, wished to convert Ireland into a democratic republic. These men, who were mostly protestant dissenters of Ulster, formed in the winter of 1791 the society of United Irishmen, "for the purpose," as they expressed it, "of forwarding a brotherhood of affection; a communion of rights, and a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Their plan of reform was to the following effect: The kingdom was to be divided into three hundred equal electorates, each to return a member to the parliament, which was to be annual; the members were to receive stipends, and no property-qualification was to be required; every man of sound mind and of the full age of twenty-one was to have a vote in the electorate in which he resided, his vote to be given *by voice and not by ballot*. It is pretty clear that where such was the parliament there could be no monarchy. But these misguided men could not see that, with such a population as Ireland contained, their republic was an impossibility; the great mass of the people were catholics and in the lowest state of mental degradation: and it was to these that, in case of a separation from England, the real power must come. The only notion of liberty the lower Irish catholics ever have had, is the triumph of their own religion and the destruction of everything opposed to it; and imagination cannot conceive the scenes of spoliation, destruction, and massacre that would have ensued had the plans of the United Irishmen proved successful. Its leaders might have been the last victims, but immolated, beyond a doubt, they would have been at the altar of tyranny and superstition.

The catholics had long had a Committee for managing their political concerns, but of late the lords Kenmare and Fingal, and most of their aristocracy had seceded from it, on account of the tendency which it had taken. A briefless barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, a nominal protestant, and the projector of the society of the United Irishmen, became its secretary; and an alliance was soon formed between it and that of the United Irishmen.

There had, since the accession of George III., been illegal associations of the peasantry in the south of Ireland under the names of White-boys and Right-boys, but they were not political; they were directed against the tithes, which were at

times collected in a harsh and oppressive manner. The landlords rather encouraged these societies, knowing full well that if tithes were abolished the amount of them must, under the name of rent, come into their own pockets; and it pains us to state, that in no part of the world were to be found landlords more gripping and merciless than in Ireland. But when they found that these rustic legislatures would rectify the scale of rents and wages also, they became alarmed, and an act was passed in 1787 to prevent their assemblies.

In the county of Armagh, in Ulster, there sprang up subsequently parties of the opposite religions; the catholics were named *Defenders*, the protestants *Peep-of-day Boys*, from their custom of attacking the houses of the catholics at day-break, in quest of arms. On the 21st of September, 1795, the two parties fought a regular battle, at a village named the *Diamond*, in which the protestants, though much inferior in number, were victorious. They now assumed the name of *Orangemen*, bound themselves by a secret oath, and commenced a barbarous persecution of the catholics, with the view of driving them out of the country; and great numbers were in fact forced to abandon their houses and seek a livelihood elsewhere. The Orange association quickly spread over the kingdom.

It was in the year 1797 that the United Irishmen became finally and perfectly organised. The plan was very simple but very ingenious. The lowest division was composed of twelve men, mostly neighbours; these chose a secretary, and the secretaries of five societies formed a lower Baronial Committee; ten of these committees sent each a member to an Upper Baronial Committee, each of which again sent a member to the County Committee. In each province there was a Provincial Committee, to which those of the counties sent each two or three deputies; and the provincial committees chose by ballot five persons who formed the Executive or Directory. Each of the lower secretaries was also to act in a military capacity, as a corporal or sergeant: the lower baronial members were captains, those of the upper were colonels. Like all secret societies, the members of the lower grades knew not who composed the upper ones; the executive, for example, were only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees.

The revolutionary government of France early directed its attention to Ireland. In 1794, the reverend William Jackson, an English clergyman, appeared in Dublin as an agent from the French Directory, but he was apprehended, and being

found guilty of treason, he took poison, and expired in the court. Tone, who was deeply implicated with him, was permitted by the Irish government to expatriate himself. A man with a delicate feeling of honour would, in our judgement, have abstained from plotting against a government which had given him his life, but such does not seem to be the feeling of the flaming patriot. Tone made no delay in passing from America to France, where, under an assumed name, he acted as the agent of the revolutionists of Ireland. In reliance on the statements of him and others, a formidable expedition, of 17 sail of the line and 13 frigates, carrying an army of 15,000 men, commanded by Roche, one of the ablest of the revolutionary generals, sailed from Brest (Dec. 15, 1796). Had this armament reached its destination in safety, it is impossible to predict the result: the overthrow, at least for a time, of the British dominion in Ireland would in all probability have ensued, for the country was actually defenceless. But it would seem as if Heaven watched in an especial manner over the destinies of the British empire. Storms assailed the French fleet from the moment it left the port. Only 16 sail, with about 6500 troops, and without the general, reached Bantry-bay; and while Grouchy, their commander, hesitated about landing, a violent gale blew off the shore, and again scattered them over the ocean. In the following year another expedition was prepared in the Texel, but the victory at Camperdown again saved the British interest in Ireland.

The heads of the conspiracy in Ireland were as follows: lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, an amiable, but imprudent and giddy young man; he was married to the daughter of Madame de Genlis by, as was said, the infamous duke of Orléans, and he was the intimate friend of Thomas Paine; as he had served for a few months as a subaltern in the American war, he was to be the principal military leader in the insurrection; Arthur O'Connor, the nephew of lord Longueville; Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister; Dr. M'Nevin, a physician; Oliver Bond, a merchant, and some others, all of whom were protestants. These men had established newspapers, named the Northern Star, the Union Star, and the Press, for disseminating their principles; and when these were put down by the arm of the law, they circulated inflammatory handbills. The peasantry were alarmed by false or exaggerated accounts of the ferocity of the Orangemen. They were directed to rob houses for arms, and to abstain

from drinking whiskey, in order to injure the revenue, and with a further view to prevent their divulging the secret. Attempts were likewise made to seduce the soldiery. In many things the French revolution was copied, but the general proceedings were the usual Irish ones, such as are going on before our eyes at the present moment, with this exception, that the priests in general were not active agents in it—many of them, in fact, were eminently loyal; but they were that better generation which had ~~been~~ trained at the foreign universities; Maynooth had not yet sent forth its pupils to taint the minds of the people.

Though the government could not obtain a clue to the conspiracy, they knew that a rebellion was in preparation. Having received information of a plan for a general rising in the north in the summer of 1797, they issued a proclamation, ordering all persons not authorised to keep arms to surrender those they had; and, going beyond the rigid rule of law, they directed the troops to burn the houses and property of those who did not produce the arms which informers said they possessed. Persons were flogged, picketed, and tortured in various ways, to make them discover; and many innocent people were barbarously treated. But this did not last more than a month, and the rising of the north was prevented.

At length the government obtained the information they required. A person named Thomas Reynolds, delegate and colonel for the county of Kildare, travelling in company with a loyalist, was induced by him to disclose what he knew of the conspiracy; and on the information which he gave thirteen of the principal conspirators were arrested at the house of Bond (Mar. 12, 1798). O'Connor was at this time in the Tower, having been arrested at Margate, on his way to France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened not to attend the meeting at Bond's, escaped for the time, but he was discovered on the 19th of May. He made a desperate resistance with a dagger, wounding two of those who seized him, one of them mortally; he himself received a pistol-shot in the shoulder, of which he died on the 3rd of June.

Convinced now of the extent of the conspiracy and of the correspondence with France, the government, by a policy at which one shudders, even while conceding its necessity, resolved to cause the mine to explode as soon as possible. A proclamation was therefore issued on the 30th of March, declaring the kingdom in a state of rebellion; and the troop

were ordered to act for its suppression in the most summary manner. Scenes of cruelty and oppression sufficient to goad a people to madness were speedily enacted. The soldiers lived at free quarters; houses and property were burnt; suspected persons were half-hanged, flogged, and picketed. The peasantry in some parts were giving up their arms in terror, and taking the oath of allegiance; the leaders, fearing that all their projects would be thus disconcerted, resolved to delay no longer, and orders were issued for a general rising on the night of the 23rd of May. The plan formed was to make a simultaneous attack on the camp at Loughlinstown and the artillery at Chapelizod, both near Dublin, and then on the castle and other parts of the city; the mail-coaches were to be stopped and destroyed, and their non-arrival was to be the signal for rising throughout the country.

But the government had timely information; more of the leaders were arrested, and the attempts on the camp and city were frustrated. The rebels of Kildare rose at the appointed time, and attacked Naas and other towns, but, with one trifling exception, they were defeated; and though bodies of them kept together for some time, little of importance occurred in that county during the rebellion. An attack on the town of Carlow on the 25th likewise proved a failure. The Meath rebels were defeated (26th) on the hill of Tarah.

During the month of June, partial risings took place in the counties of Antrim and Down in the north, and in that of Cork in the South, which were easily suppressed. It was in the county of Wexford that the rebellion really raged—a county which would probably have remained at rest had not the people been goaded into rebellion by the cruelties inflicted by the military and the self-styled loyalists. It may also be observed that it was only in this county that priests appeared among the rebels, and that it was only there that murders on a large scale were perpetrated by them. On the night of the 26th a fanatic priest named father John Murphy raised his standard; and next morning, Whitsunday, two rebel camps were formed on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas, near Gorey.

The troops which the government had to oppose to the rebels were of a very insufficient character. A very small portion were of the line, the remainder were Irish militia (whose loyalty was doubtful), English fencibles, as they were named, and the corps of yeomanry, composed of loyalists, which, being mostly cavalry, were of very little use against the rebel pike-

men. Many of the officers in command were utterly devoid of military skill.

The rebels on Oulart having defeated a small detachment sent against them, advanced (28th) to attack the town of Enniscorthy, which the garrison, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. On the 30th, having routed some small detachments, they appeared before the town of Wexford, which was evacuated at their approach. They made these towns their headquarters, their principal bivouac (we cannot call it camp) being on Vinegar-hill, near the former; for it was their tactics always to take their post on heights commanding extensive prospects, where the royal troops must attack them at a disadvantage, and where, if they saw danger approaching up one side, they could escape it by flight down another. At this time they had a great number of protestant prisoners in their hands, whom they confined in the jail of Wexford, and other places in the towns and camp.

The whole southern part of the county except Duncannon and New Ross was now in the hands of the rebels; and on the 4th of June they made a furious attack on this last town. Fortunately, general Johnson, a man of courage and military skill, commanded there. The rebels fought with desperation during a space of ten hours, but were finally repelled, with a loss of more than 1000 men; that of the army being 90 killed and upwards of 100 wounded. During the battle, some cowardly ruffians came to the house of Skullabogue, where above 200 protestants, of all ages and sexes, had been left under a guard, and pretended to have an order for their execution, as the soldiers, they said, were butchering the catholics at Ross. They piked or shot 37 on the hall-door steps, and then shutting up the remaining 184 (including a few obnoxious catholics) in the barn, they set fire to it and burned them all. A priest named Murphy was said to be the chief instigator to this atrocity.

On the same day, in the northern part of the county, general Loftus and colonel Walpole, with 1500 men, advanced in two divisions from Gorey to attack a rebel army on Carrigruah-hill. The rebels, having had timely information, were approaching the town, when they encountered Walpole, who, with the usual strategic ability of the day, knew nothing of their motions till he met them. He was himself killed and his troops were routed; and Loftus, deeming discretion the better part of valour, retired to Tullow in Carlow, leaving Gorey to its fate. On the 9th, the rebels, 27,000 in number, it is said, advanced

from Gorey against Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, with the intent of marching for Dublin. They met with a gallant resistance from about 1600 men, under general Needham; and their leader, father Murphy, who pretended to catch the flying bullets, being killed by a cannon-ball, they retreated to Gorey.

The rebels having concentrated their forces at Vinegar-hill, general Lake the commander-in-chief prepared to make a simultaneous attack on them from different quarters, with a force of 13,000 men. On the 21st the several divisions advanced to the attack, which commenced at seven in the morning. The rebels stood the firing of cannon and musquetry for an hour and a half; they then broke and fled to Wexford, by what was popularly called Needham's Gap, that officer not having arrived at his post till after the battle. The town of Wexford was surrendered to the royal troops; and though various bodies of the insurgents still kept together, the rebellion was in effect ended.

While the rebels lay at Vinegar-hill scarcely a day passed in which they did not put to death some of their protestant prisoners. It is computed that about 400 were thus butchered. At Wexford the prisoners were saved, chiefly by the influence of the catholic inhabitants, till the 20th, when a leader named Dixon commenced a massacre similar to that of September 1792 in Paris. The victims were conducted in parties of ten or twenty to the stately wooden bridge over the Slaney, at the particular request of Mrs. Dixon, that, as she expressed it, "the people might have the *pleasure* of seeing them" put to death. The usual mode was, for two pike-men to stand before and two behind the victim, and thrusting their pikes into his body, to raise and hold him suspended as long as any signs of life appeared. In this manner 97 were murdered. Human feelings, however, still showed themselves in the midst of these barbarities. Some of the priests proved themselves men of humanity. Father Philip Roche, a military leader, and brave as a paladin, though rough and boisterous in manner, exhibited the humanity always attendant on true courage. Some of the lowest of the people saved the charitable rector of Wexford. Many other instances might be given. We fear, that if a fair balance were struck of the blood shed and the cruelties and other enormities committed during those unhappy times, the preponderance would be greatly on the side of the loyalists. Courts-martial made little discrimination between

the innocent and the guilty; nay, to have saved the life or property of a protestant was construed into a proof of guilt, as it argued influence over the rebels.

To the honour of the rebels it is also to be recorded, that though they had in their hands a number of protestant females of all ages, not the slightest insult was offered to their chastity. Widely different in this respect was the conduct of the royal troops, with the exception of the Highlanders, who on all occasions behaved with honour and humanity*.

At length the arrival of lord Cornwallis as viceroy announced the return of tranquillity. An amnesty was published, and the rebels were permitted to return to their homes and resume their avocations. O'Connor, Emmet, and the other chiefs who were in prison, obtained leave to expatriate themselves, on giving all the information in their power respecting the plans and proceedings of the United Irish Society. Every appearance of rebellion had disappeared, when a French force of 1100 men, under general Humbert, landed (Aug. 22) at Killala, in Connaught. They were joined by a part of the peasantry, and they pushed on at once for the heart of the kingdom. A force of 3000 men, or more, under generals Hutchinson and Lake, at Castlebar, actually ran away, leaving their artillery behind them, and fled to Athlone. As the lord-lieutenant was advancing with a considerable force, Humbert moved toward Sligo; but he afterwards crossed the Shannon, and reached a place named Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, where, finding himself surrounded by an army of more than 20,000 men under lord Cornwallis, he surrendered (Sept. 8). His rebel auxiliaries were pursued and slaughtered without mercy. Thus terminated the last (as we believe it to be) rebellion in Ireland, after a loss, it is said, of more than 30,000 lives, and the destruction of property to the amount of upwards of a million sterling.

No time was now lost in preparing measures for the proposed Union. The usual and only course was adopted as formerly in Scotland—arguments were addressed to men's interests,

* The following anecdote has never appeared in print, but we *know* it to be true. Among those arrested in the commencement was a young man, a protestant, named Palmer. His family, deeming his life to be in imminent danger, his sister, a modest pretty girl, was sent to the Castle to try to interest the compassion of Mr. Cooke, the secretary, in his favour. The secretary exaggerated the probable danger to the utmost, and concluded by making her the same proposal as Angelo made to Isabella. She too, repelled it with indignation. Palmer was allowed to expatriate himself.

not to their reason. All the boroughs to be suppressed were to be lavishly paid for to their proprietors; titles of nobility, bishoprics, judgeships, places in all the public departments, in many cases ready money, were given or promised to the great aristocracy and to the members of the legislature. The boon of emancipation was held out to the catholics. The chief opponents of the measure were the people of Dublin, who saw in it a loss of consequence and profit to the city and themselves; and the lawyers who were in parliament, and therefore foresaw a diminution of their own importance. There were, however, many who were actuated only by pure motives of mistaken patriotism. In March, 1800, the measure was passed by the Irish parliament. Its principal opponents in the British legislature were lords Holland, King, and Thanet, and Messrs. Grey and Sheridan; so reckless we may truly say is the spirit of party. On the 2nd of July it received the royal assent, and the legislatures were joined, never, we may venture to assert, to be dissevered. Ireland was to send 32 elective peers to the house of lords (of whom four are prelates, who sit in rotation) and 100 members to the house of commons. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Pitt was not able to carry into effect his intentions of removing the remaining disabilities of the catholics and salarizing their clergy. It would have obviated much future mischief; but not merely the king, the people of England were adverse to such enlightened measures.

We will now proceed to make a rapid sketch of the foreign affairs of Great Britain. Restricted by our narrow limits, we can only promise a bird's-eye view to our readers.

On the 19th of May, 1798, a fleet of 13 sail of the line, with frigates, corvettes, transports, etc., carrying a land-force of 80,000 men, under general Buonaparte, sailed from Toulon; its destination was Egypt, its chief object the destruction of the Anglo-Indian empire. It took the isle of Malta on its way and reached Alexandria in safety (June 30). Lord St. Vincent, who commanded the British fleet off Cadiz, sent sir Horatio Nelson with 14 ships of war in search of the Toulon fleet as soon as he heard of its having sailed. Nelson, after exploring various quarters, at length (Aug. 1) discovered it moored in line of battle in Aboukir-bay, by Alexandria. He adopted the plan of Duncan at Camperdown (though in a more hazardous form), and placed a part of his fleet between the enemy and the shore, and the hostile squadron was thus engaged on both sides. The advantage in size of vessels, weight of metal, and number

of men, was greatly on the side of the French; their admiral Brueys, was an officer of superior ability, and they were aided by the batteries on the land; but nothing could withstand the skill and heroism of the British and their illustrious admiral. The engagement lasted through the day and night, and at two in the afternoon next day the firing ceased. Two only of the French ships escaped; two were burnt, nine were captured; upwards of 5000 men (including the admiral) perished; while the British had not quite 900 killed and wounded. For this great victory Nelson was created a baron! with a pension of 2000*l.* a year; but the king of Naples, more liberal than his own sovereign, gave him the dukedom of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily.

It is a painful duty to have to chronicle the infamy of so great a man as Nelson; but it is not to be concealed, that he was the slave to a passion for lady Hamilton, a woman of great beauty and talent; formerly the mistress, then the wife of the British ambassador at the Neapolitan court. Acting under her influence, Nelson, to gratify the vengeful spirit of the queen of Naples, actually annulled a solemn treaty concluded with the revolutionists of Naples. To the admiral prince Caraccioli, a man of advanced age, whose only offence was his having commanded the republican navy, he would not grant even the favour of being shot. The prince was found guilty at twelve, and hung at five o'clock of the same day, lady Hamilton feasting her eyes with the sight to which she had urged her paramour. Posterity is just; admiration, not respect, is the general feeling toward the character of Nelson*.

On the 27th of August, 1799, a British force under sir Ralph Abercrombie landed at the Helder in Holland. It repulsed the troops which opposed it, and captured the fleet in the Texel. Being joined by a Russian force, it amounted to 35,000 men, and the duke of York came and took the command. It is lamentable to observe the mischief that has been done to England by titled incapacity assuming the post only suited to professional skill. Had Abercrombie remained in command, disgrace might have been averted. The royal duke was obliged to engage for the release of 8000 prisoners of war, in order to be permitted to depart unmolested.

* See Coco, *Saggio Storico sulla Rivoluzione di Napoli*, and Coletta, *Storia di Napoli*. We can however only smile at the insinuation of these writers, of its being jealousy of the superior naval skill of Caraccioli, that made Nelson so adverse to mercy.

Buonaparte made a rapid conquest of Egypt, he then advanced into Syria. . Already, in imagination he had subdued the Turkish empire, when the defence of Acre by the pasha Jezzar, aided by sir Sidney Smith, checked his career. He returned to Egypt, then stole away to France, where, by a master-stroke of boldness and policy, he subverted the Directory which governed, and placed himself at the head of the nation under the title of First Consul. One of his first acts was to make proposals of peace to England, which, however, were rejected.

Early in the year 1801 a change took place in the British cabinet; Mr. Pitt, after a retention of power for so many years, retiring from office, and being succeeded by Mr. Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The cause assigned by Mr. Pitt was his inability to realise the hopes which he had held forth to the Irish catholics in consequence of the scruples entertained by the king. It was thought by many that the new cabinet was only provisional, and that Mr. Pitt would resume his post when he deemed it advisable.

The northern powers, acting under the influence of the emperor of Russia, had again asserted that "free bottoms make free goods," and entered into an armed neutrality to resist the right of search claimed by England. All attempts at negotiation having failed with them, it was resolved to have recourse to stronger measures, and a fleet of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, etc., under sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command, was sent to the Baltic. It was proposed to commence with the Danes; but instead of proceeding at once to Copenhagen, they were to land Mr. Vansittart with a flag of truce to try to negotiate. This delay gave the Danes time to prepare; and when the fleet anchored off Copenhagen (Mar. 31), a line of 19 ships and floating-batteries, with land-batteries and other modes of defence, had been made ready. Nelson undertook the attack with 12 sail of the line and the small craft (Apr. 2). The action commenced at ten o'clock; at one, the admiral, whom the wind prevented from coming up with the rest of the fleet, made the signal of recall, as some of the British ships had suffered severely, and the enemy's fire had not slackened; but Nelson ventured to neglect the signal. At two the fire had ceased along the greater part of the hostile line. The slaughter had been immense among the Danes; and, as they were now suffering also from the fire of their own batteries, Nelson wrote to the crown-prince to urge him to

assent to measures for stopping the carnage. An armistice was in consequence agreed on for twenty-four hours, and the English were allowed to carry off their prizes. Nelson declared this to have been the most dreadful battle he had ever witnessed. He was raised now to the rank of viscount, the ministry being resolved to dole out their favours to him.

The assassination of the emperor Paul and the accession of his son Alexander shortly after put an end to the armed neutrality; as the northern powers now recognized the principle on which England acted.

On the 8th of March, a British force of 12,000 men, under sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed in Aboukir bay in Egypt. They thence advanced to Alexandria, where (21st) they defeated the French under general Menou, the enemy losing nearly 4000 in killed and wounded, the British about half the number; but their able general received a wound in the thigh, of which he shortly after died. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command, instead of besieging Alexandria, advanced against Cairo, in concert with the Turkish forces under the grand vizir and the capitan-pasha. General Belliard, who commanded in that city, surrendered on honourable terms, and the combined army, now joined by an Anglo-Indian force of 7500 men, advanced to lay siege to Alexandria. Menou, after making a defence for some days, accepted the terms granted to Belliard, and Egypt was thus cleared of the French and restored to the Porte.

Buonaparte, who had now routed the Austrians both in Italy and Germany, and compelled them to sue for peace, was making vast preparations for the invasion of England, who on her part adopted the most energetic measures for defence; and such was the military ardour shown by the people, that in addition to a force of from 300,000 to 400,000 men by sea and land paid by the nation, the whole kingdom was filled with corps of volunteers, ready to encounter the victors of Marengo and Hohenlinden in defence of their liberties and properties. But peace was necessary to the French ruler, and after much negotiation a treaty was signed at Amiens (Mar. 25, 1802), England agreeing to restore all her conquests except Trinidad and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. The war had largely increased the national debt, and it had greatly deranged the internal relations of the country; every one therefore rejoiced at the prospect of tranquillity.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III. (CONCLUDED).

1802-1820.

THE peace of Amiens, as might easily have been foreseen, proved to be nothing more than a truce. Buonaparte, who soon transferred the whole power of the state to himself, went on extending his influence over the continent, and preparing the way for the universal dominion at which he even then seems to have aimed. The English government, aware of his object, hesitated at restoring Malta to the Knights of St. John, in this offending against the letter of the treaty of Amiens; and discussion having proved useless, the minister of England left Paris (Mar. 12, 1803), and orders were issued for seizing the ships of France in the British ports. Buonaparte retaliated by detaining all the British subjects who were in France at the time. The war was now renewed; of the justice of it on the part of England few pretended to doubt, and all the national energies were put forth to sustain it.

The Addington administration was too feeble to direct the nation in this great crisis, and on the 11th of May he threw the reins with an unsteady hand for a twelvemonth to Mr. Pitt, who threw them up (May 12, 1804), and Mr. Pitt resumed his proper station. The duke of Portland, lords Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Castlereagh, and some other members of the former cabinet remained in office; lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden came in with Mr. Pitt; Messrs. Huskisson and Sturges Bourne became secretaries to the treasury, and Mr. Canning treasurer of the navy.

On the 18th of May Napoléon Buonaparte caused himself to be declared emperor of the French, and at his summons the pope came to Paris and crowned him in the cathedral of Notre Dame (Dec. 2).

The new emperor appears to have had serious intentions of invading England. His plan is said to have been to distract the attention of the British government by sending out his fleets in various directions, and while the British navy was scattered in pursuit of them, they were to re-assemble and aid the passage of the large army which he had collected on the coast.

Nelson,² who was in the Mediterranean (1805), learning that the Toulon fleet under admiral Villeneuve was at sea, went everywhere in search of it, but to no purpose. Villeneuve got into Cadiz, where he was joined by the Spanish admiral Gravina, and the united fleet of 18 sail of the line with frigates put to sea; Nelson pursued them with 10 sail of the line. Having searched for them without effect in the West Indies, he returned to Gibraltar; he then sought for them in the bay of Biscay, and off the north-west coast of Ireland. On his return to Portsmouth, he at length received certain intelligence. Sir Robert Calder, who with 15 sail of the line was on the look-out for the combined fleet, fell in with it (July 22) sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Though it consisted of 27 sail of the line, he boldly attacked it and succeeded in capturing two ships. The hostile fleets then remained in sight for four days, after which Villeneuve retired to Ferrol. For this gallant action sir R. Calder was brought to a court-martial, and severely reprimanded!

Villeneuve having taken out the squadron which was at Ferrol, proceeded to Cadiz; he was followed thither by a British fleet under Nelson, who took his station fifty miles to the west of that port, using every precaution to conceal his arrival and the number of his ships. The French admiral, who had received orders to put to sea immediately, came out of Cadiz (Sept. 19) with 33 sail of the line and 5 large frigates; Nelson, whose force was 27 sail of the line and 4 frigates, kept out of view lest the enemy should put back. On the 21st Oct. the two fleets came to action off Cape Trafalgar. Villeneuve formed his line of battle in a double crescent; the British fleet bore down in two columns, one led by Nelson in the Victory, the other by admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign. Nelson's last signal was, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' He wore that day the stars of all the orders with which he had been invested, and he seems to have had a presentiment of his fate.

Our limits do not admit of our giving the details of this greatest of naval conflicts. Suffice it to say that the victory of the English was glorious, 19 sail of the line becoming their prizes, and one having blown up; but their joy was clouded by the death of their illustrious leader. He was shot in the shoulder by a ball from the mizen-top of the Redoubtable, and he breathed his last at the close of the action, saying 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

This was one of the most important victories for England that ever were achieved. It annihilated the French navy, and put an end to all Napoléon's projects of invasion. England might henceforth laugh to scorn the impotent threats of the upstart despot. Her subsequent noble efforts were all made for the advantage of others, and with her blood and her treasure she only assured the existence of a set of undeserving and ungrateful sovereigns. For this splendid victory Nelson's brother, one of the most worthless of men, was made an earl, with a pension of 6000*l.* a year, and 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate; Collingwood was raised to the peerage; gold medals, etc. were bestowed on the other officers.

Mr. Pitt did not long survive this great triumph of his administration. His health had long been declining, and he expired early in the following year (Jan. 23, 1806), in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was buried at the public expense in Westminster-abbey, and parliament granted 40,000*l.* for the payment of his debts. His death dissolved the cabinet. The king, in spite of his antipathy to Mr. Fox, was obliged to apply to lord Grenville to form a ministry which he knew must include that statesman. Lord Grenville became first lord of the treasury, Addington (now lord Sidmouth) privy-seal, lord Erskine chancellor, Grey (now lord Howick) first lord of the admiralty, earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, the three secretaries, lord Henry Petty chancellor of the exchequer, etc. The change effected extended to the lowest officers, and the whigs now seemed to think themselves secure of a long lease of power.

Mr. Fox lost no time in endeavouring to negotiate a peace, but he soon found how much easier it is as a leader of opposition to declaim against war, than as a minister to effect a peace with an ambitious and encroaching enemy. In justice to Mr. Fox it must be stated that he scorned to sacrifice a particle of the national honour even for that peace which he loved so much. He did not live to know the termination of his ineffectual negotiation. He died (Sept. 13), in his fifty-ninth year, worn out by the fury of the parliamentary warfare, and he reposes side by side with his great rival in the Abbey.

The two great men now removed from the political arena where they so long had contended for superiority, were, as their fathers had been, younger sons. In private life the character of Pitt was the more pure, that of Fox the more amiable. "He is," said Burke after their quarrel, "a man made to be

loved." His manners were most simple, his heart most benevolent, his love of peace was no affectation, it was a genuine feeling. Pitt too loved peace, but war was forced on him; he too felt for the wrongs of the negro and the degradation of the catholic, though he would not hazard his power by making the redress of them cabinet-questions, and hence his sincerity has been doubted.

Pitt's private fortune was always most moderate, that of Fox was squandered at the gambling-table. He became in consequence a dependent on the bounty of the more wealthy members of his party, and ceased in some measure to be a free agent. Want of self-control and want of judgement are also apparent in his character. In all his political struggles we therefore find him sinking under the better calculated, and more wisely conducted measures of his rival. In the whole of his long political life, he enjoyed power but for two short periods, and one was obtained by an act of indelible disgrace. Pitt no doubt, to retain power, at times sacrificed principle to expediency, and gave preferments to unworthy objects; but no mean or base action stains his name.

The eloquence of Pitt was distinguished by clearness, correctness, and vigour. His words of themselves, as it were, fell into their proper places. His diction was copious but without ornament; his sarcasm was bitter; his manner was graceful; his command of temper great; Sheridan alone could ruffle him. Fox's eloquence burst and rushed along in a torrent, carrying everything before it, though impeded by a negligent and ungraceful manner, and a thick and hurried pronunciation. He was said a competent judge, "the most Demosthenian speaker since Demosthenes." His speeches were animated by the benevolence of his heart, and invigorated by maxims of political wisdom, which derived additional effect from the simple robe of vernacular English in which they were usually attired.

The whigs' tenure of office was much shorter than they had anticipated. They were personally odious to the king; their pretensions to superior wisdom and abilities caused them to be nicknamed All the Talents, and Mr. Canning, a distinguished member of the tory party, assailed and ridiculed them without ceasing on this head; their conduct of foreign affairs, moreover, indicated little wisdom or vigour. The public expectation, in fine, was disappointed; and the king, taking advantage of their introduction of a measure for the relief of

the catholics, dismissed them from office (Mar. 24, 1807) with the general approbation of the nation. The duke of Portland was the nominal head of the new ministry, with Mr. Perceval, an eminent barrister, as leader in the commons; the three secretaries were lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning; and lord Eldon was made chancellor. A dissolution of parliament ensued, and the alarm of No Popery! gave the ministers an overwhelming majority.

In the preceding year the victory at Austerlitz had prostrated Austria at the feet of Napoleon, and now that of Jena broke the power of Prussia, and those of Eylau and Friedland reduced Russia to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded at Tilsit, of which the real object was the overthrow of national independence all over Europe. Napoleon now commenced his grand system of measures for excluding England from the trade of the entire continent, by declaring the British isles in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all intercourse with them. The English cabinet in return, by orders in council, declared every port from which England was excluded to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels trading with it liable to capture.

As it was evident from the treaty of Tilsit, that Napoleon, who was never restrained by any feeling of justice or honour, would when he saw fit occupy Denmark, and add her resources to his empire; the British ministry, acting on the principle of self-preservation, resolved to anticipate him even at the expense of justice. A fleet under admiral Gambier, carrying 20,000 troops, commanded by lord Cathcart, appeared in the Baltic, and an envoy was sent to Copenhagen to require the surrender of the Danish fleet, to be restored when peace should be concluded between France and England. The reply being a positive refusal, the troops were landed (Aug. 16), and Copenhagen was invested by sea and land. After a bombardment of four days, a capitulation was made (Sept. 8), and all the ships, stores, timber, etc. were surrendered, and were conveyed to England.

In the year 1808 commenced the memorable Peninsular War, which, persevered in with energy, in spite of egregious blunders on the part of the British cabinet, of the unpatriotic, little less than treasonable conduct of the opposition*, and of

* It is, however, but justice to them to state, that in 1812, after the noble stand at Torres Vedras, many of them repudiated their former sentiments; and Mr. Whitbread, who had been most violent, wrote a letter of recantation to the former object of his fierce invectives.

the baseness, treachery, and pusillanimity of the Spanish and Portuguese governments, was carried, though at a ruinous expense, to a glorious termination, and led to the overthrow of the despotism which oppressed Europe. Providence had so arranged that England should possess another Marlborough in sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already in India reduced the power of the Mahrattas, while his brother the marquess Wellesley was governor-general. To attempt to detail the military achievements of this illustrious warrior in our restricted limits would be mere presumption. More fortunate than his great predecessor, he has met with a historian worthy of him*, and the publication of his own despatches has given to his fame the only addition that it could receive. We shall aim at nothing beyond the enumeration of his victories.

Napoléon was resolved to add the Spanish peninsula with its colonies to his dominions. In the year 1807 his troops occupied Portugal, the royal family having fled to the Brazils. Large bodies of troops were under various prettexts introduced into Spain; the king and his eldest son were obliged to appear before the emperor at Bayonne, and to resign the crown. They were sent as prisoners into the interior of France, and the emperor's brother Joseph was appointed king of Spain. But the pride and jealousy of the Spanish people took fire at the insult offered to the nation, and all the provinces of the monarchy prepared to resist. Deputations were sent to London, and the British government bestowed with lavish profusion money, arms, and supplies of all kinds. Spain was now to become the arena on which the battles of European independence were to be fought.

A force of 10,000 men under sir Arthur Wellesley, which had been assembled for the invasion of Spanish America, now sailed from Cork (July 12) to co-operate with the Spaniards or Portuguese. He debarked in Mondego-bay to the north of Lisbon. Reinforcements raised his troops to the number of 16,000 men, and at the village of Vimiero (Aug. 21) he engaged the French general Junot, and defeated him with a loss of more than 2000 killed and wounded. The victory might have been more complete but for the folly of the British ministry, who had appointed not less than two generals, sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple, over the man whose superior talents they must have known. The former arrived just before the battle, and though he did not interfere with

* General Napier, author of the History of the Peninsular War.

sir Arthur Wellesley's movements, he assumed the command in time to prevent the victory from being followed up. Sir Hew arrived next day, and Junot having sent to propose a convention by which the French should evacuate Portugal, it was agreed to, and the Convention of Cintra, as it was named, was made, by which the French troops with their property, both public and private, were to be landed in France. This convention was generally regarded as disgraceful to England, and sir Hew received a vote of censure from parliament, which, it is evident, the commander-in-chief deserved much better.

In the latter part of the year Napoléon poured immense masses of troops into Spain, where he now came to take the command in person.

The British army in Portugal was at this time commanded by sir John Moore, a very able officer; but Lord Castlereagh, the foreign secretary, with the usual ministerial presumption, took upon himself to direct the military operations. Moore was ordered to proceed to the north of Spain to join an expedition from England. He advanced to Salamanca, where finding the Spanish armies, whose co-operation he had been led to expect, routed and scattered and the people lukewarm, if not hostile, he resolved to retreat to the coast, and by drawing the French after him give the Spaniards time to recover. It was now the depth of winter; the toils and sufferings of the army were extreme; a superior French force under marshal Soult pressed on their retreat; but they reached Coruña (Jan. 11, 1809) unimpeded. They had embarked their sick men and artillery when (16th) they were furiously attacked by Soult with a force of 20,000 men, theirs being only 14,500; after a severe action, the assailants were repelled with a loss of 2000 men, the British losing half the number and their excellent commander. They buried him at night in the citadel, and Soult, as a generous enemy, raised a monument over him. The troops embarked during the night, and proceeded to England.

Marshal Soult thence advanced into Portugal and made himself master of Oporto. At the same time the regency at Lisbon having applied for a British officer to discipline and command their troops, general Beresford was the person selected: sir Arthur Wellesley also arrived with a British army (Apr. 22), and he took the supreme command of both the British and Portuguese forces. He marched without delay against Soult, whom he forced to evacuate Portugal; he then advanced into Spain to co-operate with the Spanish general Cuesta against

marshal Victor. A severe engagement was fought (July 27 and 28) near the city of Talavera in Estremadura; the British were 19,000 men, the Spaniards 34,000, while the French had 50,000 veteran soldiers. The enemy was finally repulsed with a loss of more than 7000 in all; the British had near 5500 killed and wounded; the Spaniards *said* they had lost 1200, for on this, as on most occasions, their troops proved of little use in action. Sir Arthur Wellesley, aware of this and of the baseness of the *Junta* at Seville who administered the government, resolved to remain no longer in Spain, and he retired into Portugal. For his conduct of this campaign he was created viscount Wellington.

Fortunately for Spain, Austria was now at war with Napoleon. His defeat at Aspern raised hopes that his despotism might be overthrown; but at Wagram all these hopes were crushed. The British cabinet, while Austria maintained the contest, prepared to make a diversion in her favour, and lord Castlereagh planned a mighty expedition to the coast of Holland. But Castlereagh, the most ignorant and inefficient of war-ministers, knew nothing of the country to which he was sending the troops; he selected to command them the worst general possible, in the sluggish, inert, and ignorant earl of Chatham, whose only merit was his being a Pitt; he made no secret of his preparations, and he delayed the expedition till the season of utility was past. A fleet of 39 sail of the line, with frigates, gun-boats, etc., and carrying 40,000 soldiers, sailed from the Downs on the day of the battle of Talavera, but without a Wellington. We will not relate the details of this lamentable offspring of incapacity; it merely took the pestilential island of Walcheren, and the greater part of the men composing it perished by disease.

Mr. Canning, who was certainly the first statesman of his party, clearly saw the total unfitness of lord Castlereagh for the situation which he held, and he tendered his own resignation to the duke of Portland unless his brother-secretary were removed. This led to a duel between the two ministers and to their subsequent resignations, and the foreign department was committed to the marquess Wellesley, a man of undoubted talent and energy.

In 1810 the malady with which the king had more than once been attacked returned, never to be removed. On the aberration of his intellect being ascertained, the chief executive power was confided to the prince of Wales as regent, and

it; and this affair terminated, in that upright and honourable, though not brilliant, statesman, lord Hawkesbury, now earl of Liverpool, becoming the premier.

While in this year Napoléon was engaged in preparing for his inauspicious conflict with Russia, lord Wellington resumed the offensive. Early in January he took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm; he then led his troops against Badajoz, which city, after a most gallant and able defence by general Phillipon, was stormed (Apr. 6) and taken with great loss on the part of the allies. Lord Wellington then moved northwards, and engaged near Salamanca (June 22) the army of marshal Marmont. The defeat of the French was complete, the prisoners alone amounting to 7000 men. After this victory the British general entered Madrid in triumph (Aug. 12); but having wasted thirty-five days in besieging Burgos without heavy artillery, he found it necessary, on account of the approach of the French armies, to retire into Portugal.

The dominion of Napoléon was now fast drawing to its close. The fatal retreat from Moscow was succeeded by the defection of allies and the insurrection of nations in the cause of independence. While the British government were aiding the confederacy of the north by subsidies, they did not neglect their great commander in the peninsula, and on the 16th of May, 1813, he was able to put an army of 60,000 British and Portuguese in motion, and he was joined by 20,000 Spaniards. The French army, equal in number to the Anglo-Portuguese, and led by king Joseph and marshal Jourdan, retired before him toward France; but at Vittoria (June 21) they found it necessary to give battle. The victory of the allies on this day was one of the most decisive and glorious ever gained. The enemy fled, abandoning their baggage, stores, artillery, and everything; the victors soon approached the Pyrenees; but Soult, the ablest of Napoléon's generals, had now taken the command, and in the defiles of the mountains much severe fighting occurred. Both armies took up their winter quarters on the shores of the bay of Biscay. The strong fortress of St. Sebastian had been reduced by the British, after sustaining great loss owing to the want of skill in sir Thomas Graham, their commander.

In January (1814) the allies crossed the Rhine and entered France; lord Wellington at the same time entered it from the south, Soult retiring before him. At Orthès (Feb. 27) another complete victory was gained, and the British general still

advanced till he again encountered his rival under the walls of Toulouse, where at the very time that Napoléon was signing his abdication at Fontainebleau (Apr. 10), a furious battle was fought, which terminated, as usual, in the defeat of the French, and concluded the war.

A portion of the victorious troops of Wellington had now to cross the Atlantic to engage a new enemy. In 1812, when the liberties of mankind were in agony, and England was straining every nerve in their defence, it might have been expected that the government of a country like the United States, whose people claim almost an exclusive possession of freedom, would have sympathized with the glorious efforts of the mother-country, and if she were guilty of a few violations of the strict letter of the law of nations, would have overlooked them. But there seems to be an elective attraction between the tyranny of democracy and every other species of tyranny; and Mr. Madison, the American president, was the humble admirer and obsequious slave of Napoléon, whose career of spoliation he was ambitious to emulate. Though England had expressed her willingness to revoke her orders in council, Mr. Madison could not wait with patience; and while the European despot was pouring his myriads into Russia, the would-be Napoléon of the new world ordered *his* troops to advance to the conquest of Canada: defeat, however, awaited them; the republicans were obliged to surrender to far inferior numbers. At sea they had more success, for as their frigates (as they called them) were in fact line-of-battle ships, they succeeded in capturing the British frigates the *Guerrière* and *Macedonian*. They had also some success upon the lakes.

In the campaign of 1813, the British, though greatly inferior in force, maintained their superiority on land; but the Americans had the advantage on the lakes. A brilliant exploit at sea re-established the glory of the British flag. Captain Brooke, being off the port of Boston in the *Shannon* frigate, challenged the *Chesapeake*, which was lying there, to come out. The challenge was accepted; the American was as usual greatly superior in number of men and guns and weight of metal; yet in fifteen minutes she was a prize, and on her way to Halifax!

The overthrow of Napoléon in 1814 was calculated to bring the ambitious president to reason, and negotiations for peace were commenced. • But the republicans longed for Canada, and the English wished to punish them for their ungenerous con-

duct. Hostilities were therefore continued, and at midsummer a body of Wellington's warriors landed in Canada; but the utter incapacity of sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief, paralysed their valour. A fleet carrying a body of troops commanded by general Ross sailed up the Chesapeake, and the troops having landed and defeated (Aug. 24) an American army of 8000 or 9000 men, took the city of Washington, where private property was respected, but all the public buildings and stores were destroyed. The fleet and army then made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Baltimore.

A most unfortunate expedition was sent up the Mississippi toward the end of the year, in the hope of surprising New Orleans. But as usual, the secret transpired, and general Jackson, who commanded there, had time to prepare for its defence, and his dispositions were most able. Never did the nobler qualities of the British soldier show in greater lustre than in this disastrous affair. The Americans were posted behind entrenchments, with a deep canal in their front; from batteries and vessels of war in their river they kept up an incessant fire; while their riflemen, taking deliberate aim, did murderous execution. In fine, the British were obliged to retire, having lost their leader, the gallant Pakenham, and between 2000 and 3000 of their peninsular heroes (Jan. 8). Peace had meantime been concluded at Ghent, and a war was terminated which should never have commenced. The spirit of democracy, as history shows, is essentially encroaching and unjust; and as long as England retains her possessions in North America, there will be a party in the United States eager for an opportunity to seize them if possible. War is therefore always to be apprehended between the two portions of the British race; but the chances of it seem to be more and more on the decrease every year. In fact, commerce has united the two nations in such numerous and intricate relations, that the gain of either party from a war would not compensate in any degree for the losses and injuries that would have been sustained in the conflict*.

The sudden return of Napoléon to France in 1815 rekindled the flames of war. The most energetic measures were adopted by the allied nations to oppose him; large armies were ra-

* "Great Britain," says Jefferson (Letters, iv. 391), "is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one or of all upon earth, and with her on our side, we need not fear the whole world. *With her then we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship.*"

pidly assembled in the Netherlands. The great and decisive battle was fought (June 18) between Napoléon and Wellington at Waterloo. To give the details of this important contest is out of our power; suffice it to say, that a victory more complete never was won, and that it crushed for ever the hopes of the upstart despot, who, ere long, sought refuge on board of a British man-of-war, and at length died a captive on the rock of St. Helena. A general peace, which has not since been interrupted, was established.

It is a humiliating reflection, that, when we look back from the vantage-ground of nearly forty years, we can ask, what was the use of such an expenditure of blood and treasure on the part of England? and would the liberties of mankind be in a worse condition than they are at present had Napoléon been let to run his career of conquest unchecked, and reduce the whole continent beneath his sway? His empire must have terminated with his life, and perhaps then the people of France and Germany, their old dynasties having been swept away, might have formed better systems of government than any they have or have had as yet; Russia could not have been conquered, but she might have been effectually crippled, to the no small benefit of the world; as to the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, there can surely be little doubt in any rational mind, but that they would have been far happier and more prosperous under the dynasties established by Napoléon than they are under their present effete and worthless reigning houses. What a blessing to the whole world would have been the reduction of Papacy to insignificance! With respect to England, after the day of Trafalgar, she had little to fear; and with a tenth perhaps of the money which she lavished in Spain, she might have had such a fleet at sea, and have put her coast into such a state of defence, as would have annihilated all fears of invasion. There are statistic accounts, too, which show that all the efforts of Napoléon had failed to reduce the sale of her manufactures on the continent to any considerable extent. Strange if the great victories of Wellington should have been almost useless!

During the remaining years of the reign of George III. England was internally agitated, in consequence of the difficulties and sufferings necessarily attendant on a return to peace from a state of war, which had greatly altered the relations of society; in many places the lower classes broke out into riots, which it required military force to quell; for, condemned by a law of

nature to political ignorance, they are, ever have been, and ever will be, the victims and dupes of artful and unprincipled men, who seek to make them the ladder of their own ambition*. These men carefully instil into their minds a belief that their misery, whenever it occurs, is attributable to the upper classes of society, and can be remedied by legislative enactments, and each has his political nostrum of the ballot, universal suffrage, and such like, which is to effect the cure. The real truth, however, is, that the comforts and happiness of the lower orders mainly, if not entirely, depend on the relation between their numbers and the demand for their labour. If by habits of prudence and virtuous restraint they can keep down the former, they will have high wages and constant employment in spite of any act of the legislature; if they do not, all the legislation in the world cannot prevent their suffering. This, however, is too obvious and simple a truth ever to be embraced by them: most patients prefer medicine to diet†.

It was during the reign of George III. that the subjugation of India was effected, chiefly under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, whose brother, the future vanquisher of Napoléon, first displayed his transcendent abilities in the war against the Mahrattas; and the names of Assye and Dargaum open the roll of the numerous and splendid military achievements which shed glory on his name. The whole of India, with the exception of Nepaul, is now, more or less directly, under the dominion of Great Britain, whose rule is on the whole, we believe, though unhappily not to the extent to be desired, a blessing to that vast region, and which would be ill

* The following description of the *genus* demagogue is drawn by an American writer:—"Demagogues are the natural fruit of republics; and the fabled Upas could not be more poisonous or desolating to the soil from which it springs. Envious of his superiors, panting for honours which he is conscious he never can deserve, endowed with no higher faculty than cunning and an impudent hardihood, reckless of consequences, and groveling alike in spirit and motive, the demagogue seeks first to cajole the people, then to corrupt, and last of all to betray and ruin them. When he has brought down the high to a level with himself and depressed the low till they are pliant to his will, his work is achieved."—*Sparks' Life of Washington*, i. 427.

† Nothing can be more pernicious than telling the lower classes that it is *they* that pay the taxes. In effect, if they have the prudence to abstain from the use of tobacco, malt liquors and spirits, they will pay no taxes. It is on the capitalists that taxation falls even when levied on the necessities of life, for the wages of the working man must be such as will maintain him in health and strength.

exchanged for the withering despotism of Russia, or a return to the former state of turbulence and oppression.

On the 29th of January, 1820, the reign of George III., the longest in our annals, reached its close. The venerable monarch was in the eighty-second year of his age. The sterling goodness and the sincere piety which marked his character, had always, in spite of his faults and of the party violence and anarchic principles which had prevailed so much in England during a great part of his reign, secured him the love and veneration of the great body of the people; and though so long shut out from the view of the world, his death caused a feeling of regret and melancholy. It must always be recollected, in excuse of this king, that in the cases, the American War and Catholic Emancipation, in which he was most blamed, he was merely the representative of the feelings of the great majority of the people of England.

The most important domestic events in the reign of George IV. were the proceedings against his queen for adultery, the repeal of the Test- and Corporation-acts, and the emancipation of the Roman catholics. Of the latter measures we shall presently have occasion to speak; over the former we would willingly, for the sake of all parties, draw the veil of oblivion. Suffice it to say that the queen was not spotless, but that she had originally been harshly and even barbarously treated. A more ill-assorted union perhaps has never been effected; and we cannot help thinking that the diplomatist employed by George III. to negotiate it should, when he saw the kind of person the elected bride really was, have informed his master and advised him not to proceed in the treaty. The trial of the queen was damaging alike to the character of the king and of his ministry. The latter should have resigned rather than have made themselves the tools of the monarch's spite and malice; for their opponents would not have dared to take their places, and, it is even asserted, had assured them that they would not. How strong then must the passion be for place and power!

On the death of George IV. (June 25, 1830), his brother, the duke of Clarence, ascended the throne as William IV. His reign is made memorable in history by the passing of the great Reform-bill. He died after a brief reign of seven years (June 20, 1837), and was succeeded by her present majesty, queen Victoria, the only child of the late duke of Kent, fourth son of George III.

On the 10th of February, 1840, her majesty espoused prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Their union has been happy, exempt from all domestic dissension, and blessed with a numerous progeny of both sexes. As a wife and a mother the conduct of queen Victoria is most exemplary; as a sovereign she is everything that is to be desired in a constitutional monarchy. Without possessing the splendid abilities of Elizabeth, which are no longer requisite and might be embarrassing, she discharges the duties of her high station with propriety and dignity, and she is deservedly the most popular sovereign that has ever occupied the throne of England; for while Elizabeth, for example, was popular with only a portion of her subjects, the respect and affection toward queen Victoria is universal throughout her dominions and with all classes.

CHAPTER VI.

DOMESTIC EVENTS SINCE THE PEACE OF 1815.

As a suitable conclusion to our history we will give a succinct, and, if possible, an impartial view of the chief domestic events since the termination of the great European war. Our statements can only be general, as our space gives little room for details.

During the war the taxes had necessarily been extremely high; the transition therefore should not have been too sudden, and the nation should have been content with a gradual reduction. But the great aristocracy, at that time omnipotent in parliament, insisted on an immediate removal of the income-tax, which pressed heavily on *them*, and to keep up if possible their rents at their actual rate a bill was passed (1815), prohibiting the free importation of wheat so long as the price was under 80s. a quarter. But this did not avail; the price of corn fell gradually and permanently, distress prevailed among all classes, discontent spread among the lower orders, tenants were ruined, and landlords were forced to reduce their rents. To add to their difficulties came (1819) Mr. Peel's bill for the resumption of cash-payments, a measure which it seems surprising how they were induced to pass unaltered. We have always regarded it as one of extreme injustice, as it benefited

the whole class of creditors, while it was highly injurious to every one who was in debt. Thus the man who had borrowed a given number of pounds sterling when the currency was depreciated and the gold coin worth a third or a half more than its nominal value, was obliged to repay them in as many golden sovereigns. To men like Mr. Peel himself, who owed nothing and were rather in the creditor-class, the measure was indifferent or even gainful, but this was far from being the condition of the aristocracy in general, and they consequently were heavy sufferers by this precipitate act of legislation. In fact, the injury caused by it was almost universal.

From the accession of George III., with one or two brief intervals, the tories had been in undisturbed possession of the sweets of place and power. Since 1812 the prime minister had been the earl of Liverpool; his colleagues were in general men of very moderate capacity; his own character stood high for honour and integrity till it was blemished by his undertaking the prosecution of the queen. Yet there was an element of weakness in this apparently firm cabinet: the question of the catholic claims was one on which the ministers were divided. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning held the opinions of Mr. Pitt and were for timely concession, while most of their colleagues, headed by that foe to all change and progress, the chancellor Eldon, were opposed to concession of any kind. The man of greatest ability in this party was Mr. Peel, the member for the university of Oxford. The melancholy death of lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) soon opened the way for him to one of the higher offices, and he became home-secretary. He distinguished his tenure of office by many legal improvements which do honour to his memory.

On the 27th of February, 1827, an attack of paralysis terminated the political life of lord Liverpool, and the opposing elements in the cabinet, which he alone had kept together, immediately separated. As Mr. Canning was clearly the chief man in it, the king directed him to form a ministry. He intended to continue the principle of leaving the catholic question what was called an open one, and he therefore naturally expected that his former colleagues would continue to act with him as before. But he was mistaken. Mr. Peel drew a nice distinction; he could form part of such a cabinet while the head of it was opposed to those claims, but not when he favoured them; others made similar pretexts, but the true motive with all was jealousy and envy of the new premier. Among

others the duke of Wellington laid down the command of the army.

Deserted thus by his own party the minister found it necessary to have recourse to the whigs, and they, with the single exception of lord Grey, agreed to support him. The hostility of his former friends was virulent and persevering, but Mr. Canning's tenure of power was brief; for his death occurred in the following year. A feeble attempt at carrying on the government by a ministry at the head of which was lord Goderich (late Mr. Robinson), proved an abortion, and the king finally commanded the duke of Wellington to form an administration. Mr. Peel now returned to office and became the leader in the house of commons; the whig members of the preceding ministry retired, Mr. Huskisson and the other Canningites remained. Men saw however that unanimity could not long prevail; the premier's habits were military and despotic, he expected the obedience of the camp in the cabinet, and great as were his abilities, even as an administrator and a financier, he was not, in the proper sense of the term, a statesman. It was therefore not long before Mr. Huskisson and his friends ceased to belong to the ministry.

The cabinet appeared now to be homogeneous, composed of pure tory elements, and therefore it was presumed adverse to all progress. The whigs, who had had hopes of being invited to join, now resolved to try to annoy it. The question on which they made their first great effort was the repeal of the Test- and Corporation-acts. These had been enacted against the dissenters in the reign of Charles II.; but they had long been innocuous, as an annual bill of indemnity enabled dissenters to hold corporate offices and to sit in parliament. But the whigs now made a great grievance of it, and so irrational did the retention of these acts appear, that the ministry sustained a defeat. Mr. Peel at once acquiesced, and they were repealed without any detriment to the ministry.

But now came on a far more important question, that of Catholic Emancipation. This was a measure on which the leading intellects of the country had been agreed for the last half-century. But the protestant population of the empire, knowing from history and tradition that Popery is in its essence intolerant, persecuting and sanguinary, instinctively shrank from giving it power. They could not be made to see that wise and timely concession would have the very opposite effect. The consequence was that the Irish Roman Catholics, irritated

at the frustration of their hopes at the time of the Union, resolved to try to extort from the fears of England what they could not obtain from her generosity. They formed societies and commenced a system of agitation, and by exaggeration and falsehood they excited the lower classes and kept them in a ferment. A master spirit soon appeared in the person of one of the most extraordinary demagogues that the world has ever seen, one who seemed made for Ireland and Ireland for him, for in no other country could he have succeeded. Of humble origin (for he was educated for the priesthood) he knew the people, an astute lawyer, gifted with great bodily strength and able to speak without ceasing, truly eloquent though utterly devoid of taste and wisdom, at times deeply pathetic, at others full of humour, powerful in vituperation, utterly regardless of truth, physically a coward, and though loose in morals slavishly superstitious. Such was Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish Agitator. To this we are to add, that, as his whole career proved, he had no real patriotic feeling; vulgar popularity and private gain were his only objects.

When a vacancy occurred in the representation of the county of Clare in 1828, Mr. O'Connell stood and was returned by an immense majority. In consequence of the oaths he could not take his seat; but the power thus exhibited by the Catholic Association, and the apparent danger of a civil war, decided the duke of Wellington, and in the king's speech at the opening of the following session the consideration of the catholic claims was recommended to parliament. Though opposed by a large portion of the tory party, yet supported by the whigs, the ministers succeeded in passing a bill of emancipation, as with a mixture of cunning and absurdity the Irish had styled their claims.

In thus passing a measure on account of which they had separated from and opposed Mr. Canning, the duke and Mr. Peel, if they proved their patriotism, forfeited their claim to be ranked among great statesmen. It may be asked, was the danger before which they affected to quail real? We think not; the Irish knew too well the power of England to venture on an armed struggle; but the fact was, the intellect of England was with them, and it would not support the minister in repressing Irish agitation by force. Nothing then remained but conciliation, but for this the time was past. O'Connell was not alone; agitation had fostered a brood of demagogues, to whom, as well as to their chief, quiet would have been

ruinous. A new grievance was quickly devised; all the misery of Ireland had been caused by the Union, and Repeal of the Union became the cry. This was a prudent measure, for as it was certain that England would never consent, the agitators might hope to batten on it to the end of their lives.

The old tory party were in general indignant at this treachery, as they deemed it, of their leaders. They murmured, they threatened, they thwarted the ministers, yet the premier, whose sympathies were with them, still hoped to win them back, and therefore disdainfully rejected the proffered aid of the whigs. The session of 1830 wore away till the 26th of June, when George IV. breathed his last. This of course was followed by a dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 23rd of July. Meantime had occurred the revolution in France and the expulsion of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Such an event could not occur in one country without affecting others. The ardent and turbulent were excited everywhere: on the continent they flew to arms; in England they sought to remove the alleged imperfections of the constitution, and the cry of Parliamentary Reform resounded all over the country. In this state of the public feeling the elections were held; the duke of Wellington, it is asserted, refused to exert the usual government influence, and in consequence, the virulent tories, the whigs and the party named Radical Reformers formed the majority of the new house of commons. As a proof of what the public feeling was, it may be noticed, that Mr. Brougham was returned for the great county of York, for which previously none but men of high rank and princely wealth had ventured to stand; and Mr. Fume, whose only claims were his persevering efforts to reduce the public expenditure, for the county of Middlesex.

On the 2nd of November the new parliament met. The speech from the throne was long, and embraced many important matters. It afforded ample matter of attack to the opposition, for it seemed to express disapprobation of the struggles against despotism on the continent, and to intimate that no reform of parliament would be granted. Lord Grey, as leader of the opposition, dwelt on all these points, and above all, on the necessity of a reform in the house of commons. The duke of Wellington in reply had the boldness, and, we may add, the folly, to declare against even the slightest concession on that subject, and in so doing sealed the doom of his ministry. The storm of indignation which rose through the empire was tre-

mendous, for the people had been taught to believe that unheard-of and even impossible blessings would flow from that measure. Emboldened by this public support, the combined forces of the opposition made a furious attack on the government in the commons. On the 15th the ministry gave battle to the allies on the question of the civil-list and were defeated by a majority of 29, in consequence of the rancorous hostility of their former friends. They forthwith resigned, and lord Grey was commanded to form an administration. Few examples of greater blindness than that of the tory party on this occasion are on record, and yet, a few years afterwards, we shall find them repeating the error, as if nothing was ever to be learned from experience. Surely, on both occasions, it was evident that the power must of necessity fall into the hands of the whigs, who stood pledged to more extensive changes than were to be apprehended from those whom they were aiding to eject.

It has always been the principle of the whigs, that the government pertains as of right to a few noble houses; and while their opponents admitted even to high office men ungraced with titles and undistinguished by birth, *they* if possible would exclude such, or confine them to the lower departments. In the new cabinet, therefore, all were peers or sons of peers, except sir James Graham, a man of as ancient a family as any of them and in talent their superior, and Mr. Charles Grant, whom peculiar reasons caused to be admitted. They would fain have excluded Mr. Brougham; but he had of late, by becoming a superior kind of O'Connell, and placing himself at the head of the reform-movement, made himself too powerful to be so treated; the post of attorney-general was offered and spurned at, and he finally received a peerage and the high post of lord-chancellor, for which he was in general regarded as ill-qualified in legal knowledge. But he *would* have it, and lord Grey dare not refuse him.

Mr. O'Connell with all his astuteness had violated the law, and had found it necessary to plead guilty to an indictment framed against him. But as sentence had not been passed when the act under which he had been indicted expired, the ministry, who wanted his aid, gladly seized the pretext to let him escape.

No time was lost in bringing forward a reform-bill. As lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces, had, to gain a little popularity, been in the habit of proposing some trifling measures

of reform, this was made a pretext for placing the measure in his hands. But the real cause was, that he was a scion of the house of Bedford, which had, since the days of the Stuarts, a reputation, not always merited, for patriotic feeling and popular sympathy.

The measure which the ministry, acting under what was called "the pressure from without," introduced was indeed a sweeping one, and one far transcending anything they had ever even dreamed of. Every borough which had had less than 2000 inhabitants in the census of 1821 was to be disfranchised; every one which had then less than 4000 was to return but one member. To compensate for this loss a number of the large towns were to have one or two members, according to their population, and about one half of the counties were to have two additional members. Elections were to be completed in two days; all householders in towns paying 10*l.* a year or upwards rent; in counties copyholders of 10*l.*, leaseholders of 50*l.* a year, were to have votes. The qualification was similar for Ireland and Scotland.

The opposition were vehement in their attacks on the proposed measure, and predicted all kinds of evil from it. But their fate was adverse; with the exception of Mr., now Sir Robert, Peel, the whole ability of the house was on the other side. But he was in a false position, and though he did all that was in human power his efforts were of no avail; while the buffoonery of sir Charles Wetherall, the dry legal subtlety of sir Edward Sugden, and the volubility, virulence and audacious mendacity of Mr. Wilson Croker, late secretary to the Admiralty, injured their cause in the minds of persons of taste and sense. On the 22nd of March, 1831, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of *one*, and as that was equivalent to a defeat, the ministry secretly resolved on a dissolution as soon as the necessary supplies should have been voted. Delay was now the tactics of the opposition; but gradually the different items were passed, and the eventful moment arrived. Still there was a difficulty to overcome. The king was naturally in his heart adverse to the measure, and it was feared that he might under various pretexts refuse to consent to a dissolution. To obviate this the following stratagem was employed.

On the 22nd of April lords Grey and Brougham waited on his majesty with the modest request that he would go down that very day and dissolve the parliament. The latter, who gives the account, was the spokesman. To the first objection

of the king he replied by a hint of a general resignation. When the king objected that the great officers of state had not been summoned, he was told with all due humility that they were; when he said that the crown and robes were not ready, the answer again was that they were. "But the guards, the troops have got no orders!" The undaunted chancellor replied, "I have given orders and the troops are ready." The anger of the monarch was roused at this act of treason, as it undoubtedly was; but he was soothed at length and obeyed his imperious ministers.

As the passions of the people had been excited by every possible artifice the ministerial majority in the new house of commons was considerable, and the bill, with some few modifications, passed that house by a majority of 109 on the 21st of September, but, the lords boldly rejected it by a majority of 41. The excitement all through the country was extreme, the political unions (not unlike the French clubs) put forth all their activity, and they were recognised and encouraged by the ministry. In fact, every one of discernment saw that the measure, be it good or bad, must pass. During the session of 1832 the contest was maintained. When the king refused to allow lord Grey to swamp, as it was termed, the house of peers by an extensive creation, the ministry resigned, but the duke of Wellington found the attempt to frame a cabinet quite hopeless. Under his advice then an arrangement was effected. A sufficient number of the opposition peers absented themselves to give the ministers a majority, and on the 7th of June the Reform-bill, which, in a slightly altered form, had again passed the commons, received the royal assent.

Such was the parliamentary reform of 1832, an event which makes an epoch in our annals. May we venture to add, an instance of popular illusion? for it was asserted and believed that it would be followed by blessings which it did not and never could justly have been expected to produce. But, among the many artifices used to beguile the people, *enormous lying*, we are told by one who knew the truth, was not the least prominent. The whigs, as we have seen, were carried by the current, which they had set in motion, much further than ever they had intended to go; but the chief impulse had been given by the blindness, ignorance and obstinacy of the tories. Had they, in the spirit of wise legislation, come forward in time, and surrendering a few of the most notorious of the nomination boroughs, given the members which *they* had returned to Man-

chester, Leeds and other large towns, the cry for reform, which proceeded chiefly from these places, might have been stilled, and the ancient form of parliament have been retained. But such is not human nature, and every step that we make in history only shows us more and more how rare is political wisdom.

No doubt the appearance presented by such an array of nomination and close boroughs was a most anomalous one, and nothing was easier than to expose and hold it up to ridicule. But still Mr. Canning's phrase, *it works well*, was correct; for the real object of representative government being to have in the legislature as large a proportion of the wisdom and talent of the country as possible, this object was obtained under this system in an adequate manner. Thus the real interest of the man of large possessions who had the power of sending one or more members to the house of commons, could never be disjoined from that of the country at large, and he in general sent either members of his own family or men of talent who held the same party-politics with himself, or he sold the seat, as also did the burgesses of the close boroughs. This last was the grand ground of complaint; it was fancied that what a man had bought he would sell. But this is an incorrect view of human nature; the members of the former parliaments of France, for example, all purchased their places, and yet nowhere were judges more upright and incorrupt. In fact, the man who had purchased his seat was the most independent member in the house; and there was many a man of property and talent, who, not having interest to obtain a seat for a county and unwilling to be the mere puppet of a lord or the flatterer of a rabble, could thus seek to further the true interests of his country. All such are now virtually excluded, as also are such men as Burke and Canning. And what has been our gain? where is the infusion of intelligence and integrity that we were taught to expect? Nowhere. After more than twenty years' experience we can find no increase of either, and as to corruption, both within and without the walls of parliament, it has only increased at a more rapid rate. Various remedial plans are proposed, but as long as a seat in parliament is deemed to be of value, votes will be sold; extending the constituency will only lower their price, the ballot would only give corruption organization and secrecy. Even were success attained the result would be injurious, for the lower class of voters, with whom the power would lie, would in general, when not purchased,

prefer the mere demagogue to the man of intelligence, worth and honour. The sole remedy is one that will hardly ever be adopted, namely, giving votes in proportion to property. In all the debates and disquisitions on reform men seem to leave out of view the power of public opinion acting through the press, which, conjoined with the antagonism of an aristocratic legislature, would have been sure to produce good measures well-ripened and matured instead of the headlong legislation of which we have seen but too many specimens*.

A dissolution of parliament followed, and the elections gave the ministry an overwhelming majority. In fact, paradoxical as it may seem, lord Brougham's remark that they were too strong was literally true; for in a constitution like ours, a powerful opposition is a necessity, or measures will never be adequately discussed and weighed. There were many important measures now pressing on their attention, and the solution of them would be the touchstone of their wisdom. The first and most pressing was the Poor-Law, which had come to be in such a state of corruption through long-continued mismanagement, that the paupers seemed likely ere long to possess the chief portion of the income of the country. The reform here too was of a sweeping character. Instead of amending the old law, as might perhaps have been done, led by their love of centralization they established a board in London which was to have unlimited authority over all the poor-houses in England. Some of the provisions of the new bill were so harsh that they had to be afterwards modified, but on the whole the improvement has been considerable.

Another measure was the renewal of the charter of the India Company, and here little political wisdom was evinced. The China-trade was to be thrown open, the Company was to cease to be traders, and the holders of Indian stock were to have the national security for their dividends; and yet to these persons, who had now no longer any interest in India, was to be left the election of the Directors who were to have the government of that country. The consequences are manifest; all parties are guided by private interest. There must finally be a secretary for India, with a council, and strict examination must precede appointments to obviate favouritism.

A third most important act was the abolition of slavery in

* It should always be recollected that Edmund Burke, the greatest and most far-seeing statesman that England has ever possessed, was strongly opposed to any change in the representative system.

the colonies. But this was the act of the nation, and a noble act it was, and one at which every British heart will for ever thrill with rapture; for twenty millions sterling were given without a murmur to compensate the slave-owners for their expected losses. But the measure was too precipitate; it has not produced the good effects that were anticipated; the condition of the negroes is not in general improved, and the greater number of the properties are in a state of ruin.

Each day saw the ministry sinking lower in public estimation; the ministers had not been trained to office, and they lay too much at the mercy of their tory subordinates, who gloried in embarrassing and leading them astray, so that they continually fell into error; the reform-bill was found to have fallen far short of expectation; the premier exhibited the most scandalous nepotism; the chancellor indulged in strange vagaries; unity soon ceased to prevail in the cabinet. At length, on a question relating to the church, Mr. Stanley, the colonial secretary, and sir James Graham, two of the most efficient ministers, resigned, and were followed by most of the Canningites. An imprudent negotiation with the Irish demagogue hastened the crisis, and on the 9th of July, 1834, lord Grey laid down his office, and his example was followed by lord Althorpe, the leader in the commons. The latter however was induced to return, and the premiership was occupied by lord Melbourne, one of the followers of the late Mr. Canning.

Lord Brougham, whose head seems to have been actually turned by his elevation, had been the chief cause of the resignation of lord Grey, by assuming to advise and direct the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, without the knowledge of the premier. He made a tour of Scotland during the recess, in which he played strange pranks, all calculated to depreciate the ministry. From various other causes their character continued to decline so much, that on the occasion of lord Althorpe's passage to the house of lords, on the death of his father, the king ventured to dismiss the ministry and to command the duke of Wellington to form one. As sir Robert Peel, without whom he could do nothing, was in Italy, the duke resolved to make no appointments till he should return, and in the interval to hold all offices in his own person. Sir Robert Peel on his arrival saw that the case was nearly hopeless, yet he resolved to make a struggle. Having formed his ministry he dissolved the parliament, and the elections proved that the conservative (*i. e.* modified tory) spirit was greatly on the increase; but still the so-

called liberal party was so strong, that, combined with the rabble which Ireland sent, vulgarly called O'Connell's Tail*, it could at any time defeat the government. In the parliamentary conflicts which resulted sir Robert Peel exhibited mental power beyond what any one could have supposed him to possess, and when finally (Apr. 8, 1835) he had to succumb to the forces of the allies which assailed him, he retired from office with universal admiration and respect.

Lord Melbourne, that real or affected man of indifference, but real man of sound sense and judgement, resumed the post which he had previously occupied, and lord John Russell was advanced to the leadership of the house of commons, in which position he exhibited more of zeal than of discretion, and nothing of dignity. By far the ablest of the ministry in that house was the clever, the too clever, lord Palmerston the foreign secretary. Mr. Spring Rice was the chancellor of the exchequer, and some time later he had to retire from sheer incapacity and seek a refuge in the house of peers. But there were other parties who claimed a share in the spoil. The victory had been gained by the aid of O'Connell and his followers, and they must be rewarded. This was effected by one of the most disgraceful transactions which our history records—the Lichfield house compact, by which the whole of the Irish patronage was ceded to him, and the protestants were thus virtually excluded from office in Ireland, and everything given to those recommended by O'Connell and the priests. But as iniquity generally punishes itself, it was this disgraceful alliance that was eventually the chief means of overthrowing the Melbourne ministry.

The question on which sir Robert Peel resigned was that of the appropriation of a portion of the revenues of the church of Ireland to other purposes. It might therefore have been expected that the first act of the Melbourne cabinet would be the introduction of this measure, but not so; it had answered their purpose and was heard of no more. The ministry floundered on, carrying few measures of any great importance; the king died; a new parliament contained still more conservative members, and sir Robert Peel in effect governed the country; for no measure of which he seriously disapproved could be passed. In April 1839 occurred the ridiculous Bed-chamber intrigue. The ministers being deserted by their radical allies in an attempt

* This term, we believe, originated in a caricature of lord Grey as a *grey* cat with a long tail, having on it the names of his relatives in office.

to suspend the constitution of Jamaica, resigned; and the queen sent for sir Robert Peel. But here a difficulty presented itself. The whigs, in their usual way, had surrounded their sovereign with their wives, sisters and daughters, and these ladies showed no inclination to resign; while their remaining about the royal person was incompatible with a ministry of opposite politics. Sir Robert Peel, who probably did not wish to take office yet, insisted on having the power to remove them; the young sovereign, as secretly instructed by her late ministers, refused her consent, and affairs having been meantime arranged with the unruly radicals, the Melbourne ministry returned to office and contrived to drag on a lingering existence for two years longer, though sinking lower and lower every day in public estimation. The income of the country had fallen below the expenditure, through no fault of theirs it must be confessed; and the meddlesome policy of lord Palmerston had caused an invasion of Affghánistán in the East, which had proved, owing to the lamentable incapacity of those who had the conduct of it, most disastrous. The misconduct of persons appointed from home had also brought on a war with China. Let the ministers turn where they would the aspect of affairs was cheerless, yet nothing was farther from their thought than resignation.

Such was their state at the meeting of parliament in 1841. The deficiency in the revenue was now nearly two millions. The chancellor of the exchequer brought in one budget, and, when that did not please, a second; a fixed duty on corn was proposed in order to gain a certain party, but all availed not; they were defeated on the sugar-duties, and sir Robert Peel then moved and carried a vote of want of confidence. In their desperation they induced the queen to dissolve the parliament; but contrary to their hopes the elections gave an overwhelming majority to the conservatives, and sir Robert Peel, joined by Mr. Stanley and sir James Graham, became prime minister. His first care was to provide for the deficiency in the revenue, which he did in a very simple manner, by the imposition of a property and income tax. He then directed his attention to the regulation of the customs, reduced the duty on some articles, did away with it altogether on others, particularly on cattle and their produce. Being, as we may say, possessed of absolute power, he was able to effect many improvements.

The three most interesting subjects at this period were O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the union, the railways,

and the anti-corn-law agitation. On each of these we will make a few brief observations.

With the fall of the Melbourne ministry the disposal of the Irish patronage passed away from O'Connell, and his supplies began to run short. The repeal of the union, which had lain in abeyance, was therefore resuscitated. A large building named Conciliation Hall, (!) became the scene of the incantations of the arch-magician and his subordinates. The priests exerted themselves to the utmost, and money poured in rapidly. The great political showman then began to exhibit at Tara and other places noted in history, tradition or legend, to which multitudes of the peasantry crowded and treason was spoken without reserve; for the government, knowing their man, were resolved to let him run his career. At length (Oct. 7, 1843) a monster-meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf near Dublin, the scene of the victory of Brian Boru over the Danes, to which the repealers were to march in military array. It was now time to interfere; the meeting was prohibited; O'Connell and others were arrested on charges of sedition and conspiracy, tried and found guilty. A writ of error brought the case before the house of lords, and the whig law-lords being the majority the decision was of course in favour of the prisoners*. But O'Connell's *prestige* was gone; the famine which ensued put an end to his income; he drooped; superstition seized his mind, and he died at Genoa on his way to Rome (1847), leaving a name which will endure in history as that of one of the most selfish, pernicious demagogues that have existed.

The railway-bubble swelled to its utmost magnitude during the administration of sir Robert Peel, and it too gives a proof of his want of true statesmanship. A prudent minister, knowing the character of the English people, would have sought to check the mania; he, as if the resources of the country were inexhaustible, cheered and excited it. The most extravagant ideas were held of the profits to be realized by railways; boards of directors sowed the shareholders' money broadcast; solicitors, engineers, contractors and others realized rapid fortunes; landowners extorted enormous sums for their lands, and all was seeming prosperity. At length (1848) the bubble exploded and thousands were ruined; but sir Robert Peel, high in self-

* We mean no offence; but it is certain that in party-politics, truth, justice and honour are little regarded. The election-committees are usually composed of gentlemen, and they are on their oath, yet the moment their names are known the decision may be predicted almost with certainty.

esteem, would never allow this to be one of the causes of the distress that came on the country. Were the secret history of railroads to be written, what scenes of iniquity would appear, how disgraceful to the national character would be the revelation!

The rapid increase of the population of late years had begun to fill the minds of many persons with uneasiness, lest it should outgrow the annual supply of food, and famine and turbulence be the result. The manufacturers of Manchester took a different view; they knew that in this case competition would keep wages down to the lowest point at which a man and his family could be supported, and that consequently if the price of food could be reduced to a great extent, wages might be brought down in proportion; the rural districts, like the breeding-states of America, would supply an endless succession of hands, and they could then manufacture so cheaply as to be able to undersell the whole world and become the masters of boundless wealth. There were also among them, it is said, those who had a secret anticipation that the market would be glutted with the estates of the ruined landed proprietors, which they might purchase on their own terms.

Their object then was to reduce the price of corn, by removing all duties on importation; and the successful agitation of O'Connell offered a model for them to imitate. A League, therefore, was formed, the country was inundated with pamphlets, newspapers were purchased or set up, itinerant lecturers perambulated cities and towns; the protagonist of the piece was Richard Cobden of Manchester. In these speeches and pamphlets, addressed to the middle and lower orders—for whose benefit the cotton-lords pretended to be solely solicitous—the most incredible fictions of the blessings of free-trade were boldly uttered; every one was to be rich, every one was to be happy, for the anticipated reduction of wages was sedulously kept out of view. Man is ever the dupe of his imagination, and whoever can set that in action in large bodies of men is almost sure of success. What Emancipation was to do for the Irish, the Reform-bill for the English, was now to be effected by Free-trade.

Fortune favoured the free-trade cause. In 1845 a novel disease attacked the potato, and there was every prospect of dearth in England, of famine in Ireland. Sir Robert Peel had come into office on the express condition of maintaining the duty on corn; yet his mind was every day, from the good re-

sults of his reductions of duties, moving more and more in the direction of free-trade. But with that infelicity which attended him, of bounding suddenly from one extreme to the other, in the very last session of parliament he had reiterated his adherence to the principle of a duty on corn. It was therefore, with surprise that the world learned, in the month of October that he was become the advocate of free-trade. What is called a split in the cabinet was the result; the impetuous lord Stanley, whose fate it was to traverse the whole political scale, seceded and became the head of what was now called the Protectionist party; but aided by the opposition, the minister in the following session carried his measure*. Again this party acted as in 1830, but with more excuse, for it cannot be denied that they had been betrayed by their leader. On an important question they voted against the ministry, and the inevitable consequence was that the whigs returned to office.

However partisans may laud it, the conduct of sir Robert Peel on this important occasion is a blemish to his fame. We are certainly far from thinking that he intended any injury to the country; on the contrary, we are disposed to see somewhat of artful dealing on his part; for while free-traders and protectionists alike were anticipating a prodigious fall in the price of grain, he seems to have persuaded himself that the fall, if any, would be only trifling, and he thought he might as well have the merit of being the author of a popular measure which he probably saw was now inevitable. In his justificatory speech, however, instead of, like a statesman, ascribing his altered convictions to his own reflection and to his experience of the good results of his previous reductions of duties, he gave all the merit to what he termed the 'unadorned eloquence' of Richard Cobden; while those who are acquainted with the harangues of that head of the anti-corn-law party, must know that they consisted of gross and unqualified abuse of the aristocracy, of absurd calculations, and of wild prophecies of a coming golden age which have not been and never can be accomplished. As if to put his panegyrist to shame and prove himself to be utterly devoid of philosophic statesmanship, Mr. Cobden forthwith became a prominent member of what was named the Peace Society, a union of benevolent enthusiasts with some devoted slaves of mammon, who, un-

* The bill was introduced by lord Francis Egerton, brother to the duke of Sutherland, a man of great wealth, but little of it proceeding from land. He was created earl of Evesmere immediately after the passing of the bill.

As usual the first difficulty of the ministry was with Ireland. There famine soon appeared in its most appalling form. The old expedient of public works as an excuse for giving public money was resorted to; useless roads were constructed, and, as is the normal rule in such cases in Ireland, where English money is regarded as lawful spoil, all kinds of jobbing and plundering were perpetrated. But while famine was slaying her myriads, the demon of agitation was at his task, and men actually had the folly to speak, if not to think, of obtaining a repeal of the Union by the employment of physical force. There were newspapers which openly taught rebellion, and gave instructions in the best modes of opposing the royal troops; associations of young men were formed for rifle practice, and everything seemed to menace an outbreak. In the eyes no doubt of men of sense and who were acquainted with the Irish character, it was in reality nothing more than what is usually denominated a storm in a puddle, and a wise and strong government would have shaken a little dust, in the form of arrests and such like, on the wings of those that raised it and soon have stilled the agitation; but such was not the character of the Russell ministry, which depended on the support of the Popish members for its existence. It therefore was let to take its course till it broke out in an actual insurrection which was suppressed by a handful of policemen.

A most important measure was introduced on the suggestion of sir Robert Peel, namely a bill for the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland. By the ordinary fault of precipitation it was put too suddenly into execution and thus at first nearly amounted to confiscation, but its ultimate effects must be beneficial, and it appears to contain the germs of the regeneration of Ireland. The famine and a large emigration which followed removed another great evil, the enormous excess of population, and the rapid progress which Protestantism is asserted to be making among the votaries of Rome presents a consoling prospect. Ireland has passed through an ordeal of suffering almost without example, but we now seem justified in anticipating for her a future of prosperity.

In the summer of 1850 the ministry lost their main support, sir Robert Peel, who died in consequence of a fall from his horse in one of the parks.

We have more than once expressed our opinion that this eminent man was not a great statesman. To be such, a man must be in advance of his age and be able to penetrate the

future by probable conjecture; but, as we have seen, sir Robert Peel was on the most important questions behind his times. Perhaps what is noted to his praise, that he was the greatest of members of parliament, is corroborative of our assertion, for the tact and management requisite for such a character seem incompatible with the enlarged views and superiority to party prejudices which distinguish the true statesman. His self-esteem appeared to be enormous, for he never was heard to acknowledge himself to have been in error. If he opposed a measure at one time, he was right; if he supported the very same measure at another time, he was right then also. Yet with all his self-esteem he was deficient in self-reliance; he was ever adopting and appropriating the ideas of others. As an administrator and exponent of measures he was unrivalled. His private life was unblemished; in public life he was above all mean, petty and vindictive feeling. He appears to have had a prudent disregard, a philosophic indifference, or it may be a haughty contempt for honours and titles; for it was his expressed wish that no public honours should be paid to his remains and no titles of nobility be bestowed on his family.

We have said that peace has its evils; these are, avidity for gain, joined with luxury, effeminacy and love of display; in effect, a materializing spirit seeking only the gratification of the senses. It extends even to religion. While during the hopes, the fears, the agitation of the great war with France, there was a revival of the stern, rigorous, but spiritual doctrines introduced by the Reformation, followed by Bible, by missionary and by similar societies, the peace has witnessed a renewal of the spirit which prevailed in the first half of the 17th century, which approximated to Rome, and seemed to place the whole of religion in forms and ceremonies. The consequences have been that numbers from among the clergy and the aristocracy have apostacized and gone over to the church of Rome. It is an extraordinary phenomenon that the Papacy, though upheld in Italy solely by the bayonets of France and Austria, is as arrogant and as encroaching as when it was in its most palmy state. Encouraged then by what was taking place in England, it had the audacity to treat it as if actually subject to the Vatican, to divide it into dioceses, and to place at the head of it a vain presumptuous priest with the rank of cardinal and under the title of archbishop of Westminster.

This insolent proceeding raised a storm of indignation through the country. Lord John Russell, anxious to prop his declining

popularity, forthwith published a letter to the bishop of Durham, breathing the spirit of Protestantism, but utterly unworthy of a statesman. The influence of his Popish supporters was forthwith brought to bear on him, and the legislative measures which he introduced for the repression of papal audacity brought to the mind of every one the fable of the mountain in labour.

Lord John Russell seems to have been totally deficient in what even the careless lord Melbourne possessed—the power of holding his colleagues in due subordination and restraint. Lord Grey by his arrogance, petulance and despotism was gradually and surely alienating the affections of the colonies. Lord Palmerston was acting in the most imprudent and unjustifiable manner in the affairs of the continent. The premier at length roused himself, and he actually had the temerity, a thing unheard of, to require lord Palmerston to resign his seals of office. By this act he virtually put an end to his ministry. He looked round him for allies and could find none, and on the meeting of parliament, a few days previous to a menaced inquiry into the colonial administration of lord Grey, he took advantage of a slight amendment in a militia bill proposed by lord Palmerston and resigned; not however, it was said, without hopes, as had occurred in the previous year, that no successor could be found.

The queen sent for the earl of Derby (the late lord Stanley), who undertook the formation of a ministry. Instead of, like the whigs, seeking his colleagues among the men of title and pedigree, he selected those whose talents were their only claim to preference. Unfortunately for him he stood pledged to measures of protection for the agricultural interest, and, as is well known, the English constitution is a stranger to recession: if once a measure has become law it remains, and forms a part of the social edifice. He dissolved, as justice required, the parliament to ascertain the feeling of the country, and the four united parties proved to be the majority in the commons. Disdaining to be a minister on sufferance, he resigned, and under the once high tory lord Aberdeen, a ministry was formed, the strangest union England has ever beheld, for Whig, Radical, Peelite and Irish Papist alike were members of the government.

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